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ΑΚΡΟΓΩΝΙ-



ΛΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ



PRINCIPLES
OF
GREEK ETYMOLOGY.

By GEORGE CURTIVS,
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

TRANSLATED, WITH THE SANCTION OF THE AUTHOR,

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Lately Published.

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TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

The 'Principles of Greek Etymology' by Professor Georg Curtius of Leipzig needs no introduction to those English readers who are interested in classical studies. We may therefore limit ourselves to one or two words on the principles which have guided us in the task of translation. Our object has been to render our version, even in minor points, as faithful a reproduction of the original, as was possible. Should a second edition be called for, it might probably be well to make some alterations to adapt the work the better to the use of English students. The references to German books and periodicals might be largely curtailed; and in many cases the substance of the passage referred to might be inwoven with the text. But it was felt that a work, which had so repeatedly and so recently passed under the revision of its author, had a claim to appear, once at any rate, in an English dress without omissions or additions. In a very few instances we have ventured to add within square brackets illustrations, mainly derived from Old English or dialectic forms, which may naturally have escaped the comprehensive survey of the author: but in most cases we have abstained from such additions, even where the possible interest for English students made them very tempting.

Where it was possible, we have endeavoured to refer to English translations of German works: but unfortunately this did not seem advisable in the case of one or two of the books to which reference is frequent. The English

translation of Bopp's Comparative Grammar was made from the first edition of the original, and has not been brought up to the standard of the largely improved second edition, to which Professor Curtius refers, although it has passed through three editions in this country. We believe however that there will rarely be any difficulty in finding at any rate Bopp's *πρῶται φροντίδες* on the matter under discussion from the excellent index to the English translation. In the case of Buttmann's *Lexilogus* a similar difficulty arose from the number of English editions through which it has passed, differing in pagination, though not in any other material respect. As the articles are in the translation arranged alphabetically, it was judged best here also to leave the references of the original unaltered. The English translation of a portion of Schleicher's *Compendium* appeared too recently, and is still too incomplete, to enable us to refer to it with advantage. In referring to passages in the book itself, we have used the pagination of the original, printed in the margin here. This was necessary in the case of the numerous forward references: and it seemed better to follow a uniform practice throughout.

With regard to the translation itself, we have not hesitated to aim at fidelity rather than elegance. Much difficulty has been presented by the frequent recurrence of technical terms, like what Mr. Peile so justly calls the untranslatable *Sprachgefühl*, for which there are as yet no recognized English equivalents. We have not found it possible to preserve a uniform consistency in rendering these, but have rather endeavoured to bring out the force in which they are used in various passages, by various renderings. If some of these appear unusual to English ears, we must plead that the originals must have been equally strange to the German language at the time of their introduction.

We owe our best thanks to the Leipzig publishers who kindly supplied us with the sheets of the fourth edition as it passed through the press; to Dr. Herman Hager of

Manchester, a pupil of Professor Curtius, whose familiarity with his teacher's language and ready command of appropriate English have often been of service to us; and above all to Professor Curtius himself, for much personal kindness, as well as for the ready sanction which he gave to the present translation.

The publication of the present volume has been delayed much longer than was anticipated by a variety of unforeseen hindrances. It is hoped that the second volume will follow at an interval much shorter than that which has separated the appearance of this volume from its first announcement. This will contain full and complete indices to the entire work.

OWENS COLLEGE, Manchester, March 1875.

A. S. W.

E. B. E.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

To ascertain what results have been clearly established by the science of Comparative Philology bearing on Greek Etymology, apart from airy surmisings and absurd methods of investigation, has appeared to me for several reasons a useful undertaking. The Science of Language presents no subject so tempting, none that so invites to unwearying research, as the unsurpassable language of the Greeks, which has developed so richly and characteristically from its primitive foundation: but, to avoid error in the research, there is need for constant converse with that familiar knowledge of the Greek language and its records, which, inherited from Antiquity and the object of close and careful study in our own century, we call in Germany by the special name of Philology. On the other hand Classical Philology, with the wider range which it has now won for itself, asks a thousand questions about the descent and original meaning of Greek words, and at the same time about the history of the ideas and conceptions which they present, questions which can only be answered outside its own province, by the science of Comparative Philology. The more lively the activity now reigning in the last-named science, the more attention there is paid by Classical Philology on its side to the information to be gained from this science, so much the greater will be the advantage to be obtained by promoting a profitable commerce between the two movements in this very province.

Without doubt this is a difficult undertaking. Comparative Philologists have been called not without a sneer

'Circumnavigators of the World', a title which they might be content to accept, were it not unseemly to call by the name of 'world' that Indo-Germanic realm with which we have here to do, and which is after all so very small a part of the region of human speech. But who is to restrict exploration to familiar coasting-voyages? Even here there is most certainly no lack of danger. It is on the rocks and shallows near the land that most ships are wrecked, while it is only on the high seas that navigation has reached its fuller development.

But the bolder the course, the more do we need points of view to guide us. Therefore I have thought it needful above all things in attempting what I have, to subject the first principles and the methods of Comparative Etymology in its application to the Greek language, to a searching discussion. Not that I intended to exhaust the subject systematically, once for all, but, adjusting myself to the present attitude of the study, to handle a series of questions of fundamental importance, and by so doing to establish a fixed standard of procedure for the treatment of details which is to follow. These are the ends served by the First Book of this work.

Next I took as my task the synoptical enumeration of those Greek words and families of words for which undoubted affinities could be found in the kindred languages, along with the words so related. If I have erred in judging of the connexion of words, I believe it has been on the side of caution. Adhering firmly to the principle, that it is better to forbear to connect what *may* be unrelated, than to connect it too hastily, and that a limited number of sure comparisons has far more value than an abundance of uncertain conjectures, I have not shrunk from repeated scrutiny in each single instance. My matter however fell naturally into two parts. Since every trustworthy inquiry must start with the sound rather than the sense, a division naturally resulted between the regular or constant substitution of sounds and that which is irregular or sporadic.

Accordingly the Second Book treats of Regular Substitution of Sounds. Its form is that of an index arranged phonetically.

In the treatment of the several families of words I have endeavoured to state the facts of the case as clearly, and at the same time as concisely as possible. I have therefore given in all cases none but the most important members, though I did not like to omit the translation even of the Greek words. By its addition many readers are saved the trouble of searching for rare words in the dictionary, and even when the words are common, the translation of them has been a short and concise means of calling attention not only to the prominent meaning, but also to noteworthy coincidences and differences in the other languages, and this practice has for consistency's sake been maintained even in the absence of such special reasons. I think that a hint here and there which may possibly be superfluous does less harm in these inquiries than that *doctum silentium* which gives rise to many misconceptions, especially as this book may chance to be used by some who are not so well versed in Greek as classical scholars are, though perhaps all the more at home in other languages.

In the search for the Greek words which belong to the same group I have derived much assistance from Niz's small 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch' (second edition, by I. Bekker, Berlin 1821). In this insignificant little book, which has received too little attention, there is more etymological insight than in all our dictionaries, excellent though they are in other respects. Of Greek grammarians and lexicographers I have most frequently referred to Hesychius who gives us much that is remarkable. I have however carefully avoided indulging in guesses at isolated etymological puzzles, and have only noticed proper names by the way.

In giving the words from the other languages I have bestowed great care on the accuracy of their appended translations. Hence I have generally followed my author-

ities in using the language by means of which the meaning is established. In the case of the Church-Slavonic and Gothic words I have often added the Greek word to which they both serve as a translation. This not unfrequently makes analogies still more striking.

To each group of connected words I have added a short commentary; and in so doing I have thought it necessary in the first place to give the history of each etymology more fully than has been done hitherto. The literature of etymology has often been unduly neglected. The sanctity of intellectual property, and the continuity so desirable in scientific investigation, both demand, I think, greater care in this direction. Accordingly, though I cannot vouch for absolute completeness, and have omitted to notice attempts which are clearly fantastic and unmethodical — and of these there are too many even in our days — I have faithfully recorded the contributions of my predecessors. Still it is only the more important literature of the Comparative Study of Languages that is systematically noticed, while etymologies of the old sort are only mentioned occasionally, whenever they give occasion for decided approval or condemnation, or acquire importance from the names of their authors, e. g. Buttmann, Lobeck or Doederlein. These references to other authors are as a rule followed by short notes of agreement or criticism, or explanation and extension. The compressed brevity of these remarks in the style of critical notes may find an excuse in my desire to confine the work within reasonable limits. Whoever takes the trouble to read these brief notes will perceive from them that the results given in the text have often been arrived at after much painstaking deliberation, and will acquit me at all events of having chosen them thoughtlessly. I hope too that by giving the grounds of my comparisons I shall facilitate the refutation of my errors, and at the same time raise the discussion of the more difficult questions; and there are very many cases in which fuller discussion is needed.

The annexed tables (pp. 155—159) of the regular substitution of sounds and the transcription of several alphabets are intended to enable any one who desires to enter on these questions, to use and test this book. It is to be hoped then that it will not be laid aside with the often pleaded remark 'I know no Sanskrit'. A knowledge of this or of any other of the kindred languages, except the two classic ones, is by no means necessary to the formation of a judgment on the subjects here discussed. Whoever will believe me that the Indian, Slavonic, or Lithuanian words quoted are given conscientiously, in form and meaning, is perfectly able to judge of the soundness of each comparison. And such a readiness to accept much on trust is in other branches of philology as necessary as it is safe. If we credit the epigraphist with correctness in copying an inscription, the editor of a text with the accuracy of his various readings, if we accept the measurements and descriptions of the topographer, linguistic scholars can in their turn demand that their statements shall not be discredited without good reason. Error is inevitable in all circumstances, and therefore even statements of fact need constant revision. But division of labour and attention to the discoveries and diligent compilations of others can never be dispensed with. It is easy to plead 'I do not understand the subject', but this plea can give no one the right of ignoring our labour.

The Third Book, which is devoted to the sporadic substitution of sounds, since it treats of rarer phonetic changes, assumes naturally more the character and style of an investigation. I felt myself more bound here not only to state my own views, but to explain my reasons more fully. I have endeavoured to discharge this duty more especially with respect to that part of this book which deals with the transformations of the *j* in Greek, because I have ventured to propose on this subject several explanations in many respects novel. I am well aware that in these difficult investigations, I have been treading

more frequently on dangerous ground. On the main point however I have held firmly for many years to my view of the relation of the letter δ to j , and in spite of several attacks, and repeated and conscientious examination, it remains substantially the same. I hope that by its means I have thrown light on many difficult questions connected with the formation of words which are of importance not only for linguistic study in general, but for the elucidation of the Greek language in particular.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

. In this edition the quotations, especially from Pott, Corssen, and Fick, have been adjusted to the latest editions of their works, and the Petersburg Dictionary has been used as far as it has appeared. For the Zend words M. Abel Hovelacque of Paris has had the great kindness to send me a list of corrections, which I have used gratefully. The vowels of the Teutonic words are given with greater accuracy owing entirely to the kind assistance of Prof. Dr. Sievers of Jena. For much information with regard to the Slavonic words I have to thank Herr Director Vaníček of Trebitsch in Moravia, who at my request has undertaken the correction of the proof sheets and the preparation of an Eranian and a Slavo-Lithuanian index, and has also been so kind as to subject the other indices to a careful examination. There are therefore now indices for all the languages of which I have treated. I have also incorporated matter which I have collected from time to time since the appearance of the third edition, and cancelled in some instances views which I have since abandoned.

I had always regarded it as an essential defect of my work that the Keltic languages had not been considered by me along with the rest of the Indo-Germanic family.

Hence I welcomed most heartily the kind offer of my friend Prof. Dr. Ernst Windisch to add to the articles of this work the most important and the best established comparisons from these languages, and to supplement the work at other points as opportunity offered. His familiarity with Keltic and especially with Old-Irish is the result of intercourse with speakers of the Irish tongue and with the prominent Keltic scholars of that country. Although these additions have not materially increased the size of the book, they give this fourth edition a decided advantage over the previous ones

Note on the Keltic Comparisons

(by Dr. Windisch).

With regard to my Keltic contributions to this fourth edition of the 'Principles' I may make the following observations. I have been able to add the Keltic words, in round numbers, to more than 230 of the sections of this work, in all more than 630. The majority of these belong to Old and Middle Irish: as I have always given references to the sources of my quotations, it did not seem to be necessary to divide them further into the various stages of the language, which, in most of the cases here coming into consideration, differ but little. Modern Irish has been but rarely quoted. Perhaps somewhat too little use has been made of the British dialects: it is only recently that I have become acquainted with them. Hence it is this department especially which will need to receive many additions; though much may yet be added even from Irish, as I know already from my own experience. I have appended the authorities to the several words, as there is not yet any trustworthy dictionary, nor any index to the *Grammatica Celtica*.

I add a list of the books which I have used, with the abbreviations of their titles:

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|-----------------|--|
| Z. ² | — Zeuss <i>Grammatica Celtica</i> , editio altera, curante H. Ebel. |
| Amra | — The <i>Amra Choluim Chilli</i> , the original Irish and literal translation, O'Beirne Crowe, Dublin 1871 |
| Chron. Scot. | — <i>Chronicum Scotorum</i> , edited with a translation by William M. Hennessy, London 1866. |
| Cog. | — <i>Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh</i> , The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, edited with translation and introduction by James Henthorn Todd, London 1867. |
| Corm. Gl. | — <i>Cormac's Glossary</i> , in: <i>Three Irish Glossaries</i> , with a preface and index by W. S. London 1862. |

- Corm. Gl. Transl. — Cormac's Glossary translated and annotated by the late John O'Donovan LL. D., edited with notes and indices by Whitley Stokes. Calcutta 1868.
- F. A. — Fís Adamnáin, Adamnan's Vision, transcribed and translated from the book of the Dunn Cow, with notes (W. Stokes) Simla 1870.
- Goid. — Goidilica, or Notes on the Gaelic Manuscripts preserved at Turin, Milan &c. edited by W. S. Calcutta 1866. (Of the second edition, London 1872, I have been able to make but little use).
- Ir. Gl. — Irish Glosses, A Mediæval Tract on Latin Declension with examples explained in Irish, edited by W. Stokes, Dublin 1860.
- Journ. — The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland.
- L. U. — Lebor na h-uidre, Dublin. M.S. of the end of the 11th century, published in facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1870.
- O'Dav. — O'Davoren's Glossary, in: Three Irish Glossaries &c. edited by W. S.
- O'R. — O'Reilly, An Irish-English Dictionary, a new Edition with a supplement &c. by John O'Donovan, Dublin 1864.
- Spurr. Dict. — William Spurrell, A Dictionary of the Welsh Language (3rd edition), Carmarthen 1866.
- T. B. Fr. — Táin Bó Fraich, The Spoil of the Cows of Froech (from the Book of Leinster), translated and edited by O'Beirne Crowe in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Ir. Mss. Series Vol. I P. I. Dublin 1870.
- Will. Lex. Cornu-Brit. — R. Williams, Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum, London 1865.
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Abbreviations.

- A, B etc.** — Books of the Iliad.
 α , β etc. — Books of the Odyssey.
Ahrens aeol. — De dialectis aeolicis et pseudaeolicis scr. H. L. Ahrens. Göttingae 1839.
Ahrens dor. — De dialecto dorica scr. H. L. Ahrens. Gott. 1843.
Ascoli Glottol. — Lezioni di Fonologia comparata da G. J. Ascoli, Torino e Firenze 1870. (Translated into German by Bazzigher and Schweizer-Sidler, Halle 1872).
Aufr. and Kirch. — Die umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler. Ein Versuch zur Deutung derselben von Aufrecht und Kirchhoff. Berlin 1849, 1851.
Beitr. — Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der arischen, celtischen und slawischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Kuhn und Schleicher. Berlin 1858 ff.
Bekker Hom. Bl. — Homerische Blätter von Immanuel Bekker. Bonn 1863.
Benf. — Benfey's griechisches Wurzellexikon, Berlin 1839, 1842.
Bopp Gl. — Bopp's 'Glossarium comparativum linguae Sanscritae', ed. tertia. Berol. 1867.
Bopp Vgl. Gr. — Vergleichende Grammatik von Franz Bopp. 2. Ausgabe. Berl. 1857—61.
Christ — Grundzüge der griechischen Lautlehre von Wilh. Christ. L. 1859.
C. I. — Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C. I. L. — Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Vol. I. Berol. 1863.
Clemm Comp. — De compositis graecis quae a verbis incipiunt scr. V. Clemm. Gissae 1867.
Corssen Beitr. — Kritische Beiträge zur lateinischen Formenlehre von W. Corssen. L. 1863.
Corssen Nachtr. — Kritische Nachträge zur lateinischen Formenlehre von W. Corssen. L. 1866.

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- Corssen I², II². — Ueber Aussprache, Vocalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache von W. Corssen. Zweite Auflage. L. 1868, 70.
- Diefenbach — Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gothischen Sprache. Frankfurt a. M. 1851.
- Döderlein Gl. — Homerisches Glossarium von Ludw. Döderlein. Erlangen 1850—58.
- E. M. — Etymologicum Magnum.
- Fick² — Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen von F. C. August Fick. Göttingen 1870.
- Fulda Unters. — Untersuchungen über die homerischen Gedichte von Albert Fulda. Duisburg 1865.
- Grimm Gesch. — Geschichte der deutschen Sprache von Jacob Grimm. L. 1848.
- Hes. — Hesychii Lexicon ed. M. Schmidt. Jena 1858—62.
- Hoffmann — Quaestiones homericae. Scripsit Chr. Aug. Jul. Hoffmann. Clausthaliae 1842, 1848.
- Justi — Handbuch der Zendsprache von Ferd. Justi. L. 1864.
- Leo Meyer — Vergleichende Grammatik der griechischen und lateinischen Sprache von Leo Meyer. Berlin 1861, 65.
- Leo Meyer Goth. — Die gothische Sprache, von Leo Meyer. Berlin 1869.
- Miklos. Lex. — Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum, emendatum, auctum ed. Fr. Miklosich. Vindob. 1862—1865.
- Mommsen U.D. — Die unteritalischen Dialekte von Theod. Mommsen. L. 1850.
- Max Müller I — Lectures on the Science of Language by Max Müller, London 1861.
- Max Müller II — Lectures on the Science of Language by Max Müller. Second Series. London 1864.
- Paul Ep. — Pauli Epitome Festi, by O. Müller's pages in his edition of Festus (L. 1839).
- Pictet — Les Origines Indoeuropéennes ou les Aryas primitives. Paris 1859, 63.
- Pott¹ — Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen von Aug. Friedr. Pott. Lemgo 1833, 36.
- Pott² — Second edition of the same work. Lemgo 1859, 61.
- Pott W. — Wurzelwörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen. Detmold 1867—78.
- PW. [Pet. Dict.] — Sanskritwörterbuch, herausgegeben von der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von O. Böhtlingk und Rud. Roth. Petersb. 1855 ff.

- Roediger comp. — De priorum membrorum in nominibus graecis compositis conformatione finali scr. Rich. Roediger. L. 1866.
- Schleich. Comp. — Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen von Aug. Schleicher. Dritte Auflage. Weimar 1871.
- Kirchensl. — Formenlehre der kirchenslawischen Sprache von Aug. Schleicher. Bonn 1852.
- Lit. — Handbuch der litauischen Sprache von August Schleicher. Prag 1856, 1857.
- Joh. Schmidt Voc. I. — Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus. Erste Abtheilung. Weimar 1871.
- Studien — Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik, herausgegeben von Georg Curtius. Leipzig 1868 ff.
- Weber Et. Unters. — Etymologische Untersuchungen von Dr. Hugo Weber I. Halle 1861.
- Ztschr. — Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen, herausgegeben von [Aufrecht und] Adalb. Kuhn. Berlin 1852 ff.
- Ztschr. f. d. Phil. — Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, herausgegeben von Höpfner und Zacher. Halle 1868 f.

[The following additions to, and corrections of the Keltic etymologies given in the text of this work are derived mainly from a paper by Professor Windisch in the *Studien zur Gr. und Lat. Grammatik* edited by Professor Curtius, Vol. VII pp. 371—380. Those to which St. is added are due to Mr. Whitley Stokes 'Some Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' "Greek Etymology" (Calcutta 1874). Many others suggested by Mr. Stokes are judged by Prof. Windisch still to need confirmation.]

I. Corrigenda.

- 68) Ir. *celt*, hair, has no authority.
- 129) Omit *grén* gen. *gruin*: the word is incorrectly translated 'crane'. But cp. Old Gall. *Tri-garanus*. Beitr. III 168, 442.
- 166) Read: *ochte* angustia Z. 68. — In Z. 1006 the word is *ócht* frigus.
- 190) Omit: Ir. *géd* goose, which is perhaps related to Lith. *gàudras* stork, but does not directly belong to *gýv*.
- 204) Omit: Old Gall. *ande-* &c. With Gr. *ἀντί* cp. Ir. *étan* frons Z. 776, O.-N. *enni*, O.-H.-G. *andi* brow, Lat. *antiae*, and see Fick² 425. St.
- 205) Read: Corn. *steren*. — This word is found in the voc. Z. 1065. Cymric *stirenn* rests only on a conjecture in Z. 1063.
- 206) Read: *i-fus*, *i-fos*.
- 238) Omit: *tair* come.
- 267b) Read: The acc. plur. *dromann*, *dromand* (Z. 270) with the abbreviated gen. sing. *drommo* suggest an original stem *drosmcn*, the *sn* of which was directly assimilated to *mm*.
- 279) Omit: Ir. *íthim* edo. Cp. Beitr. VIII 5.
- 325) (end of note) Omit the conjecture as, to Ir. *uth*.
- 326) Read: *co-bodlas*. But probably these words do not belong to this group at all. The loss of the final nasal of the preposition

shows that *b* in the representative of an original *v*: cp. rather with these Goth. *ga-vath* *suníŕevŕev*, O.-H.-G. *gi-wēt* pair, yoke, *gi-wētan* bind together, and (St.) Ir. *fedan*, Cymr. *guedd* yoke, Gr. *ὀθόνη* fine linen.

- 342) Omit: Ir. *níae* means sister &c. (p. 332 at end of note).
 350) (p. 336) Omit lines 12—13. *c* is only found for *p* in borrowed words.
 358) Omit note on *creuas* &c. (p. 340. An Indo-Germanic *p* is never retained in Keltic.
 359) (p. 340 at end of note) *ér- aer-* did not end in a vowel, but was identical with prep. *air*.
 360) Read *inn-uraid*.
 365) Read: *ro-chom-allsu*.
 412) (p. 375 l. 1) Read: *bloden*.
 415) (note, last line) Read: *bravant*.
 443) (p. 397 at end of note) Read: *ro-snaidet* they swam (omit: strongly).
 492) (p. 428 l. 17) Omit: (orig. part. pres. act.).

II. Addenda.

A. Numbers which have Keltic comparisons already supplied.

- 62) Rt. κλυ: Ir. *cloth* famous (Brocc.Hy. 69) is identical with κλυτός even to the formation of the stem. Cp. the British forms of this rt. Z. 604, e. g. Corn. *ny cleu* non audit.
 135) Rt. γνω: O.-Ir. *gnath* solitus, consuetus, Cymr. *gnawt* forma, habitus Z. 16, 94. St.
 155) Rt. σρεγ: O.-Cymr. *bou-tig* stabulum Z. 136.
 174) Rt. λιγ: O.-Ir. *ligur* tongue (Corm. Gl. p. 26). St.
 214) Rt. περ: O.-Ir. *etar* invenitur (cp. Goth. *fintha*), *tuit* for *do-fo-it* πίπτει. The present stem was in both cases *panta*: cp. Beitr. VIII 3.
 244) Rt. τρεσ: To Ir. *tarrach* belongs the O.-Ir. nom. pl. *toirsich tristes* Z. 226.
 255 b) βραδύς: O.-Ir. *mall* (for *mald*.) lentus, tardus Z. 41, 224.
 260) Rt. δαμ: O.-Cymr. *dometic* Z. 532, Cymr. *dof* (= *dom*) tame Z. 1057. St.
 474) Rt. μυγ: O.-Ir. *cum-masc* 'mixtio' (according to Stokes, not 'commutatio' Z. 872). The *a* in the root-syllable took the place of *e*, because there was a preference for the sequence *u-a*.

B. New Keltic comparisons.

- 1) Rt. δγκ: O.-Ir. *æcath* hamus Z. 1009 (ἄπ. εἰς). St.
- 4) ἀνχό-ς O.-Ir. *asil*, Arm. *esel* membrum, artus Z. 121.
- 7) Rt. ἀρκ: O.-Ir. *doimm-urc* angō, coarcto, *tess-urc* servo, defendo, (*urc* for *arcu*; *tess-* contracted from *do-ess*, *ess* = Gr. ἐξ, *imm* = Gr. ἀμφί) Z. 428, 884. Cp. Nigra, Rev. Celt. I 76.
- 15) Rt. δοκ: O.-Ir. *doich* verisimilis Z. 74. St.
- 29b) καλέω: Ir. *cailech* gallus (Corm. Gl.). St.
- 42b) (note) St. compares with κρόκη O.-Ir. *clock* fem. stone, Z. 649.
- 57) Rt. κί: Corn. *ke* i Z. 586. St.
- 64) Rt. κοf: perhaps Corn. *scouarn* auris, cp. Ztschr. XXI 429; but the *f* in modern Welsh *ysgyfarn* 'ear', seems to be against this.
- 66) κόκκυξ: Ir. *cuach* St. This occurs in L. U.
- 79) Rt. κυ: Cymr. *cwn* altitudo, *er-chynu* elevare. For these and other derivatives cp. Beitr. VIII 40 ff.
- 92) Rt. μυκ: O.-Ir. *muc* fem., Cymr. *moch* sus Z. 90, original form *muncá*. St.
- 93) νεύς: O.-Ir. *éc*, gen. *éca* (stem *ancu*), Corn. *ancou* mors Z. 58, 107. Cp. Ztschr. XXII 275.
- 122) Rt. γαυ: Ir. *guaire* st. *gauria*-noble (Corm. Gl. Trans. p. 91). St.
- 141) Rt. γεργ: Corn. *gura* faciet Z. 580 ff. The initial *v* has become *gu*, the final *g* of the root has been lost. Cymr. *guerg* efficax Z. 127, cp. πανούργος.
- 152) ὀργή: O.-Ir. *ferc* ira, *fercach* iratus Z. 61. There are other instances in which Ir. *rc* represents an original *rg*.
- 215) St. περα: O.-Cymr. *etern* filum, cp. Beitr. VIII 3.
- 226) Rt. τιγ: O.-Cymr. *tigom* naevi (Lux. Gl. Z. 1064), reminding us, both in form and meaning, of Gr. στίγμα.
- 243) τέτα: Corn. *tat* pater, Corn. *hen-dat* avus Z. 154, 159. St.
- 351) Rt. τυφ: O.-Ir. *dub*, Cymr. *du* niger Z. 139, with Gr. τυφλό-ς, Goth. *daubs* and *dumbs* forming a highly interesting group. St.
- 317) Rt. θρε: Ir. *dord* susurrus (Corm. Gl.), *dordaid* *dam* mugit cervus (Amra ed. Stokes 63). St.
- 351) St. παν: O.-Ir. *óa* minor (for *paujas*) Z. 277, cp. the Goth. comparative *favizo* 2. Cor. VIII 15.
- 358) περᾶν, πέρηνμ: O.-Ir. *as-renai* impendis, reddis, *ni rir* (redupl. perf.) non vendidit. More fully discussed Beitr. VIII 11.
- 405) ὀφρῶς: Ir. *briad* gen. pl. from a stem *bhruvat-*; cp. Ztschr. XXI 430.
- 406) ῥοφέω: Ir. *srub* muicci 'a pig's snout' (Corm. Gl. Trans. 154). St.
- 424) Rt. ἐνec: O.-Ir. *r-ecam* 1 pl. pres. conj. (Broco. Hy. 92), present stem *anka*, perf. *r-anac*, *t-anac* attain, come Z. 504. Cp. Ztschr. XXI 412 ff.

- 453) ἡμ-: O.-Cymr. *hanter*, *hanther*, Corn. *hanter* dimidium Z. 1060, 153, cp. Rhys Rev. Celt. I 359.
- 503) ὄρνις: Corn. *er* aquila Z. 1074, Cymr. *eryr*, *erydd* eagle (Spurr. Dict.). St.
- 529) ἔλαφος: O.-Ir *inn-elit* capreolum, Cymbr. *elain* cerva Z. 805. St.
- 579) σὺς: Cymr. *hucc* sus Z. 91. St.
- 582) ἄξων: Cymr. *echel*, Arm. *ahell* axis Z. 818; on Brit. *ch* for original *ks* cp. 583. St.
- 593) ἰτέα: Cymr. *gwen* willow (Spurr. Dict.). St.
- 604) Rt. ὕ: Ir. *suth* milk (Corm. Gl. Transl. 166). St.
- 608) ὑσμίρη: O.-Cymr. *Jud-nerth* (*nerth* virtus), *Jud-ri* (*ri* king), *Jud-bin* (*bin* vivus) proper names; cp. Stokes. Rev. Celt. I 342.
- 660) Rt. Φελ: O.-Ir. *félma* saepes Z. 770. St.
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BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

PRINCIPLES AND MAIN QUESTIONS OF GREEK 3 ETYMOLOGY.

One who takes in hand a science that has acquired, and deservedly acquired such an ill repute as that of Etymology, has every reason for giving a strict account both to himself and his readers of the goal of his endeavours and the paths he means to follow in its pursuit. If he omits to do this he will have no right to complain if he is reckoned among those who have in ancient and modern times brought the name of Etymology into discredit, or if at all events his attempts are received with the same distrust and incredulity which has consigned again to oblivion so many attempts at Etymology for the most part as soon as they were made, only however that they might be replaced incessantly by fresh ones. For in spite of doubt and ridicule an imperative instinct drives us to trace the origin and mutual relation of words, or, as is so strikingly suggested by the name of our science, to fathom in words τὸ ἔτυμον — the real — to find their own true and peculiar contents. Etymology has that perfection of charm which belongs to all sciences that deal with the birth and growth of the grand productions of Nature or the Mind. But who can be blind to the fact that side by side with the charm there meets us the very greatest danger? On all sides it is only given to man's sagacity to penetrate to a certain point. The earliest rise, the precise origin of that which it sees in rich variety before it, which it has

the power to divide, to classify, and in its later development to understand, is hidden from it. It approaches it only with the help of more or less probable Hypotheses, which, however indispensable to science, are still far removed from the rigour of exact investigation and therefore lead so readily to airy deductions. From the times of Heracritus, the Pythagoreans, and Plato down to a very recent period, whatever has been surmised or written belongs to this world of Hypothesis. Precisely in proportion to the immaturity of the science was the rashness with which men rose from the stage at which language had arrived to its very first beginnings; but the richer the material men began to have before them, the more carefully did they separate what can be known from what must always remain a problem, and contented themselves with a narrower circle of obvious truths. "Man", says W. von Humboldt (*Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschl. Sprachbaues* p. 111), "seeks the connection even of outward phenomena first in the realm of thought; the historical art always comes last; and simple observation and far more experiment, follow only at a great distance upon ideal and fanciful systems." W. von Humboldt was the first founder of the general study of language, which, the result at once of a deep insight into the nature of the human mind, and of a comprehensive knowledge of languages, was the means of quickening and guiding on all sides minuter investigations. The seeds sown by him have produced an abundant crop, and since, thanks especially to Steinthal's various suggestive and copious writings, the onesided and dogmatic logical method has been replaced by the psychological, an antagonism can hardly be said to exist between an empirical method on the one hand and a philosophical on the other. The Etymologist too, as we shall see more clearly further on, must have formed a well-grounded conception of the nature of language in general, or he will be met by many problems with regard to details which he will be unable to solve. The Science of Language in its swift

and sure progressive development assumes more and more the form of a vast whole. Even the worker in but one of its fields must be conscious of this continuity. Luckily there is no lack of works combining special research with universality of view. Among the first of these will rank Max Müller's able "Lectures on the Science of Language", by the side of which may now be placed the American William Dwight Whitney's "Language and the study of Language", a work distinguished by severe sobriety of judgment.

In the face of the violent revolution that the Science of Language has within our own time gone through, we can hardly propose to enter minutely into the history of Etymology in general, or, what would be nearly the same thing, that of Greek Etymology in particular. The aberrations are so immense and so complex, that it really requires a special historical interest to tarry and search for the thread that still doubtless runs through the maze. But a brief glance at the leading etymological tendencies both in older and in later times, may possibly be all the more instructive for us as we are warned thereby of many dangers that threaten us too on our own path.

Who first used the well-chosen name *ἐτυμολογία* we are not told. Still the first part of the word points to Ionia, for the word *ἔτυμος* is foreign to Attic prose, and is used by Plato (Phædr. p. 260 e) only in a quotation. It probably occurred in the works of those Ionian philosophers whom Plato attacks in his Cratylus. It was no boon to Etymology that the study was first started in a quarter, which, however far removed from the trained pursuit of a real study of language, was still able, owing to the respect gained from other sources, to procure for itself in this branch too no small consideration. Even Plato*) has in his Craty-

*) How remarkable is the just conjecture ventured by the great philosopher at p. 410a, of a possible connection between Greek and Phrygian; and that again which finds its expression at p. 425e in the

lus, while furthering greatly the cause of Philosophy, and even of the Philosophy of Language, done but a poor service to Etymology. Who can doubt, after what has been written on this head latterly — from Schleiermacher down to Steinthal (*Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*) — that Plato in this dialogue used his derivations only as means to an end, specially as attempts to determine how far the assumption that words were “φύσει” could be made good; and that it was precisely in these portions of the dialogue that he availed himself to the full of that Irony with which he is so prone to spice his abstruse speculations. All the same he gave the impulse to the very worst kind of derivation. For as such we must consider that which leads the Etymologist to seek again in the word his preconceived idea of the thing. Since in this method of procedure the mind is as a rule wholly directed to the thing, no attention at all is for the most part paid to the peculiar conditions, rules, and laws of language. Notwithstanding, this style of derivation has ever been the favourite one. Language is to confirm the results of our cogitation; we are not willing to learn from it, but it is to learn from us. Lersch has shewn in the third volume of his “*Sprachphilosophie der Alten*” (Bonn 1841) that even Aristotle allowed himself to be enticed into this path, when he for example derives (*Eth. Nicom. V, 7*) *δίκαιον* from *δίχα*, and (*VII, 12*) even *μακάριον* from *χαίρειν*! But the later philosophers and especially the Stoics overstepped all bounds; not only were they fond of supporting their doctrine by the interpretation of words, but had also a complete theory of the *κυριότης τῶν ὀνομάτων* or the *similitudo rei cum sono verbi* (Lersch p. 47), in which by way of a harmonizing principle *ἐναντιώσεις* or, as it is called later, *ἀντίφρασις* found its place side by side with *ὁμοιότης* and *ἀναλογία*. Although

words *εἰσι δὲ ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότεροι βάρβαροι*. But it is just these conjectures that were quite ignored by Antiquity. Weight is attached by Jac. Grimm (*üb. Etymologie und Sprachvergleichung*, *Ges. Schriften I 30*) to Plato's derivation of the word *πῦρ* from the Phygian.

it would be an injustice to the originators of such principles*) to make them answerable for all the abuse to which they have been put, — and certainly for many startling assumptions an excuse can be found in the striving after some association by way of assisting the memory, without making a great point of the soundness of the explanation — still this sort of thing is as unprofitable as can possibly be. It seems that the philosophers rather than the grammarians must bear the blame if Greek Etymology went so utterly astray that, for instance, Chrysippus could interpret the name Apollo *ὡς οὐχὶ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ φαύλων οὐσιῶν, ἣ ὅτι μόνος ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχὶ πολλοί* (Macrob. I, 17). In this style of mythological interpretation however the most modern times do not lag behind antiquity. The masters of the Alexandrine school kept themselves tolerably clear of such caprices. Though not free from error they yet went to work with caution and moderation, as is pointed out by Nauck (p. 268 f.) especially of Aristophanes of Byzantium. But after the *ἐτυμολογίας εὑρεσις* had become a part of *γραμματική*, the grammarians seem to have wished to engage in a contest of adroitness with the philosophers. Although, as is pointed out by Heinr. Kleist in his essay “de Philoxeni grammatici Alexandrini studiis etymologicis” (Greifswald 1865), Philoxenus originated and succeeded in establishing in long-lived repute a kind of

*) After Lobeck's severe attack upon Antiphrasis (*de antiphrasi et euphemismo*, Acta Soc. Gr. II) Döderlein tries (Die Lateinische Wortbildung 19) to reinstate the principle of *ἀντιφράσις* under the name of Enantiosemia, which he acknowledges to have borrowed from the strange work of Kanne, *de vocabulorum enantiosemia*, Norimb. 1819, tracing the opposed conceptions to one midway between the two. Compare Pott, *Etym. Forschungen* II¹ 153 f., L. Tobler, *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych.* I 360, Max Müller, *Lectures* II 248. That a remarkable revolution often occurs in the meaning of a word cannot be denied. But it is turning all science upside down, when, not content with recognizing and further investigating what is startling and unexpected when clearly presented to us, we rather regard it as something that is to be anticipated.

etymological system that was not devoid of acuteness, still the grossest caprice peeps out everywhere in the works of this inventor of the monosyllabic stemverbs, such as δῶ, λῶ, ρῶ, φῶ. It is the same with the highly esteemed Herodian, as a glance at Aug. Lentz's preface to his Herodian p. XXIV ff. may now teach us. When the former derives μάγειρος from ἀγείρω, and the latter explains Ἀσκληπιδός as ὁ τὰ σκέλη καὶ πᾶν το σῶμα ὑγιὲς παρέχων καὶ ἀνώδυνον [ῥπιον], it is enough to turn us in disgust from any further inquiry into such tricks. Little by little this artificial and capricious system grew, and with its help pretty nearly anything could be derived from anything. It is truly instructive and can especially do good service as a serious warning, to examine the so-called etymological rules which Lersch (I 96 ff.) has collected from the old Etymologists. No difficulty is made about the passing of almost any sound into any other, even the most different: for instance θ passes into π (εἰλαπίνη παρὰ τὸ εἰλας καὶ τὸ θοίνη κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν τῶν στοιχείων E. M. p. 298, 11), λ into π (E. M. s. v. Παρνασός: Ἄνδρων δὲ φησιν, ἐπειδὴ προσώρμισεν ἡ λάρναξ τοῦ Λευκαλίωνος καὶ τὸ μὲν πρότερον Λαρυησός ἐκαλεῖτο ὕστερον δέ, κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ λ εἰς π, Παρνασός), μ into κ (E. Gud. s. v. κελαινεφές). And yet in the distinction of the γράμματα ἀντιστοιχα, that is those that interchange the oftenest, for instance χ and κ, λ and ρ, a limiting principle had been discovered. There seem also not to have been wanting other attempts after surer rules. For example in the Etymologicum Magnum under the word κόναβος (p. 528, 14) we have it laid down that οὐδέποτε τὸ ι εἰς α τρέπεται, a principle that is thoroughly borne out by the latest linguistic research. Yet how little such more reasonable views could make their way we may see without going beyond this very article, in which we find, notwithstanding, among many other derivations of the word that from κόνις and βοή. All kinds of artifices are pressed into the service; among others that which chiefly astounds us is the extensive use of inserted letters. Lersch thinks

all consonants but ξ were supposed to be inserted on occasion. Yet ἔλλειψις and συγκοπή, μετάθεσις and ὑπέρθεσις enjoyed their full share of favour. As farther all care in the consideration of the meaning, but especially all separation of stem from termination is wanting, we see that this whole endeavour could not fail to degenerate at last into a mere amusement that had no longer any claim to the name of a science. That such strange trifling could fetter clever and learned men for centuries — although the disease only 8 grew little by little, — would be hard to believe did we not re-encounter precisely similar examples in modern times. In the case of the old Greeks there were many palliating circumstances, especially that of the multiplicity of dialects, the deeper meaning of which was to be hidden from them and from the moderns too till the time of Jacob Grimm. The apparently objectless change of sound between dialect and dialect contributed to some extent to the belief in the possibility of the most various changes and permutations within one and the same dialect as well. The far fuller Homeric forms which they treated as derived from the Attic led to the notion that insertions and growths of all kinds were admissible in language. Moreover the upsetting of the old Greek pronunciation must not be lost sight of, as it introduced the strangest contradictions between the written and the spoken words and must have had a confusing effect upon the science. (Bernhardy ad Suid. Comment. Cap. 2 p. XXXVII.)

2.

Modern philology produced at its very beginning in the work of Julius Cæsar Scaliger *de causis linguæ latinæ* a bold attempt at independent investigation: still we can hardly recognize in this a real step in advance, unless we are ready to reckon as such a rash and venturesome self-confidence that approaches the deepest questions without

a suspicion of their difficulty. The audacity of the derivation, especially of Latin words from Greek — for instance *pulcher* from *πολύχρῃς* (p. 53 of the edition of Petrus Santandrianus in 1584), *ordo* from *ὄρον δῶ*, — is almost greater than in antiquity. The attempt of Henricus Stephanus at arranging the Greek words in his Thesaurus according to their derivation has been severely blamed by Buttmann (Preface to the Lexilogus p. IV), chiefly on the ground of superficiality. But however full it is of mistakes, we cannot but recognize in this work, which laid the foundation for future efforts, a certain moderation in derivation and a soundness of judgment. At all events Henr. Stephanus, while sadly feeling, as he confesses in his preface, the want of an Ariadne's thread in Etymology, kept himself free from many follies which were loudly
 9 trumpeted forth centuries after his time. On the relation of French to Latin too, as is pointed out by Max Müller (Lectures II 240) he held a more sensible view than many others. Here and there we get gleams of light, as we should expect from so great a man, from Joseph Scaliger's *Coniectanea ad Varronem*, to which are added alphabetically arranged *verborum etymologiae*. Especially do we find particular relations of sounds correctly noted. What in the seventeenth century was held possible on the point of the relation of Latin to Greek we may gather clearly from the lengthy *tractatus de litterarum permutatione* prefixed to the *Etymologicum linguae latinae* of Gerhard Joannes Vossius. Here we still find changes such as that of *μ* into *s* (*similis* from *μιμηλόος*), *ν* into *s* (*πλέον plus*), *r* into *g* (*seges* from *serendo*), *τ* into *v* (*vello* from *τίλλω*), to say nothing of the frequent assumption of an *additur*, an *adiicitur*, or a *traicitur*. Although we have besides the intermixture of Hebrew and a completely perverted view of the relation of Latin to Greek — which however survived till quite lately and is not yet entirely rooted out — we must still see justice done to the acuteness of Vossius. His work is throughout more a collection of derivations, in which as in the

Etymologicum Magnum several are as a rule placed side by side, while the author does not always decide between them. But Vossius has a keen perception of the meanings of the words, and in this direction his diligent work will always be of service. A far more pretentious movement, now almost forgotten, was made by Dutch philology from the time of Hemsterhuys in the direction of a comprehensive etymological treatment of Greek, and incidentally also of Latin. Valckenaer's *observationes academicae, quibus via munitur ad origines graecas investigandas lexicorumque defectus resarciendos* was followed by J. D. a Lennep's *praelectiones academicae de analogia linguae Graecae* (1790), edited as was also Lennep's larger work, the *Etymologicum linguae Graecae*, by Everard Scheide, the latter work being supplemented by an *Index etymologicus praecipuarum vocum Latinarum*. Latin is here treated simply as a *dialectus linguae Graecae*. The second edition of the Etymologicum by C. F. Nagel (Trajecti ad Rhen. 1808) deserves notice from the fact that we see from it how no great while after the appearance of the much trumpeted new science, doubts began to be felt about it in Holland itself. For Nagel's notes to Scheide's Prolegomena follow in their track like lame attendants — mostly trying to disprove the views in the text. What 10 was new in these attempts lay in the method, which was to replace divining by calculation. Ruhnken in his *Elogium Hemsterhusii* extols it as a special merit that the *vir summus* "*tenebras linguae per tot saecula offusas ita discussit, ut, qua lingua nulla est neque verbis neque formis copiosior, eadem jam nulla reperiat ad discendum facilior*"; he congratulates his age on seeing at once the rise and completion of what their predecessors had more wished than hoped for. Lennep looks down slightly upon the earlier attempts in Etymology, which had only produced *ludibria* or *tot mala bonis quibusdam mixta*, without holding in *analogia* the Ariadne's thread which was an infallible guide. This *analogia*, which at all events possesses this advantage over the other earlier attempts that it kept within the limits of the two classical

languages and laid down none but simple verbs as *stirpes* or *origines* of the language, proceeds from the computation of all conceivable simple verbs. Of *verba bilitera* — the ω of the 1st sing. pres. act. naturally counts always as a letter — there can be only five: $\tilde{\alpha}\omega$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega$, $\tilde{\iota}\omega$, $\tilde{\omicron}\omega$, $\tilde{\upsilon}\omega$; the *trilitera* are divided into two classes, one of which has the consonant at the beginning of the word: $\beta\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\omega$, the other in the middle: $\tilde{\alpha}\beta\omega$, $\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\omega$. Seeing that *v* and *f* as “Digamma” count for nothing and the double consonants are not reckoned in, and consequently 11 consonants and 5 vowels are left, there are 55 possible verbs of each sort. As to the *quadrilitera*, in *quibus consonantes et vocales alternatim sunt positae*, such as $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$, Lennep begins to think it possible that they may be *derivata*, still he makes room for these too among the stemverbs. Verbs with five letters though count as *derivata*; they have arisen either *addita vocali ab initio*: $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$, or *consonante*: $\sigma\text{-}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega$, or *vocali interposita*: $\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ from $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, or *interposita consonante*: $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ from $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omega$. Still bolder assumptions were needed to explain verbs with more than five letters; in their case *insertio quarumvis fere literarum* was allowed. The meaning was now considered along with the form: *Verba quae non nisi vocali ante ω inter se differunt significationem unam propriam communem habent* (Lennep Prolegomena Etymolog. p. 5) — *Sic verba indicata $\tilde{\alpha}\omega$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega$ etc. significationem propriam communem habent, quae in leni spiramine posita est, quaeque ipsis literis a vel e etc. pronunciandis efficitur*. So again $\tilde{\alpha}\rho\omega$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\omega$, $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ count as *eadem quasi verba*, as moreover those too stand in closer relation to each other ‘*quae consonante vicina differunt* (p. 6), e. g. $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\omega$ and $\chi\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ and $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$. Thus we understand how Lennep can say:

11 *lingua Græca comparatur horto paucis arboribus consito, inter se plane similibus*. An important rule for the meaning is the following: *notiones verborum propriae omnes sunt corporeae sive ad res pertinentes, quae sensus nostros externos feriunt*. For the explanation of formative suffixes the freest use is made of the method of deriving them from real or assumed

personal terminations of the verbs. Thus λέχος is developed from the above-mentioned λέχω, γέγων from γέρω 'honoribus fungor', ἀφή from the supposed perfect ἤφα, ἄμμα from ἤμμαι, λέξις from ἔλεξαι, πατήρ from πέπαται (πάω alo, nutrio). As to the surprising notion that first and second persons might be transformed to substantival forms, these learned Dutchmen experienced as little doubt as the old Grammarians, who had already forestalled them in such theories. It was enough to have succeeded in connecting the noun with any part whatever of a verb, and what was originally perhaps brought in rather as a practical assistance for schoolboys took up its place unchallenged in the 'recta ratio' or 'via regia'. The perverseness of this course was exposed as early as Gottfr. Hermann's work 'de emendanda ratione grammaticae graecae' p. 123; but he did not criticize the principles any farther, nor did he confute them. He would probably have found it hard to do the latter from his point of view. Now-a-days all those old futilities are thrown aside; nevertheless views have been but recently advanced which do not differ substantially from them: e. g. that of the supposed connection between the 3rd Pl. Act. in *nti* and the participial stems in *nt*, and a computation of 'original syllables' formed by the possible combinations of the sounds, resuscitated — though only for the purposes of theory — in Conrad Hermann's 'philosophische Grammatik' (Leipz. 1858, p. 166). However we do find among the chaff here and there a grain of wheat. Scheide for instance recognized the identity of the Latin verbs of the so-called first conjugation with the Greek verbs in -αω, and, what is of more importance, saw that the ending peculiar to the 1st pers. Sing. was *mi* (Proleg. p. XXXII sqq.). On similar principles Christian Tobias Damm had already, before the above-mentioned Dutch publications, brought out his *Lexicon Homero-Pindaricum*, which as arranged alphabetically by Duncan, is best known in Rost's edition (Lips. 1836). Even in this edition the etymological point of view is neglected, for we

find among other things *δαδάμινξ* referred to the stem *ἀ* (*ῥᾶον θαμίζειν*), *βρωῶσις* to the stem *βουῖς* — for Damm assumes nouns too as primary forms —, *ἄλσος* to *δέω*. During this period the Dutch school as good as disappeared, but the root of all their errors has sprouted abundantly
 12 even since, and it is perhaps worth while to find out the *πρωτον ψευδος* from which so much evil has sprung. This *πρωτον ψευδος* consists in a radically false view of the nature of human speech and the origin of the classical tongues. It is an all but universal blunder of the last century, and all inquiries that date from it, to think it possible to go back by means of Greek to the beginnings of the human race. That close behind Homer lay the cradle of mankind was for a long time held — in direct opposition to the theories now favoured by natural science, which reckon by thousands of years — to be indisputable. In this case man must have risen as quickly from his swaddling-clothes to youth's vigour and manhood's reflection as the baby Hermes in the Homeric hymn (v. 17) —

*ἦψος γερονὸς μέσῳ ἡματι ἐγκιθάριζεν,
 ἐσπέριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνος.*

But if the oldest Greek is not recognized as widely removed from the original language of mankind, or if in other words the *veteres nominum impositores* spoken of not seldom even in Lobeck's works are considered to be Greeks it is extremely likely that all conceptions formed *a priori* of the most ancient circumstances of the condition of language will be transferred to Greek. Now foremost among these conceptions stands that of extreme simplicity, and so it naturally follows that the simplest forms are held to be the oldest and the less simple are derived from these as from stems. Considering the subject from this point of view we shall not refuse the Dutchmen above-mentioned at least the merit of logical consistency; though it is true this leads when pressed still further to the ingenious attempts of Anton Schmitt, who in his "*Organismus der Griechischen Sprache*" (1836) traces all Greek words to the letter

ε, and in his "Organismus der Lateinischen Sprache" (1846) traces all Latin ones to the "Urelementarwurzelwort" *he* or *hi*. Such simplicity surely is unsurpassable, and truly primeval! The German Philologists who since Hermann have laid the foundation of Greek Grammar and Lexicography had too much sound common sense to lose themselves in such extravagances as those. These men, whom we have to thank for such invaluable assistance, had far too much to do in the criticism and explanation of the text, in the settlement of rules of Grammar, the confutation of absurd views, and in the establishment of a true knowledge of classical antiquity, to venture otherwise than occasionally on the slippery ground of Etymology. Etymology remained a step-child of Philology. Derivations¹³ were given with reluctance, and when the process was unavoidable, it was gone through with a kind of smile behind which lurked the consciousness that others had done it far worse. The less the study was taken up in earnest, the greater the boldness of the general principles broached on occasion, and in these we clearly recognize the above-mentioned *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*. When for instance G. Hermann, who is always so fond of starting from a general proposition, maintains in the work before alluded to (p. 136) *Credibile est, initio omnes nominum formas generis significatione caruisse, quam serius demum, sexuum observata diversitate et in linguas introducta, accessisse probabile est*, we have there one and the same conclusion which is drawn from a general and quite arbitrary view of the beginnings of language on the whole, transferred to the Greek language. A similar line of thought is followed by Lobeck in his *Ῥηματικόν*, which begins with the words *Quemadmodum pictura a monochromatis orsa est, sic verborum structura a monosyllabis*. By *monosyllaba* he does not mean, as we should have expected, roots, which we should recognize unconditionally as monosyllables; but in adherence to the theory of the old grammarians mentioned on p. 7, contracted verbs like *δρῶ*, *λῶ* which become monosyllabic

only in the 1st pers. sing. pres. Lobeck has also taken the trouble to shew that — to translate his words — the stems ending in a consonant (such as $\delta\rho\epsilon\kappa$, $\delta\alpha\kappa$) have bases ($\delta\rho\alpha$, $\delta\alpha$) ending in a vowel. In this observation there is, as we shall see later, some truth; but thus generally expressed it is unwarranted. Thus we see that the Grammar of old-established precedents with its pride of sobriety was, as I have shown at greater length in the *Zeitschrift f. Alterthumsw.* 1843 p. 51 ff., far bolder than the new method. Even in Lobeck's last work the "*Elementa pathologiae graeci sermonis*" we meet with the same fundamental views. On account of the assumed simplicity of the oldest languages Lobeck is always far more inclined to suppose the addition than the loss of a sound. He considers it not impossible to derive $\lambdaεύσσω$ and $\ βλέπω$ from $\lambdaάω$, $\betaία$ from $\iotaς$, $\betaιός$ from $\iotaός$ (p. 90), σ it is true is constantly expelled, but also added *soni aspirandi causa* (p. 129). While he is very strict in admitting syncope (p. 348), he allows internal augmentation of words to a somewhat large extent, for he teaches (p. 137) *saepius vocabulorum primitivorum potestates non compositione solum et derivatione sed etiam intestinis quibusdam mutationibus pressius* 14 *definiri solent*, so that actually the old derivation of $\varphiοξός$ from $ὀξύς$ is allowed, and $\varphiοῖτος$ conjecturally rests on $εἶμι$ as an initially increased *itus*. Still bolder is the assumption of the prothesis of $\pi\lambda$ in $\piλευρά$ from $εὔρος$ (p. 140), of $\sigma\tau$ in $\sigmaτόνυξ$ from $ὄνυξ$, of $\pi\tau$ in $\piτόρθος$ from $ὄρω$, *orior* (cp. *Rhematicon* p. 245). With Lobeck however even such attempts, whose questionableness he himself sometimes notices, are always united to such rich learning, such fine philological discrimination, and such careful regard for tradition, that they still contribute much to the comprehension of the principles of Greek Etymology, and, even in cases where the results of the inquiry cannot be allowed, the process of their discovery — and this cannot be said of the processes of Lennep and Scheide — is itself exceedingly valuable from the material

upon which he works. The same however cannot be said of the many wild derivations that, especially since the time of Joh. Gottl. Schneider, after being added to and altered by Franz Passow*), meet us still in the majority of the Lexicons in use. The first Greek Lexicon based on a more correct insight into Etymology is Karl Schenkl's Greek-German School-Dictionary (Wien 1859).

More earnestly than any celebrated Philologist of the older school did Ludwig Döderlein enter into the study of the Etymology of the classical languages. It is true that Etymology is for him too both in his *Synonymen und Etymologien* and especially in his *Homerisches Glossarium* more a means than an end. Yet he acquired from the diligent inquiry which was the continued employment of his long and laborious life a kind of theory which is in the main the only one that has been arrived at by recent philology without the help of the comparison of languages. And still there were probably few who agreed with the etymological principles of a man of so much merit in other respects. No one followed him in his assumption of "dichotomic" and "trichotomic" bases, or in his other elaborate and daring propositions, and it may be doubted if any of his numerous pupils could to-day with Döderlein (*Lateinische Wortbildung* p. 45) "think it allowable to ascribe to Latin to a certain extent the character of a jargon". Döderlein acknowledged as a principle the importance of the comparative science of language, and claimed to have distinguished formerly between 'Wortforschung' (the study of words) and 'Sprachenvergleichung' 15 (the comparison of languages) and afterwards between 'esoteric' and 'exoteric' inquiry. But he continually overleaped the bounds he himself had laid down and propounded the boldest theories on the subject of the early history of the life of all language which lies on the further side of

*) One of Passow's whims is the objection he has to considering old words as compounds, which Pott (*E. F.* I¹, 158) has justly combated in reference to the word *ἀνθρώπος*.

the single language, as also on that of the primary forms of words; and these theories were then regarded as sure ground in the treatment of special questions. I have attempted a more minute investigation of his etymological processes in the 'Zeitschrift für die österreich. Gymnasien' 1851, pp. 36—47. I acknowledged then in spite of fundamental objections the extraordinary and at times most felicitous sagacity and the subtle knowledge of language displayed by a man whom I too join in honouring, and I may express the same acknowledgement again here. For my present object however it will be enough to point out that the means used by Döderlein to bring forms of different sound together are often directly the opposite of those used by Lobeck and the Dutch Etymologists. While these latter talk of words growing up, expanding, and springing from the shortest possible stems, Döderlein is much inclined to suppose older, fuller forms, or as he likes to call them 'primary forms' (sometimes 'postulated forms', Preface to his Glossary p. V). from which the words used in historical times have arisen by loss, elision, and weakening. We need only compare what Döderlein in his book on Latin word-formation has collected under the head "Ausbildung" (Expansion) pp. 112—119, with the complicated and far-reaching treatment of "Umbildung" (transformation) pp. 119—202. The fundamental principle of his whole procedure is again a purely subjective view of the earliest condition of language. While Lobeck and the Dutch school hold a verb like *λύω* to be absolutely primitive, Döderlein has to consider it as already mutilated if he wishes to hold fast by the principle (Homer. Gloss. I, Preface p. VII) that "in the primary form of a word consonant and vowel always alternate". Lobeck regards Greek neuters like *μένος*, *ἄχος* as original so far as to treat them as the earliest derivatives from the verbs; while with Döderlein all such forms are abbreviations of what he calls trichotomic primary forms (Glossary p. 7 note) — e. g. *μένος* from *μενετόν* (p. 91), *ἄχος* from *ἀχετόν* (p. 277).

It is plain that in this case no decision is possible in the absence of an external ruling principle; without one each fresh Etymologist will hold that form to be the primitive one which corresponds best to his views of the oldest condition of language. And ought there still to be any one who believes it possible to construct that condition *a priori*,¹⁶ as men used once to construct the state from the meeting together of primitive men, and the feelings awakened by one in the breast of another? The oldest language (it may be said) must have been simple like the life of the men who spoke it. The opposite of this can be maintained just as well: the organs of men in those early days were stronger, their senses quicker, and so they could make use of forms that were fuller and more difficult to pronounce than were possible to the generations of their descendants whom civilization rendered effeminate. In this case the path of Hypothesis is not the one that will bring us to our goal.

3.

It was the comparative study of languages that first gave Etymology a surer hold. But before we pass to the services it has rendered us we must make grateful mention of the man who, before the discovery of the new resources, without doubt contributed most to the elucidation of Greek Etymology. Philipp Buttmann had the true spirit of a judicious, penetrating etymologer in a degree which makes us most deeply regret that he made no use of the rich treasures discovered while he was still alive by Grimm and Bopp. He would have been exactly the man to make them the means of diffusing really fresh light. Buttmann is distinguished from the men who were upon the same footing as himself especially in two ways. He has sense and feeling for the growth of language, and takes the trouble to understand it from a study of its own phenomena, instead of forcing it into traditional or invented

schemes. Hence he often makes very correct use of the dialects, which Lobeck almost entirely excludes from his inquiry, and selects with happy tact the oldest forms, which he knows better than any of his predecessors how to analyse. So far then Buttmann is already a forerunner of the historical study of language. In general he, more than other philologists before and after him, regards language as a force or product of nature. Lobeck shows most to advantage when he is arranging with a nice accuracy a large stock of words of varying authority and from different mints, drawing attention to the complexion and force of a particular class, and undertaking from that point of view to remove absurdities and correct mistakes. Still he always treats language from the standpoint of a critic and an interpreter, and consequently the most recent

17 has for him the same charm as the earliest. Hence Lobeck must have before his mind the men who made and used the words. Involuntarily he represents to himself a *nominum impositor*, that he may test his art with the critic's probe. With Buttmann it is quite different. He is attracted by the earliest stages, and so above all by the language of Homer, with regard to which we cannot yet speak of a conscious shaping of the language or of its so-called development by civilization. With consummate acuteness, and a method which is a pattern of clearness, and which constantly charms us by its freshness, he can explain the meaning of many half-understood Homeric words. So well aware is he of the difficulty of Etymology proper, that he makes it a principle to seek the explanation of hard words invariably from their use, before resorting to their supposed derivation. No philologist of his age so clearly perceived the dangers of grammatical tradition, or furthered in so many ways the treatment of Greek as a continuous natural growth. Doubtless he has entangled himself in many errors in his work. In the explanations in his *Lexilogus* he attaches like Döderlein far too little value to the traditions of the Alexandrine gram-

marians, for whom the Königsberg school have made us feel greater respect; it is true that this respect degenerates sometimes to an excessive reverence for and too servile imitation of the old ways. Although in referring words to their stems, and ascertaining their relation to each other, Buttman tries to arrive at fixed laws of sound, still he goes astray in the endeavour like any dilettanté when he admits by preference particular transitions — such e. g. as the interchange of the hard mutes and aspirates —, as in the derivation of ἀκὴν from ἀ privativum and χαίνω maintained in Lexil. I 12 and too often repeated, and when he in general falsely represents the older language as indistinct in its sounds, rough (“rauhgriechisch” Lexil. I 121 note), and only gradually acquiring a settled character (Lexil. II 241 note). There is still evident here the effect of the preposterous hypothesis mentioned on page 12. But Buttman completely loses his way when he, as he frequently does, brings forward German words by way of comparison. In so doing he has given an impulse to many etymological futilities, since Germans naturally took a special delight in making use of their dear mother-tongue to explain Greek in all possible cases, with no knowledge of Gothic and Old-High-German, and with no regard to the laws of the shifting of sounds*). This was the penalty 18 Buttman paid for having as late as 1825 — six years after the first, three after the second edition of Grimm’s Grammar, nine years after Bopp’s “Conjugationssystem” — learnt nothing from these works that introduced a new epoch in the science. It was it is true no easy thing for

*) Buttman arrived, independently as it appears, at the supposition that the German *h* corresponded to the Greek *κ* (Lexil. I 35 note 2), though all the same he compares the German ‘*Hort*’ with ἔρμα (I 112 note). It is true the same idea had dawned on Morhof in his “Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poësie” Kiel 1682, in which at page 58 *cornu* is justly compared with *horn*, and καρδία with the Low-German *hart*. But what a difference between such casual observations and the logical adherence to a law of language!

a man advanced in years, and of established critical reputation, who had struck his roots into a different soil, to adopt completely these new points of view, and who is there that can reproach Buttmann with this neglect, when year by year in our own time works are still appearing by men for whom Bopp and Grimm have written in vain? We will rather gratefully acknowledge Buttmann's services; and we can always find in his treatment of Greek words, more especially as regards distinctions of meaning, a pattern for ourselves. Particularly for the investigation of Homeric words we shall even now do well to apply to Buttmann where occasion offers, to find in his lucid and sterling demonstrations a multitude of noteworthy points of view. In general younger scholars, furnished with the richer resources of Comparative Philology, will have continually much to learn from the older school on which they too often look down with an unwarrantable contempt. For Etymology as for everything else the exact knowledge of particulars is far more important than many imagine in their hasty theorizings.

4.

That Greek along with Latin is a link in the chain that stretches from India to the West of Europe was proved more than fifty years ago by Franz Bopp, not by any attempt at a comprehensive explanation of words but by the analysis of the structure of language, and its grammatical forms. This way was without any doubt the right one. For the grammatical forms present, as every one now knows, far less difficulty in analysis than the coined and stamped words, and the similarity of inflexion especially in the verbs, is so striking that conviction was most readily obtained on this side. Bopp consequently occupied himself only occasionally with our pre-

sent subject — that of the explanation of words — especially in the Comparative Grammar (2nd ed. 1857—1861, 3rd ed. 1868—72), and in the work in which we find his views collected in their shortest form — the *Glossarium Sanscritum* (Ed. tertia Berol. 1867, 4^o). The real comparative Etymologist is rather Aug. Friedr. Pott, whose *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der indo-germanischen Sprachen* (Lemgo 1833 and 1836, second and rewritten edition 1859, 1861, 1867 ff.) contain the richest treasure in striking comparisons and ingenious and always instructive generalizations, the result of a knowledge of language that would astound the reader of the book, if the author had not shown by his later works, comprehending the languages of all parts of the globe, that he feels cramped in a region that is limited to merely a portion of Asia and Europe. It was perhaps not favourable to the spread of the new science that before Bopp had yet finished his systematic, and soundly demonstrated exposition of the structure of language, an investigator of the vaulting, often grotesque and paradoxical style that Pott is so fond of, brought his troops into the field. The proud contempt with which Greek and Latin scholars for a long time used to treat the new method, to make up for it later by a feeble recognition, which meanwhile did not prevent them from habitually banishing the Indianists, the Sanscritists, the Comparative Philologists to the Ganges and the Brahmans or even further, as unworthy of classical soil, will always remain an unpleasant feature in the history of the new science. Carl Ottfried Müller was the first scholar of mark in these circles to recognize openly the great importance of the comparative method. But it certainly cannot be denied that the form of the earlier works of comparative philologists, especially those concerned with etymology, made it very difficult to form a judgment about the new doctrines without protracted study, for which at that time there were far fewer opportunities than now, and that the

multitude of extremely bold and in some cases decidedly false generalizations, that went hand in hand with the surest results, could not fail to frighten many away. Nevertheless we must gratefully acknowledge that by far the larger part of what has been done in this line towards the elucidation of Greek words we owe to Pott, whose sagacity allowed hardly anything to escape it that could be arrived at by the means in his power, and who has kept clear withal of many mistakes into which some of
 20 his fellow scholars fell. After the appearance of this important work, Greek was made the centre of a new and comprehensive revision of the Indo-germanic vocabulary in Benfey's *Griechisches Wurzellexikon* (Berlin 1839 and 1842). That in my opinion the method followed in this book is a false one, and that the whole attempt in so extended a form was premature, I have already said on former occasions. We shall immediately consider more closely a few of the most essential mistakes, and many others will have to be noticed later in individual instances. Notwithstanding, by his ingenuity and his power of combination the author has been of frequent service to Greek Etymology. Leo Meyer, Benfey's pupil, who shares many of his teacher's objectionable views, has in smaller essays, and especially in his *Vergleichende Grammatik des Griechischen und Lateinischen* (1861, 1863) brought forward many etymological conclusions, summarily for the most part and without any proof. A direct contrast to these are Hugo Weber's *etymologische Untersuchungen* (1861), which enter most carefully into the peculiarities of a number of Greek stems. A rich mine of etymologies and interesting though at the same time often over bold deductions is to be found in Pictet's suggestive work *Les Origines Indo-Européennes ou les Aryas primitifs* (Paris 1859, 1863), which, following in the track of A. Kuhn, attempts on a comprehensive scale to deduce from the language the oldest civilization of the Indo-germanic race. F. C. August Fick attempts in his *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der*

Indo-germanischen Sprache (Gött. 1870—72) to deduce the vocabulary of the original Indo-germanic language and of the succeeding stages of the language in its historical development. [See also Fick's *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* (Gött. 1873).] While I am obliged to differ from him on many points I am indebted to his acuteness for many suggestions. Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen*, of which twenty volumes have now appeared, contains a number of discussions most valuable for our present purpose. To Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, also, and to the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* edited by Steinthal and Lazarus frequent reference will be made. The quotations in this work will serve as grateful acknowledgement that Jacob Grimm in his *deutsche Grammatik*, as in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, and in his *Wörterbuch* has contributed much to the explanation of Greek words as well, that Corssen's important work *Aussprache, Vocalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache* (2nd edition 1868, 1870) has been of 21 no mean service to me, and that Miklosich and Schleicher by their special study of the Slavo-Lithuanian family of languages have explained many phenomena in Greek. It hardly need be mentioned too, how extremely important for the task to which I have addressed myself are the sterling works of H. L. Ahrens on the Greek dialects that followed on Giese's suggestive book *über den äolischen Dialekt*.

We have seen above that many questions that are inseparable from every etymological enquiry are not to be answered by any process of abstract speculation, calculation, or conjecture. The relation of the languages was found to furnish in many cases the decisive authority, so that many of these questions were settled at a glance. The case in fact resembles that of textual criticism. Passages on which

the labour of conjecture has been spent in vain, right themselves often of their own accord as soon as a newly-discovered manuscript of older date gives us other readings. The new discovery sets for the first time in the true light the relative value of the critical appliances hitherto known, and textual criticism is based firmly on a *Stemma Codicum* in which all the M. ss. are grouped in families. The several languages of the Indo-germanic stock are like so many copies of the lost original M. s. Not one presents us with a faithful copy of the original text, but taken collectively they are important to us as old witnesses of a state of the language, not directly cognizable by us, which in many instances at all events approaches nearly to the original. Each copy has its peculiar, regularly recurring blunders, but they mutually correct each other; we can also arrange them according to their importance, and for several we can discover a secondary source common to certain only of the number. If we denote the state of the language before the separation of the Indo-germanic tongues by A, Greek (C) and Latin (D) are not to be derived directly from it, but both are to be referred to a lost apograph B, the Græco-Italian*), which itself was directly derived

*) In spite of various objections raised against it I hold to the supposition of a near relationship between Greek and Latin. This assumption has lately found in Förstemann (*Zeitschr.* XVII 354) a doubtful advocate and in Sonne (*Zur ethnolog. Stellung der Griechen*, Wismar 1869) an opponent. Granted that the position of the Keltic languages is still undecided, I have become growingly convinced by continued inquiry that all the European languages of our stock are more nearly related to each other than any of them to an Asiatic one, and that the two best-known tongues of Southern Europe again are more like each other, especially in structure, than either of them is to any northern language. I refer *inter alia* to my essays in vols. 8 and 9 of the *Zeitschr.*, to my paper read before the Hamburg meeting of classical scholars (1855), and to Fick's instructive collections (*Wörterb.* pp. 419—504 and pp. 333—418). Johannes Schmidt too (*Zur Geschichte des indo-germanischen Vocalismus* I p. 31) holds the same theory. — On the subject of the relation of Greek to Latin Corssen (*II* 46 note) expresses views

from A. In like manner there exists an affinity between 22 Sanskrit, which stands first among all copies of A for legibility and accuracy, and Persian, and again between the readings of the Germanic languages on the one hand and those of the Slavo-Lithuanian on the other (Schleicher, *Kieler Monatsschrift* 1853, p. 786 f.). To wish to confine inquiry on etymological subjects to a single language is just as much a mistake as it would be to emend Plautus and neglect the Ambrosianus and the *vetus codex*, or to emend Sophocles without the help of the Laurentianus A — as absurd as the old-fashioned practice of hammering at received texts, a practice which however has gradually fallen into such ill repute that no one ventures on it any longer. It is true that all the evidence we have of the state of the Indo-germanic language before its division is not completely legible; the tradition too as a whole has some not inconsiderable gaps, witness is wanting now from this language, now from that, and it is but seldom that the whole list can be appealed to on any particular question. But if on this account we are systematically to neglect these witnesses we shall be as wise as if we were to consider no manuscript but the one that happens to be in our hands, because the others have lacunae. Hence the oft-repeated rule, “see your way clearly in each language separately before you try to learn from the languages related to it”, is quite untenable. The languages before the separation need not have been, as some still suppose, rough, restricted to a few meagre roots, and immature, but were probably as perfect and complete as their structure allowed. The Indo-germanic language was not vague in its sounds, but firmly stamped with definite clearly-recognizable forms. The task of the student of language is not that of showing how a chaos, a ‘primeval mud’ has gradually taken shape; it rather is like that of the historian of art who traces the life-like figures

precisely similar to my own. [Cp. also Peile's Introduction to Gk. and Lat. Etymology pp. 24—27.]

of the art's prime from the rigid but clear-cut types of an earlier stage in which the art's foundations were laid.

23 But a return to that earlier stage is indispensable. The Greeks did not make their language themselves; they had a rich inheritance, and they marvellously transfigured it. So any one who wishes to penetrate at all to the origin of words must inquire throughout whether the related languages do not cast a peculiar light on the phenomena of the single language, and then only is he entitled to restrict himself to the single language, when he has sought in vain in the others.

The older school of Etymology alternated between two views: one was that the forms met with in Greek had grown out of simpler and shorter ones; the other that by the reverse of this process they had shrunk from older, longer, and fuller forms by considerable abbreviations. The comparative method declares entirely for the second of these views. On finding, for instance, in Sanskrit the root *vas*, in Latin *ves* (*ves-ti-s*), in Gothic *vas* (*ga-vas-jan*) with the meaning of "to clothe", all doubt vanishes as to whether the above-mentioned forms can have been amplifications of the Greek ϵ in $\tilde{\epsilon}v-vv-\mu$, or whether the reverse is the case; whether we are, in accordance with a view that is not yet completely exploded, to consider the \mathcal{F} at the beginning of the Greek word as a parasitic modification of the initial letter, — as if a \mathcal{F} could appear at pleasure — or rather as the remnant of the original form of the word. *Vas* is the oldest form, to which we here have three-fold testimony, a form historically handed down to us, from which critical principles imperatively bid us start. On the contrary when we find in Sanskrit, Latin, Gothic, Lithuanian, and Slavonic the root *i* meaning *go*, and meet it again in the Greek $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}-\mu$, $\tilde{\iota}-\mu\epsilon\nu$, we shall not allow ourselves to suppose with Lobeck, that this root has received in $\varphi\omicron\tilde{\iota}-\tau\omicron-s$ an unaccountable labial initial, but rather shall be obliged to assign the latter word to another root. It is quite true that the comparative philologist arrives

as he penetrates further, at a period in which the roots of language experience special accretions. We shall have occasion later on to notice more closely how a number of roots are expanded by the addition of final consonants. But if we leave out of consideration this process, in which we recognize the oldest method of word-formation, and those chance modifications arising from the capricious introduction of subsidiary or kindred sounds, words grow only by the amalgamation of the substance of the language with the formative elements, i. e. by inflexion and formation, and by means of the easily cognizable phenomena allied to these. But every change of sound belonging to any other period is based on the fundamental principle of the history of language, that which Bopp calls the degeneration [Entartung], but which we prefer to call the weathering away [Verwitterung], of sounds, although 24 by no means this implies a decay of the language itself.

In thus assigning to all change of root sounds a single definite direction by means of the comparison of languages, we have already done inestimable service to the etymology of each single member of this circle. The older school of Etymology arrived it is true (to take one instance) at the conjecture that the Greek *spiritus asper* corresponded to the Latin initial *s*; but which of the two sounds was the older, whether the preference was to be given to the Greek *ῥ* or to the Latin *sēmi*, they either did not ask at all, or answered the question in different ways, but most frequently with the favourite theory, hatched out of nothing at all, of the "condensation of the aspirates". Comparative Etymology establishes from a majority of languages the priority of the *s*, and in accordance with the fundamental tendency of all change of sound, the more recent origin of the *spiritus asper*. The same thing has occurred in other analogous cases. In the place of the vague formula "*a* and *b* interchange" appeared almost universally the definite one "*a* becomes *b*". Not less decisive were the results in the case of the analysis of forms.

Apart from the newly acquired insight into the essential structure of languages, which does not fall within the province of Etymology as here understood, the just distinction between stem and termination could not fail to be of the greatest importance for the study of words. Even Döderlein treated the nominative of the noun and the present indicative of the verb as the form from which to start, and Lobeck is not saved by any principle from this error. As soon as we start with the correct theory as to the stem we obtain a completely different point of view, and consequently to a great degree different results. A third characteristic of the etymological method is the collection of closely related words into the same class. Here too, as was natural, much that was new presented itself. The mass of forms and words in different languages that were at once seen to correspond immediately was exceedingly large, and there was thus furnished a considerable family of words for the etymology of the single languages to work upon. But those who were inclined already to regard the real work as done, were sure to err greatly in spite of all the progress that had been made. Etymology is no more exhausted with the establishment of the affinities and principles of a language accompanied by a respectable index of the words common to several languages, than is the criticism of a text, with the arrangement of the manuscripts in families, and a series of striking emendations drawn from the manuscripts
25 hitherto but little used. That is only the foundation. When this is laid the more difficult and delicate work begins. Not all changes of sound are so evident as those first perceived; the rich and intricate web of language shows us much which is strange, and which only dawns gradually on an eye made keen by practice. By the process of weathering away forms originally quite different can become nearly and even identically the same, so that doubt may arise as to the root to which a given form belongs. The Greek *spiritus asper*, for example, has arisen sometimes from an

original *s*, sometimes from an original *j*, in certain cases even from the *spiritus lenis*: from *s* in the article *ó* = Skt. *sa*, from *j* in the relative pronoun *ὅς* = Skt. *ja-s*, from the *spiritus lenis* in *ἵππος* = Skt. *aśva-s*, Lat. *equo-s*, (primitive form *ak-va-s*). Doubts may here arise which in many cases can only be solved by careful investigation of particulars, and especially by a nice appreciation of the meaning. The cases in which we have thus to decide between different possibilities are very numerous. The limits too within which the laws and tendencies of sounds hold good have been but gradually perceived. Hot-headed eagerness has frequently been sobered down, and the separate life of the several languages that was developed on the basis of a common inheritance and a similar plan has again made its true importance felt*). That in this line there is still an immense amount to be done will be seen at once by all who are occupied in investigating the particulars of the subject. There remain the further and to a certain extent far more difficult questions as to the development of meaning, to which we shall return at the end of these introductory considerations. Previous contributions to the science of language need to be subjected to sound criticism, both as to method and as to separate assertions, and not least in the region of Greek Etymology. To contribute to this end is the principal purpose of this work, and therefore it will be well in the next place to examine certain fundamental questions of far-reaching importance. We shall in the course of this inquiry be obliged it is true constantly to express negative views, but occasions will naturally offer themselves at the same time of arriving at positive principles as to the course to be observed in this work.

*) See my essay *Die vergleichende Sprachforschung in ihrer neuesten Gestalt* in the *Monatsschrift für Wissensch. und Litteratur*, Jan. 1853, and my inaugural address *Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (1862).

5.

26 In the first place it cannot be doubted that, in the first rejoicings over the magnificent discovery of Sanskrit, the value of this language for the Etymologist was for a time overrated, and that it acquired an excessive importance in comparison with the other families of languages of the same stock. No competent scholar, it is true, ever maintained that Sanskrit was the mother of the other languages, and it was only ignorance which could imagine that the comparative study of language aimed at regarding Latin and Greek words as 'foreign' interlopers. But seeing that the first students of this method all started with Sanskrit, and felt most at home in that language, it was natural that they should ask in the first place what were the equivalents of Sanskrit roots and words in the other languages, and that while doing this they should too exclusively regard the Sanskrit system of sounds and forms as their data. Owing to the transparency of its construction, the nicety of its laws and its great antiquity in many respects and especially that of its vowel-system, Sanskrit was more adapted than any other language to open men's eyes to the nature of the connection of all the sister-languages. The exuberance of the old Indian literature, the antiquity of its most revered monument the *Rigveda*, the perfection of its alphabet, the remarkable acuteness and diligence of its native grammarians, who have prepared the most valuable assistance for the study of Etymology, if only by their discovery of the conception of roots and their careful index of roots, all these are claims on the part of Sanskrit, which only within the last half-century has become the field of such fresh and important investigations, to retain permanently the prominent position of importance for the study of the whole Indo-germanic stock of languages. But this is no reason why we should not recognize even in Sanskrit peculiar weaknesses and corruptions, the perception of which alone will help us

to the correct use of this speech in the science of language. Even the sounds of Sanskrit must not directly be taken as the starting point for comparison. Two classes of consonants, the linguals and the palatals, as is now universally admitted, arose after the separation of the languages. The recognition of this fact was arrived at only gradually, and examples of the misuse of the palatals occur even in the latest writings on the subject. Of the real character 27 of the palatal sounds the essay of Rud. von Raumer on *Aspiration und Lautverschiebung*, now reprinted in his *Gesammelte sprachwissenschaftliche Schriften* (1863) gave for the first time a complete account. It is there clearly pointed out that *k̄* and *ḡ* are nothing but the gutturals *k* and *g* affected by *j* sounded after them, (p. 35) a view further developed and established by Schleicher 'Zur vergleichenden Sprachengeschichte, p. 138. Pott found in the 'Protean' form of several words and roots that occur in Sanskrit with palatal consonants a reason for ascribing to these sounds a great antiquity. Answering to the Skt. *katvāras* is found the Greek τέσσαρες, Dor. πέτορες, Lat. *quattuor*, Goth. *fidvôr*, Church-Slavonic *četyrije*. As long as the customary pronunciation of *k̄* in Sanskrit words as *tsch* was held to be the original one, it certainly appeared probable that this *tsch* was preserved in Slavonic as well as in Sanskrit, that in Ionic Greek it left behind it one of its components *t*, while elsewhere it appeared as a guttural or a labial. But we had no need to go farther than the Lithuanian *keturi* to have a doubt raised as to this view. Here the pure *k* appears, and seeing that beyond doubt Lithuanian is a near relative of Slavonic, the Lith. *keturi* proves that before the separation of the Lithuanian from the Slavonic, and consequently long after the first appearance of the general separation of the languages the double sound *tsch* did not exist and that in consequence the coincidence of the Slavonic with the pronunciation now in vogue in Sanskrit is pure accident. For the assumption of a possible retrograde change of *k̄* into

k would fly in the face of all the latest results of phonetic inquiry, by which it has been established as clearly as possible that a sound once affected by *j* may possibly undergo a series of further changes, but can no more return to what it was at first than the river can return to its source. Besides this old explanation of the "Protean form" loses all probability from the fact that in accordance with the now ascertained pronunciation of the Palatals we find in them no trace of a *t* — much less then of a *p* —, and that even such *k*'s and *g*'s as do not appear in Sanskrit as *ḳ* and *g̣*, reappear in the related languages in the form of *k*, *qu*, *τ* and *π*, e. g. Skt. *ki-m* = Gr. *τῖ*, Osc. *pi-d*, Lat. *qui-d*; Skt. *jakrt* = Gr. *ἡπαρ*, Lat. *jecur*. Hence, Bopp too, who was before of a different opinion, pronounces in the second edition of his *Comparative Grammar* § 14 for the view that the said sounds in Sanskrit arose originally from the gutturals*).

- 28 This relation is not so clearly recognized in the case of the palatal sibilant denoted by the sign *ç* as in that of the palatal *tenuis* and *media*. The most thorough and sound treatment of the pronunciation and origin of this *ç* is to be found in Kuhn's paper in Hoefer's 'Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache'. As regards its origin it is certain that *ç* has almost universally arisen from an older *k*, and for this very reason corresponds to a *k* or a sound which the laws of the several languages lead us to expect in its place. The pronunciation of the sound cannot be decided so easily. Kuhn inclines to that of the German *ch* in *mich*, and Schleicher (Compendium³ p. 17) agrees with him. Ebel on the contrary (Zeitschr. XIII, 276) and Max Müller (Lectures II, 132) hold *ç* to be a true sibilant, which the former identifies with the Polish *ś*. See Ascoli, *Fonologia comparata* p. 204. However this may be it is quite certain that the Indic *ç* where it cor-

*) We shall come back on p. 415 ff. to several questions that are allied to this one.

responds to a *k* has arisen from the latter by a weakening of the sound, and that there is no possibility that the opposite process has occurred — that the *k* has arisen from the *ç*. It is not of course to be denied that corresponding to the Sanskrit *ç* there sometimes appears in the related languages — by no means in Greek alone — the dental sibilant, and in Greek its usual representative before a vowel at the beginning of a word, the *spiritus asper*; e. g. in *çakṛt* (*stercus*), Gk. *κατ*, Nom. *σκαρ* from the primitive form *skart* (No. 110); *çvaçura-s* (*socer*) = *ἐκχυρό-ς* for *σφεκχυρό-ς*, Lat. *socer* for *svecer* (No. 20). In such cases also however we must without doubt charge the Sanskrit and not the Greek or the other related languages with the corruption of the sound, and this corruption surprises us the less because this very letter *s* in Sanskrit is in other cases also corrupted in various ways, since it regularly changes after other sounds than that of *a* or *â* to *sh*, and at the end of a word under certain conditions into the aspirate *h* called *visarga*; while in the middle of a word it more often becomes *r*. In Zend the same shifting of the *s* to the palatal sibilant takes place to a much greater extent. The letter *ç* therefore has a double value for the comparative philologist — either that of a *k* — as is much more frequently the case — or, in far fewer instances, that of an *s*. This is now essentially the view of Bopp as well, according to his treatment of the subject in § 21a. of his *Comparative Grammar* (2nd edit.). 29 It is remarkable that in some later works — e. g. in Pictet's book, these two kinds of *ç* are again confounded*).

The Sanskrit laws of sound have been treated to a

*) Strange to say this important fact has had fresh doubt thrown lately upon it by Pott (W. I 496 and III *ad init.*). He admits that "Greek, Latin, Keltic and Germanic are alike in representing the *ç* of Sanskrit words by gutturals (*k, c, qu — h, g*)", but because the rule does not hold in the Zend, which is the language most nearly related to Sanskrit, "nor among the Slavonic languages (including Lith., Lett., and Pruss.)" seeing that in all these languages *ç* is as a rule represented by sibilants, and because in Sanskrit itself *k* and

still greater extent as the starting-point for comparison by Benfey. For example there is found in Sanskrit a

ç are separate sounds, he holds that the fact can by no means be regarded as proved. But firstly Zend, which certainly remained longer united to the Sanskrit than these two did to the remaining languages, can prove nothing as to the state of things before the separation. In the second place Pott is obliged even in the case of the Slavo-Lettish languages, to admit considerable exceptions, whose importance is by no means lessened by the fact that he finds each single exception an astonishing one. Side by side with the Sanskrit *açmâ* stands the Lith. *akmû*, Ch.-Sl. *kamenî* (No. 3), with the Skt. *çvaçura-s* the Ch.-Sl. *svekrû*, Lit. *szészura-s* (No. 20), with the Skt. *çi* the Lit. *pa-kaj-u-s*, Ch.-Sl. *po-koi* (No. 45), with the Skt. *çru* the Lit. *klaus-ai* (No. 62), with the Skt. *piçuna-s* the Lit. *pikta-s* (No. 100), and, conversely, with the Skt. *hrd*, the Lit. *szirdi-s*, Ch.-Sl. *srûdice* (No. 39). Thirdly the Slavo-Lettish sibilants when they correspond to the Indic ç are by no means identical with it. The idea too, that this similarity establishes a more close connection between these families, has been long since thoroughly refuted by Schleicher. It remains therefore to choose between two views: either the Sanskrit-Eranian, and Slavo-Lettish sibilant is to be considered the older sound, and the *k*, which the remaining languages exhibit, the younger. an assumption that from its extreme doubtfulness on physiological grounds will find but few supporters, and which is moreover opposed by the above-mentioned exceptions; or reversely *k* is the primitive sound which was weakened independently at different times and places into various sibilants. In that case the coincidence of the Lith. *deszimtis* with the Skt. *daçan* as accidental as that of the Umbr. *deçen* (No. 12) with these words, or say that of the Goth. *hairt-ô* (No. 39) with the Skt. *hrd*. All competent scholars except Pott have now, I think, decided for this view, and the historical consideration of the life of language points clearly in the same direction. Joh. Schmidt, Beitr. V 467, actually proves for one stem, that *s* on distinctly Slavonic ground took the place of the older *k*: *sloniti* with the older form *kloniti* (*inclinare*). — The most careful treatment that the relation of ç to *k* in Sanskrit itself and of the representatives of both sounds in the allied languages, has received is that of Ascoli, *Fonologia comparata* p. 38 ff., 50 ff. He conjectures that as early as the Indo-Germanic period certain words had an added *k*, out of which other sounds could then arise more easily than out of the unmodified word, while on the other hand it was possible that the neighbouring sounds would disappear. [Cp. also Fick's *Die ehemalige Sprach-einheit der Indogermanen Europas* pp. 1—138.]

whole series of stems ending in *ksh* which are usually regarded as roots, — e. g. *raksh* 'servare', *uksh* 'humectare', *vaksh* 'crescere'. Benfey himself acknowledges that these have arisen from shorter stems, or roots in the narrower sense of the word, by the addition of an *s* (Hallische Literaturzeitung 1838 p. 316). Here and there in the related languages the shorter as well as the longer form appears, e. g. Gk. ἀλεξ by the side of ἀλκ (No. 7) Gk. αὐξ by the side of the Lat. *aug* (No. 159). Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the lengthened form existed side by side with the shorter one before the separation of the languages. Now it happens also in some cases that only the longer form has survived in Sanskrit, and ³⁰ only the shorter in Greek; e. g. by the side of the Skt. *uksh* 'humectare' Gk. ὑγ in ὑγ-ρό-ς (No. 158), Skt. *bhaksh* 'comedere' by the side of the Gk. φαγ in φαγεῖν (No. 408). In such cases Benfey (ut supra 317) is pleased to derive the simple Greek sound from the doubled Sanskrit one, while before him Pott surely got at the truth in assuming in such cases that the Greeks had kept the purer root-form, and that consequently the Indians had lost the shorter forms *ug*, *bhag*, although the latter root occurs with a somewhat different meaning in *bhag* (sortiri, obtinere). (See Pott, Berl. Jahrb. 1840 p. 651, and my book 'Die Sprachvergleichung in ihrem Verhältniss zur classischen Philologie', 2nd. edit. p. 59 ff.)

The Sanskrit *h* too cannot be reckoned an original sound: *h* — except where, as in several cases has certainly happened, a change of vocal-organ has taken place (*h* for *dh*) — points to an old *gh*, and this is the value it bears in Comparative Philology. When then in spite of this not only Benfey (I 35), but Pott and Bopp as well hold it allowable to compare Greek roots ending in vowels with Sanskrit ones ending in *h*, "because *h* can easily drop away", we must object most decidedly. Before the separation of the languages, it was not *h* but *gh* that stood here, and even if we were to venture so far as to place

the Gk. *δι-αίψ-ω* (Pott, I¹ p. 282, differently explained W. III 863) by the side of the Skt. *dih* (oblinere), for the *h* in which (= *gh*) the Lat. *pol-ling-o* and the Lith. *das-ý-ti* (to dip in) give the regular representative, we should have to regard not *h* but *χ* as dropped — a loss of which there are it is true some examples, but only in cases when a consonant follows. But we should be distinctly wrong if we were to follow Benfey (I 72) in assuming, from the Skt. *ruh* (grow) and *rô-p-ajâ-mi* (cause to grow) a stem *rôp*, or even *râp* for the allied languages also. In so doing we should be pronouncing corruptions of sound peculiar to Sanskrit to be older than the separation of the languages.

In Sanskrit, by a weakening of sound peculiar to itself *i* may arise from *â*, and mediately from *a*. In Greek on the other hand the spheres of the vowels *α* and *ι* are so far apart that *ι* is very seldom connected with an older *α* and when it is, it is generally through the medium of an *ε*. Consequently we must never expect to find an *ι* in Greek as the representative of a Sanskrit *i* that has arisen from an *a* — a mistake to which again Benfey is specially inclined, e. g. when he finds traces of the Skt. *iksh*, an amplified form, peculiar to the Indic branch, of the root *ak*, (Gk. *ὀπ*), see, in the Greek *ισκω*, *ἔισκω* (I 233), and 31 even sees in the diminutive suffix *-ισκο* (I 235) and in the verbal-ending *-ισκω* representatives of this same *iksh* which beyond all doubt did not exist at the time of the separation of the languages. In opposition to such attempts — ventured on by Benfey again even in the seventh volume of the *Zeitschrift* — we cannot be too strict in holding fast by the rule that the Indo-germanic primitive form arrived at by proper combinations is to be placed at the head of every comparison of words, and not the special form of a single language.

This strict and logical method of employing Sanskrit in the comparison with the allied languages has been gradually gaining ground, and has especially been pursued most rigorously by Schleicher in his *Compendium der ver-*

gleichenden Grammatik (1861, 1862, 2nd edit. 1866, 3rd. edit. 1871). From this more correct view Sanskrit itself too will gain something. Now that this language has for a long time served exclusively to throw light on the others, the light begins to shine back from the other languages upon Sanskrit. This is quite the normal course of the developement of science, which follows, as has rightly been said, not a straight line but a spiral one. The preposterous idea that Sanskrit must have preserved in every case alike the oldest form, would be almost more ruinous to the examination of words, even apart from phonetic laws, than for the analysis of forms. The forms in Sanskrit are marked decidedly and with great fulness; although we often miss in their application — so far at any rate as we can see as yet — the nicety which excites such admiration in Greek and Latin, their use is generally settled. But as to the meaning of a Sanskrit word and that of its various ramifications, it is often hard to arrive at certainty. For the roots indeed, of which so many in former times used to parade themselves with the shadowy meanings *ire*, and *splendere*, better provision has been made since Westergaard's excellent work *Radices linguae Sanscritae* (Bonn 1841). But if we turn to any noun in Bopp's Glossary or in Wilson's or Benfey's Lexicon, we often meet with what is unsatisfactory. These books are only intended to satisfy the most immediate needs. In Wilson a dozen completely distinct meanings are often given for a single word, out of which it is impossible to form a general idea. And the excellent dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg 1855 ff.) is unfortunately not nearly completed. The oldest monuments of the language too, the Vedas, in spite of the zeal and critical acumen which such men as Aufrecht, Benfey, Kuhn, Max Müller, Roth, Albrecht Weber and 32 others have bestowed on their study, present on this very point great difficulties and many riddles yet unsolved. For this reason Sanskrit must, I believe, always remain less satisfactorily understood than many of its sister-languages

with regard to meanings, their developement and ramification. It is especially in this direction that the importance of living languages must not be underrated. Whenever we have shown the identity of a German, Slavonic, or Lithuanian word with a Greek one, the living use of the word at the present time, which in this case can be ascertained with much greater ease, is of more service in arriving at the primitive meaning than the use of the corresponding Sanskrit word or even of a Sanskrit root, of the application of which we often find but an indefinite ambiguous account, and that too often most imperfectly given in indifferent Latin. Hence I cannot accept the rule given by Pictet (Origines I 23) '*partir toujours du mot sanscrit s'il existe*'. Pott has rightly paid more attention to the Occidental languages, and Benfey has done the same in the second part of his Wurzellexicon to a greater extent than in the first. Thanks to Miklosich and Schleicher we are now enabled to make more use of Slavonic and Lithuanian, whose wealth and natural prolificness promise us a plentiful harvest, while our own Teutonic languages have been already laid open before us by Jacob Grimm in such a way as specially to favour etymological research.

6.

But in another respect also Sanskrit has been made the standard for other languages in a manner which is not justifiable. The truth, confessedly fundamental, that Sanskrit is only to be regarded as a sister-language, with especially distinct family features, has often been overlooked in practice. It may be regarded as established that neither Sanskrit, nor even the Indo-Germanic primitive language, which we can only discover by combinations, stands to the individual languages of our stock in a relation similar to that which Latin holds to the Romance languages. The latter are related to the mother-tongue in such a manner that between the time in which Latin

was a living language, and the developement of the daughter-tongues there was a loss of the sense of the nature of language through which the structure of language — because of the interruption in the national tradition — suffered not a little, and its form received important alterations. Even the relation which sounds in the daughter-languages bear to those in Latin betray an important diminution of the instinctive correctness of articulation. We have only to remember the numerous instances of weakening: e. g. of *c* to *g* (Ital. *luogo* = *locum*), of *t* to *d* (Ital. *padre* = *patrem*), of *p* to *b* (Fr. *abeille* = *apicula*): and the frequent rejection of consonants (Fr. *père*, *lieu*). Nobody would venture to deny that Fr. *ouïr* originated in *audire*, but who would venture on this analogy to assume a similar mutilation for the Gr. *ἀτῶ*, whereby it might be brought into connection with *audio*? Indeed by this very phonetic process the inflexions of Latin have for the greater part disappeared, and in compensation for the case-endings &c. of whose use the language has thus been deprived, new expedients have been introduced. Prepositions, robbed of their full original sound, and with weakened meaning, are compounded with each other (Fr. *avant* = *ab ante*, *devant* = *de ab ante*) and with pronominal forms (It. *del* = *de illo*). Thus the most various disfigurements arise. Frequently one word is formed of two, three or even more words welded together; very often a virtue has to be made of necessity, and in too many cases we notice in words how they fashioned themselves out of the ruins of the older languages, in the first instance rather as conventional aids, until the new germs developed, and by degrees idioms appeared, which in their way are again deserving of admiration. That It. *medesimo* arose from *-met ipsissimus*, Fr. *dans* from *de intus* (Pott, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. I 311) no reasonable man will doubt. But if we are recommended to assume similar mutilations, in order to refer Sanskrit, Greek and Latin forms to their origin, this; in my opinion, is to confuse with each other essen-

tially different periods of language. For from the establishment of the primitive Indo-Germanic language, so far as we can see, there was an uninterrupted tradition which makes us *à priori* disinclined to rash attempts to refer forms to elements completely confused and disfigured. For a time so early in the life of language as that before the separation of the various tongues all the conditions are wanting, by which such mutilations are explicable in younger languages. But further, the attempts to break up apparently simple forms and roots have been made almost wholly by means of Sanskrit and in such a manner as to involve the assumption that all the little weaknesses of Sanskrit were to be found existing before the separation of languages. This is the point of a difference between Pott and myself which, after my objections in the first edition of this book, led to a fresh discussion of this question on his part in the second volume of the second edition of his *Etym. Forsch.* (p. 293 ff.) and to a short reply on my side in the preface to the second volume of the first edition of this work. Leaving everything personal as much as possible on one side, I wish, without entering into the very numerous details, simply to point out here briefly the general character of the process, and to adduce the reasons which, in addition to the one already mentioned, prevent me, and indeed not me alone, from adopting it. The most usual case is that in which it is believed that in the initial letter of a root a more or less mutilated prefix may be recognized, and that therefore it is allowable to derive this root from a shorter one. Thus most of the Sanskrit prepositions are supposed to have been used as prefixes to lengthen roots beginning with a vowel, in just the way which the older Etymology ventured upon in its confused fashion. Because in Sanskrit the prefix *api* = Gr. *ἐπι* commonly becomes *pi* by aphaeresis, therefore Pott even now (II² 301, cp. W. III 423) finds no difficulty in deriving *piñj*, which besides other meanings is asserted in Indian lists of roots to have also that of painting, though

in reality this meaning appears to have been invented merely to explain the adjective *piṅgāra-s* 'golden yellow', as well as the Lat. *pingere* from *api-añj* (*oblinere*) or (and the very hesitation shows the doubtfulness of the assumption) from *api-masj* (*immergere*) and in the same way to assume similar mutilations for other prefixes commencing with the vowel *a*. Where for instance *apa* = *ἀπό* suits better, an inconvenient *p* is referred to this, instead of to *api*, e. g. *pāpa-s* 'bad' to *apa-āp*, i. e. to fail to reach, to wander off [abgelangen, abirren] (p. 305). This however by no means prevents Pott from explaining conjecturally this very *āp*, which occurs in the form *ap* in the Lat. *ap-iscor*, through *ā-api-i* to mean 'to go to this in addition', in which the assumed root *i* has entirely disappeared, or as Pott expresses himself, 'has gone the way of all flesh'. In the same way an initial Sk. *bh* or Gr. *φ* is referred to *abhi** (bei), e. g. Skt. *bhrāg* = Gr. *φλεγ*, Lat. *fulg*, to *abhi-rāg*, to shine 'upon' — an initial *dh* or Gr. *θ* to *adhi* (over, upon) e. g. Skt. *dhjāi*, meditari, with Gr. *θεάομαι* to *adhi-i* (*λέναι*), adire, (p. 308), — an initial *n* to *ni* (sub, de), e. g. *valō* to *ni-vas* (*vas*, 'to dwell') (p. 308)†), — an initial *d* to *ut* 'upwards' which according to certain phonetic laws in Sanskrit becomes *d* before many sounds, e. g. Skt. *duh*, 'draw' from *ut-vah* 'evehere' (p. 314, cp. W. III 1023), an initial *v* to *vi* 'one from another', e. g. Skt. *vrđh*, 'crescere', from the equivalent *rdh* (I¹ 250), Gr. *τε* in *ἵεσθαι* from Skr. *vi* 'desiderare', and this to *vi-i* (Ebel, Zeitschrift IV 104), or when convenient to *35* *ava*, 'away', e. g. Skt. *vah*, Gr. *ὄχ* in *ὄχος*, Lat. *veh* in *veho*, to *ava-ha* 'to go away', 'to make to go away' (Pott I¹ 283 withdrawn II² 316), an initial *s* to *sa*, *sam* 'with',

*) Now the difficulty occurs to Pott himself (W. I 421) "Unfortunately there is no trustworthy example of any *éφi* in Greek".

†) Just to show that my doubt does not rest upon personal fancies, I may mention that Pictet, who in many cases agrees with Pott in resolving words, speaks of this meaning of *valō* as very doubtful (II 238).

e. g. *snushā* = OHG *smuor*, Gr. *νυός*, Lat. *nurus* to *samvas* 'to dwell with' (II² 300, W. II 2, 478), an initial *sv* to the prefix *su* = Gr. *εῦ*; e. g. *svād* (gustare) from *su-ā-ad* 'to eat well' (gut anessen) (II² 319). It is easy to see how far it is possible to go in this direction; for as the meaning of these prefixes can easily be turned about this way and that way, and as writers have besides freely dealt in assumptions of the most various elisions and phonetic changes in prefixes and verbal roots alike, any word can easily be referred by such means to a stem which in fuller or abbreviated form resembles it in Sanskrit. Indeed this whole theory of prefixes has contributed much to bring Comparative Grammar into suspicion with those who have not penetrated into it more deeply, and we must consider it a great mistake that the masters of the new science, instead of confining themselves to the wide-reaching and indubitable mutual resemblances among kindred languages have entered on these flighty combinations. It is true that in this respect purely Greek Etymology does not lag behind comparative Etymology. Thus Döderlein (Hom. Gloss. § 2272) says, 'as *ἀνά* is shortened into *ἀ*, *κατά* to *κα*- and *κ*-, *ἐκ* to *ἐ*- and *κ*-, *διά* to *ξα*- and *σ*-, so also *ὑπό* is curtailed into *ὑ*' and even in § 2463 makes the *σ* which he supposes to originate in *διά*, take a 'leap for life', in order to change the *διαπελάγιοι* into *πελασγοί*. But here we must not fail to notice that Pott distinguishes many of these combinations from certainly recognized analogies, as being mere hypotheses, so that the greater number of his comparisons can be easily separated from these and retain their full value. The more recent students of comparative philology have for the most part passed over these attempts
36 in silence, but some are reluctant entirely to give up the right to avail themselves of such a method of procedure*).

*) So Scherer (Zur Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache p. 328) says 'in cases of resemblance in sound and meaning'. But where can we find a clear case of this kind? Pott (W. III 672) believes that he has discovered one. The Vedic verb *bhishak-ti* 'it heals' (with *bhishag*

What are the reasons then, for which I hold that I am compelled to oppose not merely particular instances, but this whole style of analysis? Pott always appeals to the analogy of the more recent languages. That the *s* of the It. *s-aggio* has arisen from *ex* we believe because in *ex-agma* we have the Latin word before us, because the other Romance languages (*essai*) still show traces of the *e*, and because the omission of the vowel in a syllable which is known to have been unaccented has every analogy on its side. The same sibilant is common in the more modern Slavonic languages in the meaning 'with'. Hence that e.g. the Bohem. *s-bor* 'assembly' is derived from *s* (Ch. Sl. *sŭ* = Skt. *sa* 'with') and rt. *ber* (= Skt. *bhar*, φερ, Lat. *fer*) and that it originally meant much the same as *Confer-ence* is evident. If any one should doubt that the case was the same with the *g* of the Germ. *g-lauben*, he would have to be referred to the OHG *gelouben*, *galoubu*, (Grimm Gr. II 699) just as for the modern *b-leiben* we have the OHG *pi-lip-an*. But what justifies us in arguing from these precedents in late periods of language to the earliest, in proposing combinations for which all the intermediate forms, and all the criteria of probability are wanting which were present in the instances just adduced, and in asserting a composition with prepositions even where there is no strong motive either in the sounds or in the meaning of the form concerned to refer it to such elements? From the root *āp* which, as we saw, Pott by a bold hypothesis makes a compound, we arrive at the shorter form *ap*, which is the

'healing', the derived *bhishag-jati* 'he heals' and *bhēshaḡ-a-m* 'medicine') he refers with Pictet to (a)*bhi-saḡ*, for which the only demonstrated meaning is 'to bewitch'. It is only through the hypothetical intermediate stage 'to exorcise' that the two ideas are linked together. Hence in the Pet. Dict. this etymology is not to be found. But even allowing that it was correct, this would only prove that at the time when Indic and Eranic were still one language (for the Zend *baēshaza* means 'medicine'), a verbal compound became a stem used as a root, not that this could have taken place in the far earlier Indo-Germanic period.

37 base e. g. of the Skt. *ap-as* = Lat. *opus*. This *ap* just as much as the rt. *tap* 'burn' (τέφ-ρα) bears quite the character of being original; it occurs plainly in *ap-iscor*, *ap-tus*. Just as little is there anything in the rt. *piñg* (whose very existence besides is not satisfactorily proved) pointing to composition. The same is true of the rt. *svad* (ávδ-áv-ω, ἦδ-ο-μαι). All these roots are treated in their inflexion just like those which even Pott regards as primitive. That is, they are lengthened by expansion or vowel-intensification, or again by nasalization (*áp*, *svád* cfavδ) means, which language is accustomed to use for the formation of words only in the case of actual roots. Again that such simple ideas as 'to attain', 'to make gay', 'to taste', should have been formed only by the intellectual method of composition will seem very improbable to any one who believes with Max Müller (Lectures II 66) that the material of language arose rather by 'a poetical fiat' than by analytic thought. But we have other objections.

The process which we have been describing tacitly assumes that all the prefixes found in use in Sanskrit not only existed before the separation of the languages, but existed as prefixes, and precisely in their Sanskrit form. But this is an extremely bold assumption, which we can never admit. It would follow that roots, the proper substance of language, by means of which men denoted the world lying about them, for the most part owed their existence in the first instance to a process of decay, while the little particles, which — whether pronominal (Bopp. Vgl. Gr. III. 487) or, as Weber holds (Indische Studien II 406) with Jacob Grimm (Wörterbuch I 50) and Schoemann (Redetheile p. 142) of the same origin as verbal roots, or, as Pott will have it, *sui generis* — in any case have the function of indicating and demonstrating rather than denoting, these tiny elements of words were without exception extremely old, older than many of the most common and indispensable verbal roots. Even Pott's learned and acute treatment of the prepositions in the first volume of the Et.

Forsch. (second edition) has not convinced me of this. We 38 do not find by any means all the Sanskrit prepositions recurring in the other languages in their separate use: *ā* e. g. and *ava* can only be shown to exist in Sanskrit and Zend: *api* undoubtedly corresponds to Gr. *ἐπί*, but whilst *api* in Sanskrit very frequently loses its *a*, there is not a single Greek word in which *π* unmistakably stands for *ἐπί*. Even in Sanskrit the aphaeresis of *a* is by no means usual, except in the case of *api**). Pott himself states that *abhi*, in spite of the fact that this preposition takes the accent on the last syllable, never loses its *a* in the living language; but this does not at all prevent him from assuming for the far earlier period when the languages were not yet separated this mutilation which was still unknown in the period of language which can be ascertained historically, and from delighting to regard as we saw, an initial *bh* as the remains of an *abhi* which early fell into bad ways. As a proof of the position that we must assume instances of aphaeresis even for that early time Pott quotes (II² 314) Skt. *smas* = *sumus*, a very unfortunate instance, for not only the Gr. *ἐσμέν* but also Lith. *ésme*, Ch. Sl. *jesmŭ*, O. Ir. *ammi* prove indisputably that the Indo-Germanic form was *asmas*, and that the coincidence of the Indic form with the Latin in the loss of the initial vowel is pure chance. It so happens that Greek is especially conservative in the retention of an initial vowel, a circumstance which we have to thank for the preservation of the augment in which this language has the advantage over most of her sisters. In the same way *su* (cp. O. Ir. *su-*, *so-*) is derived, as the Greek *ἐῦ* shows, from *asu*, for it is only thus that we can explain the two forms, which are related to each other precisely as the Sanskrit strong

*) Other instances of aphaeresis in Sanskrit words assumed with great confidence by Pott, are by no means admitted by other Sanskrit scholars. The editors of the Pet. Dict. doubt the very first example which is maintained against me on p. 299, *taskara-s* 'robber', according to Pott = *atas-kara-s* 'carrying away'.

stem of the participle from the root *as* 'to be', *sant*, is related to the Gr. $\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau$, i. e. $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau$ or *as-ant*. Hence we must assume that before the separation *asu* and not *su* was the prevalent form, and as we nowhere find in Greek a trace of υ for $\epsilon\upsilon$, $\epsilon\upsilon$, we cannot use this form at all in comparative grammar. The case is in no way altered by the fact that the initial vowel has disappeared also in Old Irish; nor would any traces of a *su* in the German and Italian families of languages, which Bugge (Ztschr. XX 34) believes he can point out, be able to perplex us in our assumption of an Indo-Germanic *asu*. Of a preposition *vi* denoting separation we have no instance in Greek: in Latin the *vi* of *vi-dua* (Skt. *vi-dhavā* 'husbandless'*), the *ve* of *vē-cors*, *vē-sanus*, *ve-stig-iu-m* has been regarded as the representative of this *vi*. But even in his first edition (I 127 f.) Pott thought that this preposition showed itself most commonly in the form *dī*, *dis* in Latin, and as $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ in Greek, and that it was to be referred to the root of the numeral 'two', *dvi*. With this view Bopp also agrees in his Glossary s. v. *vi* (he gives a different explanation in Vgl. Gr. III 506) and hardly anything can be said against it; for that the same root appears in Latin sometimes with and sometimes without *d* is shown beyond the possibility of doubt by the comparison of *duo* and *bis* i. e. *duis* with *vi-ginti*. But even though we find as the representative

*) This very simple and often repeated etymology of the words which correspond so exactly to the Goth. *viduvō*, the Ch. Sl. *vidora* (Bopp. Vgl. Gr. III 506), an etymology which I myself once regarded as a sure one, is called in question in the Petersb. Dict., on the ground that *dhava-s* is too young a word; and the authors of the dictionary prefer to regard it as a word formed from *vidhavā* (see Pictet's objections to this view II 342). — The Sanskrit word is now referred by Roth (Ztschr. XIX 223) to a rt. *vidh* (*vindh*) 'to be empty', 'to be faulty', which he gets from the *Rgvēda*. This at all events agrees excellently with the Goth. *vidu-vairna* 'orphaned', and with *ītō-ēo-s* 'a bachelor', which had been already compared by Benfey. η arose from a prosthetic ϵ owing to the influence of the verse. Cp. $\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ No. 454.

of *vi-ginti* for *dvi-ginti* the Dor. *ῥίκατι*, also with the loss of *d*, yet the particle *vi* is only represented in Greek by *διά*. And if we look into the matter more closely, there is even a striking similarity in the use of *vi* and the Gr. *διά*; *vi-gñā* is *διαγνῶναι*, *vi-ja* (permeare) *διτέναι*, *vi-va* (perflare) *διαῖναι*. We can see that *vi* has the two meanings 'in two' from which comes 'apart', Lat. *dis*, and 'between', 'through', just like *διά*. As for the form, I regard *διά* as an instrumental case of the root *dvi* which appears in its simple form in *vi*, and expanded in *dis* by the same *s*, by which *ἀμφίς* is expanded from *ἀμφί*, *ἐξ* from *ἐκ*, Lat. *abs* from *ab*, and in which possibly we have an analogue of the genitive suffix *as*, Gr. *ος* (Weber, Ind. Stud. II 406). Hence though we may have preserved, certainly in Latin*) and perhaps also in some other branches of the Indo-Germanic family, traces of a prefix analogous to the Skt. *vi*, we cannot regard the weakening of *dvi* into *vi* as older than the separation of the languages; and as in Greek there is no single instance that can be clearly proved of a prepositional *ῥι* with the force of Skt. *vi* or the Lat. *ve*, 40 it appears to me extremely bold to make any use whatever of this Sanskrit preposition in Greek Etymology.

But our objections are not yet at an end. Was the connection of prepositions with verbal roots in early times really so close, that new stems could easily arise thus? Nothing entitles us to make the assumption. On the contrary it is an established fact that prepositions were ori-

*) In Latin a remarkable trace of the fuller form *dvi* (in addition to the numeral adverb *bis* mentioned above, which when compared with *δίς* necessarily presupposes a Graeco-Italic *duis*) is preserved in *bivira* (i. e. *dui-vira*) which Kuhn Ztschr. III 400 has pointed out, used, according to Nonius (II p. 56 ed. Gerlach), by Varro in the sense of *vidua*. Hence even Latin in its earlier period was not as yet inclined to the weakening of *dvi* into *vi*, which has been assumed with so much confidence for the earliest times, and on the ground of which scholars have thought themselves justified in regarding the initial *v* of many roots as the remains of this particle (cp. Pott II* 325).

ginally without exception adverbs of direction, in which we can sometimes still recognize clearly the case-forms. Prepositions were therefore at first quite independent words, though afterwards they lost their independence in two ways, on the one hand becoming united with verbal stems as prefixes, on the other serving as prepositions (in the usual sense of the word) joined to cases, and expressing the manifold relations in a sentence. Language itself shows the composition with verbal stems to be but loose by the fact — in which Sanskrit and Greek agree — that it places the augment and the reduplication between the preposition and the verb-form. These elements then, for this group of languages, form in all preterite tenses and in the perfect a wall of partition between the preposition and the verb, which evidently must have made it a much more difficult thing for the two parts to coalesce. It was otherwise e. g. in the Germanic languages. Here this increased difficulty did not present itself at all, or to a very unimportant extent, so that the Goth. *frailan* (NHG *fressen*) may be derived without hesitation from *fra-itan* (ver-essen) (Pott II² 313). But in Greek the exceptions to the normal position of the augment and the reduplication alike, such as *ἐλάθισα*, *ἤνεσχόμην* are wholly post-Homeric; so that they do not in the least diminish the weight of the fact adduced as regards the earliest period of our stock of languages. And verbal compounds like the assumed *su-ad*, i. e. *εὐεδεν* were altogether unknown to Greek, by a delicate and, as we may venture to conjecture, old law of the language. Primitive verbal stems have in the Indo-Germanic languages generally very little tendency to form firm combinations with other kinds of words. Ludwig Lange in his 'Andeutungen über Ziel und Methode der syntaktischen Forschung' (Verhandlungen der Göttinger Philologenversammlung 1852 p. 104 f.) has carried out more completely the observations which we have made here as to the development of prepositions, and has shown incontrovertibly by a computation of their proportionate occurrence, that the extremely

extensive use of prepositions as prefixes only presents itself in Epic Sanskrit, whilst Vedic Sanskrit in this respect approaches more nearly to the state of things in the Homeric poems. Hence as we see in the earliest monuments of the Indian and the Greek languages that the prepositions still showed so little tendency to enter into composition*), sober reflection shows that we are by no means justified ⁴¹ in considering the use of prepositions as prefixes to be earlier than the separation of the languages, far less in assuming that a large number of verbal roots had already so entirely coalesced with prefixes that new words could be formed from them, which were no longer felt to be compounds, and indeed not individual nouns merely but widely ramifying verbal stems bearing the most primitive stamp. The chronology of linguistic science, that is the sober distinction between the various periods of the life of language, is entirely opposed to this assumption. The number of compound words which belong originally to more languages than one, is altogether extremely small, and even in the case of these there is often a doubt whether they belong to the common inherited stock or to the store that has been subsequently acquired. And to return to prepositional compounds, it might possibly be proved that there is a considerable likeness between the use of them in two languages, especially in languages so nearly related as Latin and Greek, but even here this is the case but seldom. The coinage of such words evidently belongs as a rule to the period in which each language pursued its independent developement; and the same holds good of the mutilations of prefixes of the kind; and though examples of these can of course be adduced in abundance in Sanskrit, and the Teutonic and

*) This view of the preposition (with which Sonne also agrees *Ztschr.* XIV 5) is of course at variance also with the assumption that in the case-endings we have mutilated prepositions, a theory which Pott e. g. holds to be fully made out in the case of the suffix *bhi* (Gr. *φι*, *φί*). But who knows whether *a-bhi* is not rather itself a case-form of the pronominal stem *a*?

Slavonic languages, yet being entirely independent of each other, they certainly made their appearance a long time after the establishment of the use of such prefixes. It is these phenomena which are far from numerous in Greek and Latin, and especially in Greek the sense of the independence of prepositions kept its vitality in a high degree.

There is still less probability in the supposed instances of composition with the interrogative stem *ka* (Pott II² 426 ff). By a peculiar idiom of Sanskrit various forms of the interrogative pronoun, especially *kim* (*quid*) are compounded with various substantives with the force of astonishment, e. g. *ki-rājā* 'what king!' i. e. what a king! both in a good and in a bad sense. In the same way it⁴² is asserted that the uninflected stem *ka* or *kā* enters into compounds, e. g. *kā-rava-s* = *corvu-s*, supposed to be from *ka* and *rava-s* 'sound' (cp. *rāvi-s*, *rau-cu-s*), 'having what a sound!' (Bopp, Gl.). But even for Sanskrit this method of composition is not quite established. In the Petersb. Dict. II 2 we have these words: 'even if we are not to think of denying absolutely such a method of composition, yet we are bound to notice that this explanation has in some cases been used too freely'. Hence it appears to me more than venturesome to assume the existence of such a specifically Indian method of expression in the time before the separation of languages; and I am not convinced even by Pictet who is fond of the use of this instrument of Etymology, and who (II 226) finds in it 'un caractère de naïveté, qui s'accorde parfaitement avec la nature d'un idiome primitif'. In an exclamation of astonishment there lies hidden a reflexion which has merely the appearance of naïveté, but which really contains a judgement, that is an element of conception. That simple notions which obtrude themselves directly on the perception of men*), should

*) As an instance we may take Skt. *kapāla-s* = κεφαλῆ, which Pictet breaks up into *ka-pāla-s*, and translates *quel protecteur*, adding 'on ne saurait mieux caractériser le rôle naturel du crâne' (I 308, II 305).

have found their expression by means of such exclamations which became as it were fixed and passed into names, I regard as wholly improbable. Hence we cannot for a moment conceive that Lat. *caecu-s* = Goth. *haih-s* (one-eyed) is '*quo oculo praeditus*', as Pott holds (I¹ 166, cp. II² 445) (*ka-ocu-s*) nor on the other hand can we regard it as a compound of Skt. *éka*, 'one' and *oco*, the stem of *oculu-s*, a derivation which Pott gives as also possible, and which Bopp considers certain (Vergl. Gr. II² 59). For of this *éka*, which is itself undoubtedly a derived form from the stem which occurs in Sanskrit also as *é-va*, and in Zend as *aéva* (Pott, Zählmethode 149) there is no trace to be found in any of the allied languages, to say nothing of the fact that we have to assume a very rare mutilation which cuts out the very kernel of the word. This *éka* again we hold to be especially Sanskrit, not Indo-Germanic.

My objections to the prefix-theory Pott meets in two ways. At one time (p. 301) he establishes the existence of 'not a few pairs of roots with simpler and fuller initial sounds' side by side. He contends against the view that by mere accident two roots with the meaning 'shine' like Skt. *rág* and *bhrág*, differing only in their initial letters, came into being independently of each other. But there are pairs and triplets of roots of the kind, which even Pott cannot refer to one and the same origin, e. g. Skt. *jaág* and *bhaág* 'to honour'; in the case of which he admits of 'accident' (II² 336), *am*, *gam*, *kram* three 'verba eundi', where the prepositions leave us in the lurch, *ad* 'edere', *kshad* 'frangere', *an* 'spirare', *stan* 'suspirare'. Or are we in order to favour the prefix-theory to explain the last of these by *sa* + *ati* + *an* 'together exceedingly to blow'? Then we might perhaps find some help for *jaág* in a *ni-aág* 'to move oneself down' and for *bhaág* in *abhi-aág* 'to move oneself up to', in something of the sense of *προσκυνέειν*. To increase the possibilities there is another hypothesis, according to 43 which all roots beginning with a vowel have lost initial consonants. That would therefore be another way out,

which would indeed lead in the very opposite direction. But many will, I believe, prefer with me to follow none of these paths and to regard it simply as a fact, which after all is not very surprising, that language sometimes denotes related conceptions by similar sounds. It is hardly worth while reminding the reader that the riddle is often solved by the fact that the one form is the earlier, more faithfully preserved, (e. g. OHG *smilz-u*) the other the more mutilated (Gr. μέλδ-ω).

A second argument Pott draws from the manifest appropriateness of the meaning, which results from his compositions. But unfortunately in this respect I am wanting according to his own expression, in 'the faculty of vision'. This is a defect of nature. But when e. g. *πίθος* 'vessel' is presented to me as such a clear instance, which must necessarily have been derived from *ἐπι* and *θη*, because on the earthen *πίθος* lay a cover (*ἐπίθημα*) and must have meant properly 'lid', I may still be permitted to observe that the vessel may have been named after many other things. For nouns whose coinage was more recent than the determination of the form and meaning of roots, and in whose case several of the previously mentioned objections to the incorporation of prefixes disappear, the possibility of such an origin might sooner be admitted; yet we can only allow the probability of it where we have clear analogies in sound as in meaning. This is certainly not the case e. g. in the derivation of Skt. *áp* (*aqua*) from *á* and *pi* or *pa* 'antrinken': (drink at) for in no other instance does a Lat. *qu* arise from *p*, and what the *an* has to do in such a word, no one can see. And yet Pott regards this etymology as 'certain'*) (307).

*) Another word of the kind which Pott (e. g. W. I 438) and others after him delight to quote is Skt. *nīḍa-s*, and also *nīḍa-m*, 'nest'. 'camp', with the corresponding Vedic form *nīḷa-s*. This word we are told is derived from *nī* 'down' and *sad* 'to sit'. The meaning 'sitting down' might be readily admitted for the Sanskrit, but *nīḍa-s* cannot be separated from the equivalent Lat. *nīdu-s*, OHG *nēst*, Ch. Sl. *gnězdo*

In general the endeavour to break words up into their elements has been pushed much too far. The principle that he who proves too much proves nothing might be well applied to many assertions of comparative philology. In our judgment much more is gained if we set a Greek word, together with the related and derived words which accompany it in Greek, side by side with an actually occurring Sanskrit, Latin, German or Slavonic word, and do so with absolute certainty, than if we lose ourselves in bold hypotheses upon the origin of the form which this comparison compels us to give as the root-form — hypotheses which very rarely lead to sure results. Even Pott in his review of Benfey's *Wurzellexikon* (Berl. Jahrb. 1840 p. 623 ff.) has uttered a warning against this danger, and recommended, for many questions, an honest acknowledgement of ignorance, in the place of flighty omniscience — though he has not always followed these principles himself. It is possible that with time the veil, which hangs over the early beginnings of the formation of the Indo-Germanic languages, may be raised still more; it is possible also that science, when in time to come it has risen into purer heights, may show many points to us or to our posterity in a different light: for the present position of enquiry sober moderation is certainly as a general rule the true course. Besides, the question of the relation of a

(with a bye-form *gnězno*), Lith *lizda-s*. But a preposition with the meaning of 'down', *ni* cannot be proved for the Indo-Germanic time (cp. below No. 425) and the *g* of the Slavonic word would be quite unintelligible, and hence Pott prudently passes it by. But what right has he to do so? The *g* which retains its place in this as in the younger Slavonic forms must be primitive, according to Pott's own doctrine (W. I 355) that language never prefixes a consonant, least of all a mute, *pour passer le temps*, and so points to an entirely different etymon for all these words. Miklosich says, it is true, (Lex. 132) de *g* praeſixo cf. *gnětiti* cum *nětiti*', but who can say whether here too the form with *g* is not the older?

Greek word to a word in the other languages can in practice be very satisfactorily answered, without entering upon the latter questions. For instance, that the Greek *ὄστéo-ν* with the Latin *os* goes back to a stem *asti*, which in Sanskrit is *asthi* (No. 213) is a fact of interest, which is completely established. But to trace back the root-form so recognized to its origin is a task quite different and to be kept entirely distinct. And it seems to me that little is gained
 45 by such conjectures as that put forward by Bopp in his Glossary, and approved by Pott II² 296, that this *asti* comes from the root *sta*, 'to stand'. This can never be proved. Pictet (I 515) gives for the same word, which denotes at the same time the stone of a fruit, a quite different conjecture, which we shall venture to state under No. 213. In other cases indeed we can go back to a root with more certainty. The various names for Spring, Gr. *ἔ-αφ*, Skt. *vas-ant-as*, Lat. *vê-r*, ON. *vâr*, Ch. Sl. *ves-na*, Lith. *vas-arà* find their meeting point in the stem *vas*. So far we can go with certainty. But whether this *vas* is the same as that which we find in Sanskrit, and also, though slightly altered in other cognate languages, with the meaning of 'to clothe' — according to which therefore Spring was designated as the cloth and adorning of earth (cp. Pictet I 101) — or a quite distinct *vas*, which like the shorter form *us* denotes burning and shining — which would also well suit the conception of Spring — will perhaps be never decided. The root *lu* (No. 547) occurs in Greek as *λυ* in *λῦ-μα*, strengthened into *λου* in *λού-ω*; in Latin as *lu* in *lu-o*, as *lav* in *lav-o*; among the Teutonic languages the Old Norse gives *ló-a* (*adluo*). There we stop short, without entering as Bopp does on the question whether this *lu* is not perhaps merely a mutilated form of the root *plu*, which we find with its initial letter well preserved in a number of words in all the cognate languages (No. 369) or conjecturing with Pott I¹ 209 (retracted W. I 1137) that by an opposite process this *plu* in its turn may have proceeded from *pi* = *api-lu* (to wash upon). The objection

may be brought against us that we have thus passed by many of the most interesting questions, and it is true that the fancy of etymologers generally leads them first of all to these extremely difficult problems. But in this case, as often, we can only make advances by limiting the tasks we set ourselves, and above all by a careful distinction of that which may be known from that which can only be reached by conjectures. Even within the narrower circle, which is however quite wide enough, there will be no lack of increased enlightenment on many points. Science has not for its object the satisfaction of curiosity or the supply of an arena where more or less ingenious hypotheses may disport themselves, but the extension of the kingdom of truth and the confinement of the rule of error within narrower limits.

As a rule then we shall not in our combinations proceed beyond the forms which clearly present themselves from the comparison of words actually occurring in the various languages with which we are dealing; but in one respect it will be hardly possible to observe strictly the limits which we have drawn. I am referring to one of the most difficult questions in the investigation of language, the question of the variation of roots, or the formation of secondary roots, which, though in part far removed from the aims which we are here pursuing, yet cannot be left untouched. As to the general idea of a root, we may accept the view of Pott (Review of Benfey's *Wurzellexikon*) who calls roots the ultimate material (*Grundstoff*) of language. But if we define roots according to the form in which they present themselves in the Indo-Germanic languages, we may say that a root is the significant combination of sounds*) which is left remaining after a given 46

*) We shall be right in saying 'combination of sounds', for the only Indo-Germanic root, which appears to consist of a single sound, the root *i* (to go) has the smooth breathing before the vowel, a sound which is generally left quite out of view in linguistic investigations, but very incorrectly. The German alliteration shows most clearly

word has been stripped of everything formative. Primitive verb-forms are best adapted to this. Suppose $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ given. Grammar points out the particular grammatical force of every other part of this form, that is, $\acute{\epsilon}$ denotes that the action lies in the past, the reduplicated syllable $\tau\tau$ denotes the present stem, duration, $\tau\omicron$ the 3rd sing. mid.; hence $\theta\epsilon$ is evidently the root. If we compare $\xi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\mu\iota$, $\xi\epsilon\upsilon\tilde{\xi}\iota\text{-}\varsigma$, $\xi\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\text{-}\nu$ with each other, we arrive at the root $\xi\upsilon\gamma$, from which these three forms may be easily derived, because from the laws of inflection we can point out the meaning of the syllables $\nu\upsilon$ and $\mu\iota$, and from the laws of derivation we can explain the suffix $\tau\iota$ ($\sigma\iota$) with the sign of the nominative ς and the suffix \omicron with the sign of the accusative ν , while in the first two forms we can show that the diphthong has arisen from υ by intensification or expansion. The Indian grammarians, whose views were followed at first by comparative philology, were so far inconsistent in their procedure, that they set down some roots, specially all that ended in a , as having a long vowel: $d\acute{a}$, $p\acute{a}$, $st\acute{a}$ &c. But Schleicher (Beitr. II 92) has shown by convincing arguments, that the short vowel, which has long been assigned to Greek roots like $\phi\alpha$, $\delta\omicron$, $\theta\epsilon$, really belongs to the root. The length of the vowel, where it occurs, is to be considered as being itself something formative, as intensification. Hence I follow now this treatment of Schleicher, in favour of which Pott also (W. I 1) has expressed himself, though not without reserve, and Corssen (I² 604) more decidedly. For the future therefore, when it is a question of Indo-Germanic roots, we shall be speaking only of roots like da , pa , sta &c. But this definition of a root needs still further limitation.

that the smooth breathing was not unknown even to the linguistic instinct of the unlearned. The recognition of the smooth breathing as a real sound is often shown to be important, as in the interchange with j and v in the Slavonic languages. The assumption of a verbal root a in Heyse's 'System der Sprachwissenschaft' p. 113 rests upon an error.

If we were to break up $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ in the same way as $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron$, we should arrive at the utterly unpronounceable root $\gamma\nu$. Such roots, absolutely unpronounceable in some cases and not merely unpronounceable according to Greek laws of sound, are actually assumed by Benfey. According to him we 47 may work with the sound-groups $\gamma\lambda$, $\kappa\rho$, $\kappa\nu$, $\delta\phi$, arriving at last at Θfri and ΘPC . But objections to this have been justly raised from various quarters. Ought any one really to maintain in all gravity that the primitive language which lies at the base of all Indo-Germanic languages used such monstrous sounds? We can hardly credit any language with forms like these in spite of all experience.

Or is it intended by such unpronounceable aggregations of sound to represent mere shadowy existences, pure abstractions? A proceeding in our judgment extremely doubtful. It is true that we arrive at roots, as we conceive them, by abstraction; but it does not by any means follow from this that they did not really exist; it is only that they have no independent existence in the state of language which we have given to us historically. But for all that they underlie the various forms which have sprung out of them, just as the stems, formed from roots, underlie the forms which in their turn spring from them. The instinctive sense of roots and stems undoubtedly became in many ways obliterated and obscured, especially in the more recent periods of the life of language. But for more ancient times and for languages of the transparent structure of Sanskrit, and even Greek, as a rule at least, the feeling of the mutual connection between words that originated in one root or one stem must have been preserved in activity. There is even much to be said for the view that in the earliest period of the life of language, that is in the period preceding inflection, roots had a real existence apart from all additions, that, in other words, many at least of them were once true words. This view has recently been asserted among others by Steinthal (*Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychol.*

III 250) and Max Müller (Lectures II 37). Hence we can recognize as Indo-Germanic roots only such combinations of sound as according to the phonetic laws of the primitive Indo-Germanic language can be pronounced. In fact some vowel or other is always easily discovered as an integral part of the root. One who preferred to start from γv instead of γev , would be compelled to assume even in $\gamma \acute{\epsilon} \nu o s$ a strengthening, that is, formative element quite apart from the termination, an assumption which would be altogether unlawful. Evidently the rejection of the vowel is something purely accidental, limited to some few formations from the root; and hence we can no more assume it in the root itself, than we could the strengthening of $\zeta u \gamma$ to $\zeta e u \gamma$, which is also limited to particular forms. We must therefore complete the definition of the origin of a root given above, by adding that a root is the combination of sounds which remains when everything formative and accidental has been stripped away from a given word.

Another question is not so easily answered, i. e. whether we are to lay down special roots for the several languages, or common roots for the united stock. At the first glance it seems to be more in accordance with the approved view that roots were the actual primary words of the languages, to speak not of Greek, but only of Indo-Germanic roots. For nothing is more certain than that θe , $\zeta u \gamma$, γev were never independent words. These combinations of sound date from a time when language had long passed beyond the primitive words. It is only of the older sound-groups which may be regularly deduced from them, of *dha*, *jug*, *gan* that it is probable that they had an independent existence in that early time. Hence Heyse (System der Sprachwissenschaft p. 112) will only allow of Indo-Germanic roots, and Steinthal (Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychol. II 463, III 250) agrees with him, while Jacob Grimm (über Diphthonge u. ausgef. Conson. p. 63) maintains that what is held to be a root in one language

need not be regarded as such in another. The question, is plainly not to be considered from the point of view of theory alone, but essentially, so to say, from that of practice, that is, of the requirements of special investigations. One who lays down only Indo-Germanic roots, must naturally set aside not only Greek, but also Sanskrit roots. Accordingly we must not speak of the rt. *gan* any more than *γεν*, but only of *gan*. The rt. *gar*, which by the way may be shown itself to have been used in three essentially distinct primary meanings — to call (*γῆρύω*), to devour (*βορρεῖν*), to wake (*ἐγρηγορέναι*), — would coincide with the root *gar*, which again has three principal meanings, — to grow old (*γέρων*), to approach, and to crackle. As an original *k* is in Sanskrit sometimes preserved, sometimes changed into *k̄*, and sometimes into *ç*, the three roots *kam* 'love', *kam* 'sip', *çam* 'quiet', and again *kar* 'make' and *kar* 'go', would have to be reduced to one, or to several of identical sound. But is not this simply bringing together theoretically forms which in the living language diverge far from each other? And there are still greater difficulties in the way in the case of Greek, because here evidently from the earliest times its richer vowel-system contributed to determine the meaning. *ἐδ* to eat and *ὀδ* to smell are in Greek kept as strictly distinct as the identical stems in Latin (*edere*, *odor*) and in Lithuanian *éd-mi* I eat, *ûd-zu* I smell. Are we to refer both to a root *ad*, nowhere existing and purely theoretical? Who can assure us, that *ad* 'to eat', was 49 not distinguished from the root meaning 'to smell', in an earlier period in language, only in a way which we cannot now discover? The stems *ἀρ* (*ἀραρίσχω* and *ἀρώω*), *ἐρ* (*ἐρέσσω*), *ὀρ* (*ὄρνυμι*) go back to one original theme, the *ar* retained in Sanskrit, but to each of these forms a definite meaning is attached, to the one with *a* that of fitting and ploughing, to the one with *e* that of rowing, to the one with *o* that of raising or arousing; and if we compare the Latin words *artus*, *rémus*, *orior*, here too this special meaning shows itself attached to the same vowels.

It follows that this change of vowel is neither formative nor accidental; hence according to our definition it belongs to the root. Anyone who lays down simply *ar* as the root of all these Greek words, obscures the special relation in which the A-sound stands to the meaning of ἀραρίσκω &c. and fails to assume in the case of ἐρέσσω and ὄρμενος an element in the stem which subserves the meaning. The difference between ἄρμενος and ὄρμενος is quite other than that between λέγω and λόγος, between ἔτρεπον and ἔτραπον. In the latter case the change of vowel is connected with the form, but it is not so in the former; here it belongs to the very substance of the language. In the forms ὦρτο, ὄρνυμι, ὀρίνω, ὅρ presents itself in exactly the same way as the fundamental element, appears in them all, so to speak, as a monad, just as much as Skt. *ar* in the words derived therefrom. The assertion of stems of this kind is therefore as indispensable for a clear representation of the structure of language, as the assertion of noun-stems, of derived verb-stems and of pronoun-stems. The noun-stem πλοο certainly never existed independently, and yet we give it the same name as the Skt. noun-stem *plava*, in the case of which this independent existence is more possible. We call *s* the termination of the nominative πλόο-ς, *plava-s*, although the proper original sign of this case was apparently *sa*. In short, in the science of language we always call the atoms (Lautkörper) and elements of the individual languages, which act as the representatives and we might say heirs of the corresponding Indo-Germanic atoms and elements, by the same names as these. As an unbroken tradition reigned in the history of language, γεν is the heir of the rt. *gan*. The form γεν which by degrees developed out of *gan* always retains the same value for the formation of derivatives: why are we to call the two combinations of sound by different names? Hence I am also of opinion that we do not get much profit from the distinctions which some have attempted to make in order to avoid a confusion of the Indo-Germanic roots

with their successors in the realm of language. Heyse (*ut supra*) wishes to distinguish between 'roots' and 'root-forms', but the idea of a root taken strictly excludes form: Steinthal draws a distinction between 'root' and 'theme', 50 but the latter expression is too wide; Pott II² 246, distinguishes absolute from relative roots. This would do better, and it is in any case important to be aware of such a difference. But can we really always succeed in reaching the absolute final root? The many homonymous roots which we should arrive at for the Indo-Germanic period warn us against thinking so. Will any one undertake in the case of the root *kam* mentioned above to trace back the meanings 'love' and 'sip' to one original signification, or will he regard it as credible that language from the first denoted such different conceptions by the same sounds? In short we may certainly lay it down as probable that the Indo-Germanic languages proceeded from elements of words like the roots which we can infer, and that many of these had from the beginning just those sounds, neither more nor less, which we find in them by our inferences. But to decide, in the case of every such unit which may be inferred, whether it was the absolutely oldest combination of sounds linked to this conception or not is impossible. And therefore the science of language will always have to do in detail essentially with relative roots, which present themselves differently for each individual language.

Be this as it may, we can of course only speak of roots at all in those languages, in which substance and form are not too entirely confused. Where, as in daughter-languages or in languages with much decayed sounds, e. g. in New High German, the connection between forms originally belonging to each other is much effaced, the assumption of a root for the particular language is a very doubtful step. But in this respect Greek occupies a position not at all differing from that of Sanskrit. It is true that Greek grammar did not attain to the scientific consciousness of roots, any more than to the consciousness of case-endings,

noun-stems and verb-stems. But on all these points we must supplement the linguistic sense which had not yet been developed into clearness; whilst by the help of the insight into the earlier history of the Greek language which has been granted only to us, we give precision to the representation of it, and carry our analysis (where this is possible) as far as those small but significant elements of words, which even in their Greek dress have a well-grounded claim to the name of roots.

As to the Greek roots in particular, this will be the place, before we go any further, to insert some remarks upon their number and character. L. Lange has deserved
 51 our thanks for taking the pains to count (for his notice of the first volume of the present work in the *Ztschr. für Oest. Gymn.* 1860 p. 118) the number of the roots recognized by me in that volume, and to arrange them according to their phonetic character. Although there is room for doubt with respect to individual roots, yet this grouping is well calculated to furnish us with a general measure of the extent to which we can discover roots, and also of their phonetic nature. With the help of this arrangement, which I have altered in only a few points of little importance, and supplemented by some additional roots, I give here the main results. According to this, I consider it possible to refer some 700 Greek word-stems, which are treated as such separately, to 278 distinct roots; and of these, if the spiritus lenis, as well as the spiritus asper is counted as a consonant (p. 55 note)

- 1) 36 consist of a consonant and a vowel: *ι* (615), *χα* (179), *θε* (309), &c.
- 2) 152 of a consonant, a vowel, and a second consonant: *αν* (2), *δικ* (14), *αγ* (118), *γαρ* (122), &c.
- 3) 23 of two consonants and a vowel: *σκε* (45b), *κλυ* (62), *δρα* (272), &c.
- 4) 24 of a consonant, a vowel, and two following consonants: *αγκ* (1), *φεργ* (141), *τερον* (240), &c.
- 5) 40 of two consonants, a vowel, and a following consonant: *κλεπ* (58), *κυλ* (114), *χλαδ* (196), &c.

- 6) 3 of two consonants, a vowel, and two following consonants, namely *σκαλπ* (106), *σπερχ* (176b), *στεμφ* (219).

With regard to the second division of roots, which is so much larger than any of the other, two important remarks are made by Grassmann in his papers 'On the aspirates and their simultaneous occurrence at the beginning and at the end of roots' (Ztschr. XII 81 ff.). The first is that 'in Greek there is no root with two medial mutes and a vowel standing between them, either by itself or expanded by a nasal liquid' (p. 115). Greek is thus distinguished especially from the Germanic and Letto-Slavic tongues, in which roots like the Gothic *gab* (give), Ch. Sl. *bŭd* (wake) are very common. The distinction is explained by the corruption of the aspirates in the northern tongues, and their transformation in other ways in the two classical languages. Thus the course of the investigation, which the author has conducted with equal acuteness and thoroughness, leads him in the next place to the conjecture that not only for the primitive Indo-Germanic language, but also for Greek we must assume roots both ⁵² beginning and ending with aspirates, like *bhudh* = *φῡθ*. By this latter assumption, opposed as it is to the view held by most scholars, and by myself formerly, so much light is thrown upon many questions hitherto dark, especially with regard to the relation of several German roots to the corresponding Greek ones, that, in spite of Pott's passionate attack upon it (Ztschr. XIX 16 ff.), I fully accept it. According to the familiar phonetic law, which in Sanskrit as in Greek does not readily allow the succession of two syllables each beginning with an aspirate, the first aspirate lost of necessity its aspiration, either entirely (*πυθίσθαι*, *πύσσομαι*) or at least in the majority of its verbal forms (*ρύψω*, *θύψω*).

But even that section of the word which, in the manner that has been indicated, we find to be indivisible, and the proper vehicle of the meaning, sometimes presents it-

self to us under more than one form, and the question arises which is the more primitive, and the proper root-form. It is comparatively easy to decide when we have to deal with those regularly recurring series of vowels, which Jacob Grimm established for the Germanic languages, and denoted by the name Ablaut. In the case of the chord presented by the three vowels in most of the strong verbs, it is as a rule not difficult to arrive at the fundamental note, to which the root is set. It is the same with the corresponding phenomena in Greek. Modern philology, here agreeing with the Sanskrit grammarians, usually regards the shortest form of the root as the oldest; so that what Grimm regarded as Ablaut (degradation of sound) we hold to be rather Zulaut*) (addition of sound) or vowel-intensification, which therefore, as being formative, must be regarded as an addition to the root, and not as something contained in it. Hence we regard $\Sigma\upsilon\gamma$ as the root in spite of $\xi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\gamma\nu\mu$ and $\xi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\iota\pi$ in spite of $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$ and $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\alpha$, $\lambda\alpha\theta$ in spite of $\lambda\eta\theta\eta$. According to this view the conceptions of men, as has been well said, broke out first 'like lightning' in short syllables. It is only later, and
 53 especially in connection with inflection and the coinage of noun-stems in various ways, that we find the tendency to bring out the root-syllable in certain cases more fully and broadly, a tendency which led on the one hand to reduplication, on the other to the vowel-intensifications, which then in the further course of the history of language underwent various ramifications and changes. Attempts have

*) The word *guna-s* (from which the hybrid words *guniren*, *Gunirung* have been formed, certainly not to the adornment of our philological writings), used with especial preference, perhaps just because of its mysterious origin, is according to Boehtlingk (Pet. Dict.) properly 'the subordinate, secondary vowel-strengthening', opposed to *ṛddhi-s* (growth), the full strengthening. Why should we not rather substitute a German word like Zulaut (addition of sound, or Vokalsteigerung (vowel-intensification) for the curiously devised and wholly unintelligible term of the Indian grammarians.

been made in different quarters to explain the 'addition of sound' (Zulaut) by the accent. How far they have been successful we need not discuss here. It is certain that this hypothesis can be maintained only if we suppose for the primitive Indo-Germanic language a system of accentuation differing essentially from the traditional system of Sanskrit and Greek. But allowing that in that early period the main accent of a word always went along with vowel intensification, yet this could not be regarded as any explanation, for the further question would immediately present itself, why the accent in one form fell upon the stem, in another on the termination. And the answer would certainly in many cases bring us back to our previous conjecture, i. e. that emphasis was sometimes used by language to give prominence to the stem, at other times to the termination. This is not the place to enter into the details of this modification of the vowels. They belong to the science of the forms of language, i. e. to Grammar. The subject has been besides discussed from various sides, especially thoroughly by Schleicher in his Compendium. Here we may simply mention that the interchange of ϵ and o ($\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ and $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) and the much less common interchange of η and ω ($\phi\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$, $\epsilon\phi\phi\omega\gamma\alpha$) belong to this category. The view, which I established in my essay *de nominum formatione* p. 22, that the o -sound is heavier than the ϵ -sound and that therefore here too we must assume intensification, addition of sound, though in a lesser degree, has found many supporters. Since its publication it has been confirmed by my investigations on the splitting of the A-sound ('Ueber die Spaltung des A-Lautes') printed in the 'Sitzungsberichten d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. 1864' p. 9 ff. I believe that I have shown there that the division of the old A-sound has a much deeper influence on the structure of the European members of the Indo-Germanic group of languages than has been hitherto supposed, and that in particular, first e and then afterwards o arose from what was originally a simple A-sound. The change of

the *a* to the thinner *e*, and afterwards to *i*, was the earlier, the change of *a* to the duller *o* and afterwards *u* was the later modification; and hence the above-mentioned languages agree much more completely in the former than 54 in the latter point, e. g. *ἐπτά* = *septem*, Goth. *sibun*, Lith. *septyni*, *ἐστί* = *est*, Goth. *ist*, Lith. *ésti*, but *ὄν*-s = *on*-s, Goth. *avistr*, Lith. *avì-s*. Hence I do not doubt, and have proved more completely in the paper quoted above, that in a very early time from original roots like *gan*, *man*, *gen* and *men* were formed, and that *gon* and *mon* (*γέγονα*, *μέμονα*) are related to these as *ζευγ* to *ζυγ*, *λειπ* to *λιπ*, and just as the higher stages *λοιπ*, *ποιθ* (*λέλοιπα*, *πέποιθα*), *έλουθ* (*ελλήλουθα*) to the lower stages *λειπ*, *πειθ*, *έλευθ* (*λείπω*, *πείθω*, *έλεύ(θ)σομαι*). From the original pair of sounds *gan* (Skt. *gan-ā-mi*) and *gān* (Skt. perf. *gā-gān-a*), *bhar* (Skt. *bhar-ā-mi*) and *bhār* (Skt. *bhāra-s*, 'burden') by gradual 'shifting' probably first *gen*, *gan*, *bher*, *bhar* were formed, then *gen*, *gon* (*γενέσθαι*, *γέγονα*), *bher*, *bhor* (*φέρω*, *φόρο-ς*). But we have no indication that there was ever a period when *γεν* and *γον*, *φερ* and *φορ* were arbitrarily interchanged, so that occasionally *γονέσθαι*, *φόρω* were also used, or on the other hand *γέγενα*, *φέρο-ς*. The Greek vowel-modification is certainly a copy, however much it may have been blurred, of the original, deeply based in the structure of the language. Thus we have here a new justification for ascribing the E-sound to the Greek roots in question.

The case is not so simple where we have an interchange between *ε* and *α*, as occurs in *κέλωμαι* by the side of *καλέω*, *στέλλω* and *έστάλην*, *βέλος* and *βάλλω*, *τρέπω* and *τραπον*. Here there is no firmly-established relation based upon a wide analogy. We cannot say that *α* as the heavier vowel takes the place of *ο*, for this *ο* sometimes also appears by the side of *ε* and *α* as a third vowel: *στόλο-ς*, *βολή*, *τρόπο-ς*, and the heavier *α* is attached even to those forms which are in other respects the shortest, the forms of the strong aorist. But it is also dangerous

to start with a root καλ, σταλ, βαλ, τραπ, for βολή and ῥόπο-ς are related to βελ and τρεπ precisely as γόνο-ς is related to γεν. The forms in α are evidently isolated remains of an older pre-Hellenic state of language. There has been a weakening of the 'linguistic instinct', which felt neither the one vowel nor the other to be decidedly the characteristic one for the root concerned, and this relation we cannot, I believe, denote better than by giving double roots καλ κελ, στελ σταλ, βαλ βελ, τρεπ τραπ, placing that form first which is the most widely prevalent.

But there is another process bearing the closest resemblance to the vowel-intensification, from which, as we saw, we have in many cases an apparently two-fold theme. As τέτευχα is to τυχ, πέφηνα to φαν, so is κέκλαγγα to κλαγ (κλάζω). Accordingly I have always — and I am ⁵⁵ pleased to find myself here entirely agreeing with Pott — treated the nasalization of a root, or its expansion by means of a nasal (for which Pott occasionally uses the expression Rhinismus) as a phænomenon corresponding to vowel-intensification. Inasmuch as several recent philologists have either passed over this view in silence, or have contested it, I must enter into the question here. This may however be done the more briefly because the subject-matter has been discussed by me in the *Tempora und Modi* p. 53 ff., and has been treated thoroughly by Pott again in the *Et. Forsch.* II² p. 451 ff. p. 680 ff., and, though with differences on many points, by Joh. Schmidt, *Vocalismus I*, especially p. 115*). Even the old Greeks could not fail to notice that nasals occurring before consonants in the middle of a word did not always hold their ground very firmly, did not always belong to the proper substance of a word. They found ὄμβριμος used by the side of ὄβριμος, τύπανον by τύπανον (*Hymn. Hom. XIV, 3*),

*) Latin nasalization is discussed by Corssen, *Nachträge* 193, *Ausspr.* I 565 f. — Kölle (*Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wissensch.* 1866 p. 314) has shown the existence of nasalization in African languages, especially as a supplement to reduplication.

πίμπλημι by ἐμπίπλημι. In an inscription we have actually ἐμπρίατο (Ahrens Dor. 351). The old grammarians included these expansions with other phænomena under the name of στομφασμός, fuller thicker pronunciation (Eustath. p. 1123, 41, p. 1350, 26). The reverse of this accretion of a nasal sound is its disappearance in forms like Ὀλυπος, Νυφόδωρος, on the occurrence of which Nauck, Aristoph Byz 147, Keil, Analect. Epigr. 173 should be consulted. And as in the middle of a word, so in its termination Greek recognizes the moveable nasal, the so-called ν ἐπεικυστικόν, which in many forms, e. g. ἐστίν compared with the Skt. *asti*, φέρουσιν by Skt. *bharanti* is evidently an added sound, which might originally be used arbitrarily and according to no definite rule, but which, submitted to the control of the linguistic consciousness, was only allowed, or at least only recognized by the grammarians, where the connection of the words in a sentence and the needs of the verse made it desirable. The added nasal sound which in Arabic is called Nunnation, appears according to what I learn from those who know the language (though Philippi, Wesen des status constructus p. 184 takes a different 56 view) to have the greatest similarity to the paragogic ν^{*}). Some remarkable analogies to this process have been recently pointed out from German dialects, and though it is exceptional and not in harmony with the general course of language which tends towards a 'weathering away' of sounds, yet it appears to be established beyond the possibility of doubt. In the Litter. Centralbl. 1860 p. 57 examples are quoted from the Zürich dialect of an *n* inserted

*) The paragogic ν and its employment in literary usage have been treated of by Lobeck, Elementa II 143 ff. Deventer, who in his treatise *de litera ν Graecorum paragogica* Monast. 1863 collects epigraphic material bearing on the question, endeavours, following an earlier attempt of Fried. Müller's, but with more qualifications, to vindicate the greater antiquity of the form in ν. I consider this probable only in the case of νέν = Skt. *kam*, νόν by the side of νύ and a few other words.

to avoid hiatus, e. g. wie'n er au = wie er auch: and in Zeitschr. XII 396 instances like ba'n euk = bei euch are quoted by Kuhn from Lexer's Carinthian Dictionary. Among comparative grammarians besides Pott, Lepsius in his work 'Palæography as a means for the Investigation of Language', and W. v. Humboldt on the Variety of the Structure of Human Language p. 254 have recognized nasalization. Pott II² 680 remarks with justice 'No consonant surpasses the nasal in flexibility and pliancy': 'If in pronouncing a vowel I direct through the nose one arm of the stream of breath which produces it, it becomes rhinistic'. Physiologists describe the manner of producing the nasals as approaching very nearly to that of the vowels. 'They have' says Brücke, (Grundzüge der Physiologie und System. der Sprachlaute, p. 31) this in common with the vowels, that they have not like the other consonants a sound of their own independent of the voice, but they only rest upon resonance'. Lepsius (Standard Alphabet p. 59) actually calls nasalization a vowel modification, and points to the fact that the Indian designation of the nasal after-sound (*Anu-svāra-s*, cp. *svāra-s*, vowel) corresponds with the designation of the vowel. For this very reason this insertion or more correctly after-sound is something very different from the insertion of real consonants which was formerly so arbitrarily assumed. Those who contend against the assumption of nasalization as a phænomenon running parallel to reduplication and vowel intensification, as they cannot deny the facts in question, have hitherto followed two ways, so far as I know, for explaining these facts. On the one hand they assume, at least for some of the forms, that the nasal belonged from the first to the root, so that not the κλαγ of κλάζω, but the κλαγγ of κέ-χλαγγα would have to be considered the root; and similarly not the stem which appears in ἐχι-s and Skt. *ahi-s*, but that which we find in the Latin *angui-s* and the Lith. *angi-s*, which with its nasal occurs in Greek only in the derivative ἐγγελευ-s = *anguilla*. I admit that for 57

many stems this view can be made to appear probable. But what are we to do in cases where the nasalized form only occurs quite sporadically. Are we because of the single instance *τύμπ-ανο-ν* to give *τυμπ* as the root instead of *τυπ*? The gloss in Hesychius *γρομφεῖς ζωγράφου* is certainly read more correctly with L. Dindorf and M. Schmidt *γροφεῖς*, as the alphabetical arrangement shows; but this does not touch the fact that the grubbing sow *γρομφάς* derives its name from the same root which enters into *γράφειν*, Germ. *graben* [Engl. *grave* and perhaps even *grub*]. Now if we proceeded in the manner just mentioned we should be obliged, for the sake of this one form, to give the root as *grambh*, not *grabh*, and in all the other forms in various languages gathered under No. 138 we should have to assume the loss of this nasal. And in other cases we should be driven to still stranger assumptions. Inasmuch as no one can fail to recognize the connection of *ὀνδ-άλλομαι* with *ὀδ-εῖν*, we should be obliged to maintain, not merely that the widely-extended root for seeing had properly the form *vind* (Skt. *vind-ā-mi* 'I find'), but also that *vid* is shortened from this *vind*, to become on occasion again expanded to *vaid* (Gr. *εἶδ*, *οἶδ*). It is evident that it will not be easy to explain the facts of the case in this way. Hence another explanation has found more favour, which however no one adopts universally, but it is resorted to by preference only in certain verbal forms (Kuhn, *Zeitschr.* II 455 ff. Schleicher, *Compend.* 752). While we have by the side of the Latin *jungimus* the Skt. *junḡmas*, we have *junag-mi* corresponding to *jungo*, and both *scindo* and *σύνδνημι* occur. Now in these cases the latter position of the nasal is by some regarded as the normal one, and this is held to be, not incorporated in the root, but rather the syllable *na*, which is considered as a significant particle of pronominal origin, appended to the root. This naturally leads to the further assumption that in *scindo* just as in the Skt. *kṛinad-mi* the nasal shifts its position, and that it has obtained a position to

which it has no right between the vowel and the final consonant of the root. This explanation might have some claim on our attention in the case of the present stems; though even in regard to these objections of many kinds would not be wanting. But how are we to explain the noun-forms? It might be said that the nasal forced its way into these after the analogy of the verbal forms, just as the *n* of *pungo*, which properly belongs only to the present stem, occurs also in *punctus*, and as *conjunct* as well as *conjux* has its basis in *jungo*. Only unfortunately in Greek we do not find so clear a relation of the nasal in noun-forms to that which occurs in verbal forms. Does it admit of doubt that the keen-sighted *λύγξ*, and its human rival *Λυγεύς* derive their names from the root *λυκ*, 58 which appears in *λεύσσω*? But we should look in vain for a form *λυγκω*, which might have arisen from *λυκ-νῆ-μι*, for a Skt. *rukṇāmi* or *ruñkāmi*. And all devices of this kind break down before the nasal in reduplicated syllables, e. g. in *πίμπρημι*, *δένδρε(ν)ον*, in forms like *διάνδιχα* and in the case of the paragogic *ν*. As such difficulties meet these attempts at explanation, and as on the other hand the view maintained by Pott and myself has not to contend with any of the kind, and is certainly not without strong supports, I see no reason to deviate from it.

A difficulty of a wholly different kind presents itself in a number of roots, whose final consonant does not always remain the same. For *ὄψομαι* and *ὄψις* we shall lay down *ὀπ* as the root unconditionally: but it will appear hereafter that the *π* here is the successor of a *κ*, and that the related words *ὄσσε*, *ὄσσομαι* are only explained by the root *ok*, occurring in the Lat. *ocu-lu-s*. But it would not be correct to give *ὀκ* as the root of *ὄψομαι* also, for the interchange of *κ* and *π* is neither formative, serving for the expression of any distinction, nor accidental, in *ὄνομαι*, *ὄψις*. We evidently find ourselves here in the same position as previously in the case of the interchange

of ε and α . We must recognize a dulling of the linguistic sense, which we express by allowing the co-existence of a two-fold root $\delta\kappa$, $\delta\pi$.

Hitherto we have always been able to explain the differing forms of roots from peculiar relations of sounds. But there is a variation of roots which extends beyond these limits. This phænomenon, which has not as yet been sufficiently considered from a general point of view, has received its most thorough discussion from Pott in the *Etym. Forsch.* I¹ 27, 167 and recently in II² 272. Pott assumes a tolerably extensive variation of roots at a period evidently very early in the life of language, by means of which a modification (*Temperirung*) of the fundamental conception became possible. This modification, expressed by a change or addition of sounds is conceivable in three ways, by means of an alteration either at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a root. In all these alterations we do not include those changes of sounds which are to be explained by the general process of 'weathering away'. Thus we have here no concern with the fact that when we find in Greek, by the side of $\kappa\tau\epsilon\gamma$ the form $\tau\epsilon\gamma$ ($\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ and $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$), we explain the latter form, as well as the Lat. *teg* in *teg-o* as shortened from the first and fuller root. Here there is no variation but an affection of the root, though in this case a very old one, extending beyond the period of the Graeco-Italic
 59 language, inasmuch as we find also in German and Erse a simple dental initial consonant. But an initial variation presents itself, according to Pott in the Lat. *scalp-o*, *sculp-o* compared with the root *glab* in *glab-er*, *glub* in *glub-o*: $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\omicron\lambda\omicron\psi$ (St. $\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\psi$) and $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\psi$ (mole), $\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$, are connected with *scalp* and *sculp*, $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\text{-}\omega$, $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\text{-}\upsilon$, $\gamma\lambda\alpha\phi\upsilon\text{-}\rho\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ with *glab*, $\gamma\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\phi\text{-}\omega$ with *glub*: all have in common the idea of 'hollowing'. Now here Pott regards it as possible that the initial *s*, which he does not in this case take to be a preposition, contributed to give a special colouring, so that *scalp* and *galbh*, *skulp* and *gulbh* — for so we

should have to give the forms — would be sister-roots, which we should have, not to derive one from another, but to consider as having an equal right to recognition. We might be able to agree to accept this principle, especially as we cannot fail to recognize the existence of a slight difference of meaning. However it will as a rule be more prudent here to neglect entirely the question of mutual connection. And in particular it appears to me that we have no sufficient basis for the assumption of 'an initial formative sound modifying the meaning of the original root' *). (Heyse, *System* p. 114). The place where formative sounds are added, according to the universal tendency of the Indo-Germanic languages is not the beginning, but the end. For our purpose we keep roots of the kind entirely distinct, except indeed where the curtailed beginning can be explained as an affection, because we may reasonably conjecture that they were separated even before the division of the languages. Besides their number will be found to be small.

The case is similar with letters in the middle of a root. The same verbs may serve us here again as examples: *scalp* and *sculp*, *γλαφ* and *γλυφ* are distinguished from each other by the vowel, and certainly this distinction is not without meaning. Hence in our view, as in form and meaning they are not quite identical, these also are distinct roots, and we do not undertake the attempt to derive the *u* from the *a* †). Still less shall we endeavour to refer to 60

*) This means of reducing two similar roots to a unity, which reminds us of the attempts of older philologists, mentioned above (p. 18) has been used again tolerably extensively by Pictet. A. Weber also (*Ztschr.* VI 139) occasionally allows 'a prefixed *s*', and Max Müller (*Lectures* II 312) expresses a similar judgment. Cp. p. 42 note.

†) The attempt to explain every radical *i* and *u*, with the exception of those which have proceeded from *ja* and *va*, as a weakening of an original *a*, has been made by Fick (*Vergl. Wörterb.* p. 943 ff.) I gladly recognize the acuteness which has been employed in the process, but confess that these hypotheses are too flighty for

one root such forms as are distinguished in respect to consonants within the root, with the sole exception of the nasals, which we discussed above. In spite of the slight difference in meaning the roots φῶγ (φῆγγνυμι) and φαγ (ἄγγνυμι) are regarded by us as distinct. In this case, as in the numerous similar cases quoted by Pott (Berl. Jahrb. 1840, p. 635) we are contented to divide that, the separation of which is at least extremely old. If sounds are connected with the conceptions denoted by them by an internal bond, it is natural that similar conceptions should be denoted by similar sounds. To that time of the first establishment of sounds and ideas we do not here go back. But there are particular Greek stems, in the case of which our task will not allow us to dispense with the assumption of root-variation, effected by early differences of vocalization. Thus we must claim for the time before the separation of the languages a root *tak* with the bye-forms *tik* and *tuk*, that is to say, a root appearing in three various forms though a degradation of vowel (Ablaut) as in the German, the existence of which in all three forms can be proved in the case of almost all the allied languages. In Greek from *tak* sprung τεκ and τοκ (No. 235). But these three forms of the root are not so distinguished from each other, that each form possesses a definite meaning: — in that case we should give three roots —, but the principal meanings, beget, hit, prepare, are so distributed to the three main forms, that in three families of speech different vowels appear for each of them, i. e.

a (ϵ o)	i	u
Gr. τεκ-εἶν	O. Pr. teik-usna	Skt. tōk-a-s (rt. <i>tuk</i>)
	(<i>creatio</i>)	(<i>proles</i>)
τέκ-μαρ	Lith. tik-ý-ti	
τόξο-ν	(to aim)	
	tink-a-s	Gr. τυχ-εἶν
	(it befalls)	

me. So long as Fick himself is compelled to give up the attempt to refer such an important and widely extended root as *bhu* 'grow' to a form in *a*, no one can be censured for feeling unable to draw such a conclusion as that above-mentioned.

<i>τέχ-τ-ων</i>			Gr. <i>τεύχ-ειν</i>
Skt. <i>tak-sh-an</i> (<i>faber</i>)			<i>τε-τύχ-οντο</i>
<i>tak-sh</i>	O. Pr. <i>tik-in-t</i>		<i>τύχ-ος</i>
(<i>fabricari</i>)	(make)		
Lith. <i>taseý-ti</i>			
(to work in wood)			

Here even in Greek the relation of *τέμαρ* and *τυχεῖν* 61 — *χ* has arisen out of *κ* by affection — of *τέκτων* and *τείνοντο*, *τύκος* (chisel) is not conceivable without the assumption of a vowel-splitting. We must certainly maintain a root-variation which perhaps coincided originally with the differentiation of meaning, but afterwards continued independently of it, and this is the very reason why a complete separation is not possible.

8.

More important than such isolated interchange of vowels in the middle of roots — which should not however mislead us into allowing a promiscuous interchange of the three primitive vowels *a, i, u* — is the transformation of the final letter. It does not admit of doubt that a considerable number of roots are preserved to us in two-fold forms, of which the one is longer than the other by a final consonant. J. Grimm in his essay 'On Diphthongs after dropped consonants' (Dec. 11, 1845), reprinted in the third volume of his 'Kleinere Schriften', in discussing a long list of such double roots, ascribes the priority to the forms ending in a consonant, at any rate in the Teutonic languages (p. 60), though he concludes by regarding as possible for an earlier period of language the accretion of a consonant. That Lobeck from his own point of view was led to the assumption of such accretion we saw above, p. 13. Here with Pott who discusses these affixes thoroughly in II² 460 ff., we call the shorter form the primary, the longer the secondary, and the process of the addition of a con-

sonant expansion (Weiterbildung)*). Of course here again we do not take into consideration cases in which the two-fold form is only apparent; for instance where we have a moveable *ς* at the end of Greek roots, for the *ς* falls away or is assimilated according to definite phonetic laws (e. g. the root *ἐκ* — *ἐ-ovt* for *ἐσ-ovt*, *ἐλ-μί*, root *ἐκ* — *ἐν-νν-μι* for *ἐσ-νν-μι*) but roots which in several languages show themselves in a two-fold shape, although the occurrence of the shorter is not phonetically explicable. Here we must go back to the period of the organization of language; and to understand even Greek we must not neglect to cast a glance upon these phenomena. If we compare the verb *τύφω* with the Skt. *dhûp*, *suffire*, *fumare*, as has often been done, inasmuch as the aspiration in *τύφω* has changed its place (as *ἐθνψα*, *θύμβρα* show), we cannot but refer both verbs to the shorter root *θυ*, Skt. *dhu*, which clearly occurs in *θύω* (No. 320), *θύος*, *θύμον*, and also in the Skt. *dhû-ma-s* 'smoke' = Lat. *fû-mu-s*, Lith. *dû-mai* (smoke). The root *dhu* is therefore strengthened by *p*, and in this expanded form comes under the head of the Sanskrit causative forms in *p*, with which however a number of forms without a distinctly causative meaning are connected (Pott I¹ 27). A similar *p* might be assumed in *δα-π* (*δάπ-τ-ω*, *δαπάνη*) which is connected with the Skt. *dâpajâmi* (*dividi jubeo*) and with the Lat. *dap-s*: from which we see that *δεπ-ν-ov* undoubtedly belongs here (No. 261). The shorter root is the *δα* of *δα-ι-ω* = Skt. *dâ*, *dô* (No. 256), whence *δαι-ς* (stem *δαιρ*) and Skt.

*) Fick (Wörterb. 968 ff.) treats the whole question here touched upon in its widest extent. The principles on which this is done. do not differ essentially from those which are here maintained. But I do not understand why every consonant that occurs as final in a root where the initial letter is also a consonant, should be secondary. If there were always roots like *ak*, *ad*, *ar*, why not also *tak*, *pad tar*? Some important roots, as e. g. *bhar* 'bear' according to Fick's own confession, stubbornly resist his bold analysis. Here as elsewhere a systematizing consistency seems to be out of place. Still, it is useful to see what can be done in this direction.

dāja-m (*portio*). *δυ-π* for the usual *δυ* (*δύω*) is demonstrable first in the Alexandrian poets in the forms *δύπτω*, *δύπτῃ-ς*. *τρύ-π-η*, *τρυνά-ω* are connected with *τρύ-ω* and *τείρ-ω*, Lat. *ter-o* (No. 239). It is very probable that the root *ἐλπ* for *ἑλ-π* (No. 333) is connected with the Lat. *volup*, and is to be referred to the shorter stem which enters into *βούλομαι*, *vol-o*, *velle*; and also that *κλέ-π-τ-ω*, Lat. *cle-p-o*, Goth. *hliftu-s* (thief) [Scotch 'lift' of cattle] is an expansion of the root which occurs in the shortest form in Lat. *oc-cul-o*, *clam*, but which is similarly expanded by a *p* in the O. Pr. *anklip-t-s*, 'concealed'. In another way *κόλπ-ο-ς* might have arisen from the same root denoting 'to conceal', 'to hide'. Still it is perhaps better to connect the word with the O. N. *hvalf* (vault). Cp. Pott II² 463, Fick² 408 and Soph. Bugge Stud. IV 332. Whether *καλύπτω*, which is more difficult because of *καλύβη*, but which was compared by Pott even in I¹ 27 (cp. W. II 196) with Lat. *clup-e-us*, also belongs here, we shall have to consider further on in our investigation of the weakening of sounds, and there we shall have also to discuss the relation of *στέφ-ω* to the Lat. *stip-o*, Skt. *sthāpajāmi* (No. 224). The form *σκαλπ* 63 (No. 106) discussed above with reference to its vowel (p. 73), which occurs in *σκάλοψ*, Lat. *scalp-o*, is still more plainly connected with the shorter *σκαλ* in *σκάλλω*, *σκαλίσ*; and the root *καρπ* (No. 41) of *καρπ-άλιμο-ς*, *κραιπνό-ς*, which has its direct analogue in OHG. *hlouf-an* 'run', and in Ch. Sl. *krěpŭ-kŭ* 'bold, active', is connected with Skt. *kar*, *incedere*, i. e. *kar* and the Lat. *cur-ro*. *χρέμ-π-τε-σθαι* 'to clear the throat' is evidently from the root *χρεμ* (No. 200b); and in the same way *χρέμ-π-τω* points to the root *χρα-ν* of *χραίνω* (No. 201).

For the expansive affix of a *φ* = Skt. *bh* we can quote at least one instance that can hardly be contested. In Sanskrit the root *va* (found also in the form *vē*, Pres. *va-jā-mi*) occurs with the meaning 'weave', which is preserved in *ῥ-τριο-ν* 'warp of the web', for *ῥ-τριο-ν*. Besides this Aufrecht (Ztschr. IV

277 ff.) has shown from the name of the spider *úrna-vábbi-s*, which he translates 'wool-weaver', the existence of a root *vabh*, which is to be recognized in the OS. *webbi*, OHG. *web-an*, but also, surprising as it may appear at first sight, in *ύφ-αίνω*. But *ύφ-ήφ-ασ-μαι* points to a stronger form *φαφ*, which is related to *ύφ* precisely as Skt. *svap* 'sleep' to *ύπ* in *ύπνο-ς* (No. 391). Possibly also the Skt. *ubh* 'hold together' (in composition = 'bind') is only a shortened *vabh*. Cp. Pictet II 167, 175. In addition to this instance, it is very easy to derive Skt. *stabh* 'support', with Gr. *στέμφ* (No. 219) from the root *sta* 'stand'. I have often pointed out on previous occasions the frequent addition of a *k* in Greek and Latin roots (*Ztschr. für das Alterthumsw.* 1849 p. 337, *Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* II 400, III 408). The following are Greek stems in *κ*, which may with certainty be regarded as expanded: *όλεκ* in the Homeric *όλεκεν*, *όλέκοντο* by the side of *όλε*, which is *ολ* (*ώλεσα*, *όλλυμι*) expanded by the addition of a subsidiary vowel. We may therefore consider *ολ* as the root, though no form certainly correlated has yet been found in the kindred languages. The expanded form may be compared with Skt. *arç*, with the weakened form *riç* and the meaning 'hurt'. — *πιάκ* in *ε-πιάκ-ο-ν*, *πήσσω* (i. e. *πηκ-ι-ω*) by the side of *πτα* in *κατα-πή-την* (Buttm. A. Gr. II 285), and as a bye-form *πωκ* in *πώξ* (St. *πωκ*) *πώσσω*. — *βακ* in *βάκ-τρο-ν* and *bac-ulu-m* by the side of *βα*, *βῆναι*, Skt. *gā* (Pott gives a different explanation: W. I 31). — *τακ* in *τήκ-ω* (No. 231) *ε-τάκ-η-ν* compared with Lat. *tā-be-s*, *tā-bum*, *tā-be-sc-o*, and Ch.-Sl. *ta-ja* 'melt', if indeed the guttural has not been dropped in Latin and Slavonic. — *βρυκ* in *βρύκ-ω* from *βορ* in *βι-βρώσκω*, Skt. *gar* (*glutire*), Lat. *vor-a-re*. — *δικ*, which may be deduced from *δεδίσσομαι* by the side of *δι* in *δει-δι-*
64 *μεν* (cp. below p. 607). — *έρυκ* in *έρύκ-ω* by the side of *έρύ-ω*. To these we shall hereafter add some verbal stems, in which the *κ* appears in a weakened form. This expansive *κ* finds employment also in the formation of tenses,

for the Perf. ὀλ-ώλεκ-α reminds us forcibly of the stem ὀλεκ, and so δει-δοικ-α of the stem δικ: in the case of the form ἰλήκησι (φ 365) there is even some doubt whether it is to be referred to a Perf. ἰλη-κ-α or a Present ἰλή-κ-ω from the stem ἰλα, and ἦκ-ω, whose derivation from the root *ja* 'go' is established, has with a present form confessedly a certain perfect force. Hence the *κ* in the Greek perf. act. may most naturally be brought into connection with the root-expanding *κ*. But it is noteworthy that this *κ* originally had a place only in those perfects where there was a phonetic need for it, and from these, as has been shown in *Tempora und Modi* p. 199 ff., only gradually became more widely extended*). Of the three roots which form an aorist in -κα, θε, ἐ and δο, the first two are found in Latin, (i. e. in *fa-c-i-o* and *ja-c-i-o*) again extended by a *c*. Accordingly ἔ-θηκ-α and ἔ-ηκ-α are in a sense aorists of θηκ, ἦκ. As for ἔ-δωκ-α, we may compare it with the Skt. *daç* for *dák* 'present', which originated evidently in the equivalent *dá*. At least one root is expanded by the medial *g*; and this has various ramifications in Greek. As Skt. *ju* (*colligare*) is to *jug* i. e. *jug* (*conjungere*), so is *ξυ* (ξά-νυ-μι) to *ξυγ* (ξέυγ-νυ-μι). Other instances of the kind are given by Corssen, Nachtr. 223.

Much more frequent use is made in Sanskrit of *kh* (Pott, II² 621). This is universally recognized as a Sans-

*) The view which has recently been maintained again in several quarters that the *κ* of the perfects originated in *v* cannot appear probable, until a phonetic transition so surprising as this is has been shown to exist elsewhere and been thoroughly established. Savelsberg's theory as to the origin of a *κ* from a *σ* (Symbola philol. Bonn. II 505, Ztschr. XVI) in spite of the abundance of material that has been brought together under this point of view, by no means convinces me. Perhaps to δει-δοικα and ὀλ-ώλεκ-α, we may add μί-μβλεω-α inasmuch as the root μολ which presents itself in ἔ-μολ-ο-ν is related to the Skt. *mruk* or *mluk* (*mlókati*) 'go down' (cp. *anu-mluk* 'go up', *upa-mluk* 'hide oneself') i. e. *mlu-k* with the assumption that the *u* is a duller form of *a*, just as ὀλε is to ὀλεκ.

krit weakening of the original *sk*. So that the Skt. *ga-kh-a-ti* (he goes) from the root *gam*, stands on the same footing as the Gk. *βά-σκ-ει*, and accordingly this affix takes its place among the large family of amplifications of the present stem, and is treated accordingly in my *Tempora und Modi* p. 115. [Das Verbum c. X.] The inchoative meaning of this affix, which subsequently branches off into various subdivisions, is unmistakeable, but the theory of the origin of this combination of letters which I endeavoured to establish in the *Ztschr.* I 17 I now relinquish owing to the lack of instances of a similar change of sound.

The dental mutes are likewise not wanting among the appended consonants. The *t* appears but seldom; (Pott II² 733) — the clearest instance is that of the Skt. *āṇu-t* 'twinkle' or 'glitter', by the side of the shorter *div* of like meaning. We may compare with this the *τ* that has found its way into a small number of Greek words before suffixes beginning with *μ*. In one of these, *ἀν-τ-μήν*, *ἀ-τ-μή*, *ἀ-τ-μός*, forms which — together with *ἄετμα φλόξ*, *ἄετμόν πνεῦμα* Hesych. — we may regard as varieties of one primitive form (No. 588), we have the analogy of Sanskrit and German to help us. For it corresponds to the Skt. *ā-t-man*, breath, soul, and OHG. *ā-t-am* by the side of the NHG. *o-d-em*. The shorter root is undoubtedly *av*, *au*, Gk. *αῦω*, *ἄημι*. Light is thrown by this *t* on the *τ* of the present-stems *τυπ*, *θαπ* &c., about which I can share neither the view expressed by Max Müller, *Ztschr.* IV 362 ff. nor that of which the fullest defence has been given by Grassmann (XI 44), and which will be more closely examined below. I state the following simple equation — *τυπ*: *τυπ* = *āv*: *āv*.

An amplificatory *d*, though likewise rare, may be recognized at least in two roots which are widely spread through several languages. The root *κε* (for *σκε*) in *κε-ί-ω*, *κε-ά-ξω* has the same relation to the root *σκε-δ* in *σκε-δ-άιννυ-μι* that the Skt. *kha* or *kho* (i. e. *ska*) in *kha-j-ā-mi* (scindo) has to *skhad*, scindere, fugare, as is seen from the

comparison of the forms collected at No. 45b, No. 294 and 295. Also we cannot but conclude from μέδ-ι-μνο-ς, μέδ-οντ-ες, Lat. *mod-u-s*, *mod-i-us*, *mod-er-or* the existence of a root μέδ, which has apparently developed from *ma*, and meets us again in the Gothic *mit-an* with the natural change of *d* to *t* (No. 286).

More important is the aspirate — Skt. *dh*, Gr. *θ*. Sanskrit and Greek both agree in having this affix in *judh* to fight, i. e. *manus conserere*, from which come Skt. *judhman* battle, and Gk. ὕσμιν, ὕσμινη with σ instead of the θ that was added to the *ju*. But in an entirely independent fashion, the Greek language uses its θ to the widest extent. How far the addition of a θ is adapted to explain verbal inflection may here be intimated rather than fully explained*). We find an added θ in past tenses like ἐ-σχε-θ-ο-ν, ἀπ-έ-φθι-θ-ο-ν, ἐ-κί-α-θ-ο-ν, ἡμύν-α-θ-ο-ν, εἰργ-α-θ-ο-ν, ἡγερ-έ-θ-οντο (to which we may perhaps add Hesych. ἀργά-θεν· συνάγειν, συμμίσγειν), νεμ-έ-θ-οντο; in present forms like 66 Ἀρέ-θ-ουσα, ἡερ-έ-θ-ονται, τελ-έ-θ-ω, φα-έ-θ-ω, φλεγ-έ-θ-ω, πλή-θ-ω (Rt. πλα), πρή-θ-ω (Rt. πρα), κνή-θ-ω (by the side of κνά-ω), νή-θ-ω (Rt. νε), σή-θ-ω (Rt. ца), πύ-θ-ω (Rt. пу, Skt. *pū-jā-mi*, I foul, No. 383), βαρύ-θ-ει, βρύ-θ-ω, φθι-νύ-θ-ω, μι-νύ-θ-ω, ἄχ-θ-ο-μαι (by the side of ἄχ-ος), ἴσ-θ-ω and εσ-θί-ω (Rt. ἐδ), united to σ in ἄτ-σθ-ω (Rt. αf), βί-βά-σθ-ω (Rt. βα); in the perfect in ἐργ-ηγόρ-θ-ασι (K 419), βε-βρώ-θ-οις Δ 35 (?); common to several tense-stems in the stems πα-θ, πεν-θ (ἐ-πα-θ-ον, πέ-πον-θ-α, Rt. πα, παν No. 354), ἡλ-υ-θ-ον, ἐλ-ήλυθ-α, by the side of ἐρ-χ-ο-μαι, which is perhaps for ἐρ-σχ-ο-μαι, both being from a root ἐρ = Skt. *ar*, go; cleaving inseparably to a stem in δαρ-θ, ἔδρα-θ-ο-ν, δαρ-θ-άν-ω, Skt. *drá* (*drái*), sleep (No. 262), μα-θ, ἔ-μα-θ-ο-ν, μαυ-θ-άν-ω (No. 430) Rt. *man* think

*) Cp. Buttmann (Ausführ. Gr. II 61) with Lobeck's note, and the diligent and careful investigation of Wentzel '*qua vi posuit Homerus verba quae in θω cadunt?*' Progr. of Oppeln 1836.

(Benf. I 258, II 36)*), $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\theta$, i. e. $\text{c}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\theta$, $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\text{-}\acute{\iota}\text{-}\xi\omega$, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\alpha$ (Tempora und Modi 141). In Ztschr. I 25 ff. I have tried to show, in a manner differing from Bopp (Vgl. Gramm. II 517), that the θ of the weak (first) aorist passive belongs to this group. Primitive derivatives sometimes show the θ in common with the corresponding verbal forms: $\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\iota$ (Hesych.), $\mu\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ (Suid.) = $\varphi\omicron\varphi\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, sometimes are the only ones that show us forms with θ , e. g. in $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\varsigma$ (root $\acute{\iota}$, cp. $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma$), $\gamma\nu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\gamma\nu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$, $\acute{\omicron}\chi\text{-}\theta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$ (root $\sigma\tau\alpha$), $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\theta\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$ (root Fec), $\kappa\iota\nu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\theta\text{-}\iota\sigma\text{-}\mu\alpha$ (Aesch. Prom. 124) and in other words already treated by me in my essay de nominum formatione pp. 19, 20. Perhaps too the θ that appears more frequently than τ before suffixes beginning with μ springs from the same source — e. g. $\acute{o}\rho\chi\eta\text{-}\theta\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\mu\eta$ (cp. $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\varsigma$, going) $\sigma\tau\alpha\text{-}\theta\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ (cp. $\acute{\epsilon}\ddot{\upsilon}\text{-}\sigma\tau\alpha\text{-}\theta\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\omicron$ and $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\text{-}\theta\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$). For I no longer consider this letter as mere euphonicum. The θ in the termination of the middle infinitive $\text{-}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ belongs likewise to the same class, inasmuch as it corresponds to an Indic dh (Ved. inf. $\text{-}dhjái$) (Bopp. Vergl. Gr. III 330, differently explained by Kuhn Ztschr. XV 307), but it is true it has obtained in this case a much firmer hold on the construction of the form in a somewhat different way. (Cp. Lange on the Lat. Inf. Pass.) It has been already often remarked (Pott I¹ 187, II² 474) that in Latin, German, Lithuanian and Slavonic there is found for this ubiquitous θ its regular correspondent d , which proves the θ to be very old. Among the more striking coincidences are: — $gau\text{-}de\text{-}o$ with $\gamma\eta\text{-}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omega$, $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\eta\theta\text{-}\alpha$ (No. 122), the forms of the Gk. preterites compared with the German preterites of the so-called weak
 67 verbs (Bopp. Vgl. Gr. II 505 ff.), the numerous Lithuanian and occasional Church-Slavonic verbs with an added d , e. g. Ch.-Sl. $j\text{-}d\text{-}a$, I go, with which however, according

*) I am not convinced by Kuhn, who (Ztschr. II 395) compares $\mu\alpha\theta$, $\mu\alpha\nu\theta$ with Skt. *manth*, shake.

to Müllenhoff (Haupt's Ztschr. XII 387) the Goth. *iddja*, I went, has nothing in common but the root. The Ch.-Sl. *d* then we may compare immediately with the *ð* in *idú-s* and *idμη*. It is deserving of notice that it happens that the root *i* makes in Ch.-Sl. more use of the *d* than the other verbs of the same class. (Schleicher Kirchenslaw. Formenlehre 325.)

Of the addition of a sibilant in a long list of Sanskrit roots discussed by Pott I¹ 167 and II² 566 (cp. Jac. Grimm Kl. Schriften I 317) we have already spoken at p. 35. Greek forms of this kind are the following: αὔξ = Skt. *vaksh*, Goth. *vahs-j-an*, pres. αὕξ-ω, Ion. ἀέξ-ω, i. e. ἀφέξ-ω, αὕξ-άν-ω by the side of the Lat. *aug-e-o* (No. 159), ἀλεξ, pres. ἀλέξ-ω = Skt. *rak-sh* (servare, tueri) for *ark-s* by the side of ἀλ-αλκ-εῖν, ἀλκ-ή (No. 7), ὀδαξ, ἀδαξ, pres. ὀδάξω with several collateral forms (Buttmann A. Gr. II 250) by the side of the root δακ, δάκν-ω, Skt. *daç*, *daç* (No. 9), δεξ in δεξ-ιό-ς (No. 266) by the side of δεκ in δέκ-ομαι, δάκνυλο-ς (No. 11), δεψ, pres. δέψ-ω, Lat. *deps-o* by the side of δέφ-ω, ἐψ for πεψ pres. ἐψ-ω from the root πεπ Skt. *pañ* (cook), and so for πέψω. The roots with an added *s* are often connected with the desiderative forms, which on their side again stand in an undeniable relation to the future in *σ*.

A nasal appears joined to several widely disseminated roots of great antiquity, though the nasal is not always of the same order in the different languages. So to the Skt. *ga* (go), of which the Aor. is *a-g-ā-m*, corresponds the Gk. βα (No. 634), of which the Aor. is *ξ-βη-ν*, while *gam* with short vowel and added *m* is represented by βαίνω i. e. βαν-ιω, as also by the Lat. *ven-io*, Osc. *ben* (*ben-ust* = *venerit*) and by the Goth. *quam* (*quima* = *venio*). — φα bears to φαίνω (No. 407) the same relation that βα does to βαίνω, with the distinction however that in the case of the former root the nasal affix has established itself more firmly (*ξ-φάν-ην*). To the shorter form which occurs in φη-μί, and which unites the conceptions 'shine' and

'speak', corresponds the Skt. *bhā* (*bhā-mī*), to shine, to appear, to the longer the Skt. *bhan* (later *bhan*), that appears in the Vedas with a dental nasal in the sense of 'resound', 'ring', in later Skt. with a lingual nasal in that of 'talk', 'speak'. — Similar is the relation of *τα* to *τείνω*. The shortest form is contained in the Homeric *τη*. From *ta* we arrive at the Gk. *τά-νν-ται* = Skt. *ta-nu-tē*, in which the nasal affix seems to be used in the present-stem alone. But this is intimately connected with the Gk. *τανν-* in compounds like *τανύ-πεπλο-ς* together with the Skt. ad-
 68 jective *tanu-s* = *tenu-i-s*, ON *thunn-r*, Ch.-Sl. *tī-nī-kū*. For *τείν-ω* = *τεν-jω* and all its belongings (No. 230) as also for the Lat. *ten-e-o* and *ten-d-o*, Goth. *than-j-a*, Lith. *tem-p-jū* (cp. Lat. *tem-p-tare*) we have to take the nasalized stem as equivalent to a root. — Again as *τα* is to *τεν*, so is *γα* to *γεν*, and so accordingly is *γε-γα-ώς* to *ἐ-γεν-ό-μην* (No. 128), in which words however may be observed the special tendency of Greek to suppress *ν* after *α*. Notwithstanding *γα* must be taken as the starting-point, and we are thus enabled to understand also the Lith. *gim-ti*, *nasci*, with its *m*, and this *m* points us back to the Gk. *γάμ-ο-ς*, *γαμ-εῖν* (cp. below p. 536). — *μάρ-να-μαι* (No. 458) stands by the side of the *marn* to kill, to fight with, which is usual in the Vedas, and the connection of this word with the root *mar* (*mr*) Lat. *mor-i* can hardly be denied. The same nasal element that in Greek is confined to the present-stem extends through a large range in Sanskrit. — In two other roots the relation of the nasal is more obscure. To the root *κρεμ* in *κρέμα-μαι* (No. 75) corresponds directly the Goth. *hram-j-an*, to crucify, but it is so nearly approached also by the Lith. *kār-ti*, to hang, that, seeing that metathesis is frequent in the case of *r*, we may perhaps suppose *kar* to be the primitive form, from which first *kra*, then *kram* has developed. — The root *δε* in *δέω*, *δί-δη-μι* (No. 264) is identical with the Vedic *da*, to bind, but it is possible to suppose a connection with the root *δαμ*, *δαμάω* Skt. *dam* Lat. *domo* &c. (No. 260) and even with *δέμ-ω*, *δέμ-ας*, *δόμ-ος* (No. 265).

Much more limited is the number of roots which seem to be increased by the addition of one of the two liquids *l* and *r*. Still a connection cannot be denied between the roots $\mu\epsilon\rho$ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ -ος, Lat. *mer-co* No. 467) and $\mu\epsilon$ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ -τρο-ν Skt. *mā* No. 461), between $\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda$ ($\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ No. 218) and $\sigma\tau\alpha$ (Skt. *sthā* No. 216). Even the addition of a *v* is nearly certain at all events in the roots $\varphi\alpha\mathfrak{f}$ (Aeol. $\varphi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma$) by the side of $\varphi\alpha$ (Skt. *bhā* No. 407) and $\chi\alpha\mathfrak{f}$ ($\chi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}$ -νο-ς No. 179) by the side of $\chi\alpha$.

Let us here pause, leaving untouched for the present a number of other questions still more difficult to decide, and try to put together the results of this survey. It is certain that a considerable number of roots, of which as a rule we have been able to consider those only which have been preserved in Greek, appear with little or no change of meaning in a two-fold form; also that this two-fold form is occasionally applied to the formation of the tense-stems, or for some other variation of meaning affecting the verbal inflections. How then was it that one form arose from the other? The question may next be asked, are we warranted in calling the shorter form the primary and the longer the secondary one? J. Grimm has, as we 69 have seen, adjudged from a comprehensive point of view the priority to the longer form, at least for the circle of languages with which he was immediately concerned. But he does not venture to apply this principle throughout on a larger scale, a proceeding indeed which would necessitate an extreme of capriciousness. It will scarcely be maintained by the boldest that the root $\theta\upsilon$ is a mutilated form of $\theta\upsilon\pi$, $\delta\lambda$ or $\delta\lambda\epsilon$ of $\delta\lambda\epsilon\kappa$, the Skt. *ju* of *jug*. We should be obliged to relinquish such an attempt, especially in the cases where the root ending in a vowel is accompanied by several stems ending in different consonantal characteristics. We find for instance *jug* and *judh* by the side of *ju*, *bhan*, *bhas* and *bhav* by the side of *bha*, *mad* and *mar* by the side of *ma* (Gk. $\mu\epsilon$), *stap*, *star* and *stal* by the side of *sta*. Confident then that the shorter

form is the older one, we must next inquire how the longer one arose from it. Here several possibilities are conceivable. In the first place it has been held that the longer form is to be referred to a noun-theme. According to this view Kuhn especially Ztschr. II p. 392 ff., 455 ff. (Corssen I² 306 expresses a similar view) attempts to trace back the nasal additions to derivative suffixes. With respect to the syllables *nu* and *na* which are joined to the root in the present-stem I now agree with him (cp. my 'Chronologie' p. 227). But whether the bare nasals are to be so regarded is very doubtful. The other amplificatory affixes can certainly not be proved to be noun-suffixes: whatever may be the case with *k* and *t*, it is quite untenable with regard to *p*, *g*, *s*, *d* and *dh* unless recourse be had to the most audacious methods of proof. A second possible view, which has been repeatedly urged with regard to *dh* especially, is that amplified roots were real compounds. Here again the addition might be either a new verb-root or a pronominal one. The readiest way is to derive *dh* from the root *dha* to place, do (Gk. $\theta\epsilon$). It is conceivable that $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\vartheta\text{-}\omega$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\vartheta\acute{\iota}\text{-}\omega$ may be divided thus — $\acute{\epsilon}\vartheta\text{-}\vartheta\epsilon$ and translated 'I do eat'. We are at once reminded of the familiar application of the same root in English and in almost all German dialects in the periphrasis for the simple verb-forms: he did not come and the like, phrases which Pott II² 475 has collected in great numbers. Still a considerable distinction is at once observable here. This *dh* = ϑ makes its way into noun-formations as well: Skt. *ju-dh-man* (strife = $\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\nu$), $\pi\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\vartheta\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$; it is even found often in nouns alone: $\sigma\tau\alpha\text{-}\vartheta\text{-}\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. We shall have therefore in any case to suppose that at a very early period all consciousness of this origin disappeared and that this appendage acquired completely the character of an element essential to the

70 meaning of the stems in question. The amplificatory *p* is connected by Benfey (Kurze Sanskritgrammatik p. 57) with a root *pa*, a supposition that in a somewhat different form has met with Schleicher's assent as well (Compend.³ 344),

at least to the extent that he derives the Sanskrit causal verbs in — *pajā-mi* e. g. *dā-pa-jā-mi* 'I make to give' from this root. But unfortunately this root *pa*, with the meaning make which meaning is the only feasible one in the case of verb-stems with causal and other suffixes, is entirely hypothetical. All we can go upon is the substantive *apas* = Lat. *opus* and a few related words whence a root *ap* with this meaning is with some small probability inferred; but the probability of a root *pa* with a transposition of the consonant is far smaller. For even though it must be admitted that special roots e. g. *ak* (*ac-utu-s*) and *ka* (*co-(t)-s*) have their vowel now before now after their characteristic consonant, this is of by no means so frequent occurrence that we should be entitled to assume it universally*). The Skt. root *am* press forward, whence comes *ama-s* vehemence, and *ma* measure, *an* breathe and the *na* spin which must be assumed for the Gk. *νέ-ω* are perfectly distinct from each other. The attempt to prop up the hypothetical *pa*, do, from the Gk. *ποιέω* seems to me likewise a failure. *ποιέ-ω* is seen at once to be a derivative. Benfey with the approval of several eminent scholars compares it with the Skt. *apas-jā-mi* a denominative from the above-mentioned *apas*, derived from it as *operor* is from *opus*, with the meaning I am busy. But this *apas-jā-mi* would become in Greek *ὀπεις-ιω*, like *τελεσ-ιω* which gives *τελείω*, and even were we willing to admit that the root vowel had fallen away in a manner unexampled in Greek, and that in the place of the *ε*, which we should expect to find in the suffix *as* an *o* had appeared we should after all have arrived only at *ποιώ* and should

* Albert Kühn, in his essay "Ueber Wurzelvariation durch Metathesis" Bonn 1868, makes the most extensive use of the supposition of transpositions of this kind but certainly goes too far in doing so. Clear instances of different meaning in the case of sounds which are identical but are arranged in different ways, like those cited in the text should serve to teach us caution. — Cp. Kraushaar 'de radicum quarundam variatione' Marburg 1869.

have been forced to assume a substantive-stem $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron$ Nom. $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\sigma$ with the meaning *operator* in order thence to proceed to a $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\text{-}\omega$ in the sense of *operator sum*. I confess I find this too long a journey, and moreover hold it to be far from immaterial that $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ does not mean *operari* but to create, to produce, and so is removed even in meaning from *opus* and *operari*. — Attempts such as those made
 71 by Benfey (Kieler Monatsschrift 1854 p. 35) to explain these affixes in the case of other verb-stems are still less convincing. Even Pott says (W. I 1245) that there is only a ‘distant possibility’ that the *g* in *jug* may have arisen from *ag* ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$, *ago*).

Another way out of the difficulty would be to consider pronoun-stems as the source of these appended suffixes, or at least of some of them. But on a review of pronoun-stems we shall find at most only the stems *ka*, *tu*, *da* and *na* with which the appended *k*, *t*, *d* and *n* may be connected. If this assumption is made we shall have to assign to these affixes, the same origin as to the suffixes used to form noun-stems. But evidently the function of the two elements is very different. The amplification of roots is a phenomenon of clearly older date than any formation of nouns, inasmuch as the coinage of different verb-forms itself assumes that stems have been already lengthened. It is a kind of word-formation antecedent to the process of word-formation, or in other words an older stratum of formation, over which the system of inflexion and stem-formation in use in historic times has been deposited. But as regards the origin of these additions we have hardly any other course left us for the present at least than to confess that we know nothing about it. We stand here on a boundary beyond which, at least for the present, our view does not extend. Accordingly we consider all these sounds as elements of such a kind as, without being reckoned among formative suffixes “serve”, as Pott E. F. I¹ 172 says “to convey significance” (“dienen dem Principe der Bedeutsamkeit”), a view which is not very far

removed from that which Lobeck expresses of his idea — further developed in the *Rhematikon* — in a note to Buttmann's *Ausf. Gk. Gr.* II p. 63, where he calls consonants like τ in $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$, θ in $\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ auxiliary consonants (*Hilfsconsonanten*). Similarly J. Grimm "Ueber Diphthonge" p. 63 speaks of an older and a younger and stronger generation of roots. "In the place of roots ending in a vowel with many meanings and easily confounded, such as appear in oriental languages, there seems to exist a tendency in the European languages and especially in German to confer on roots by means of added consonants a greater individuality". (Cp. Heyse System p. 128.)

These affixes therefore may be called in accordance with a name proposed by me (*Ztschr.* IV 211 ff.) for the subject of noun-formation — root-determinatives (*Wurzel-determinative*)*). In some branches of the Indo-Germanic 72

*) Corssen (*Beiträge zur lateinischen Formenlehre* p. 116) makes a two-fold objection to this name. He finds the expression *Determinative* not definite enough, because in reality every suffix used in the formation of words is determinative. But since for these the name suffix is already in general use — a word which is itself of a very indefinite nature, but which has become however sufficiently fixed by use — and since by the addition of the word root — the special reference to these primary elements of language is made clear, it seems to me that sufficient distinctness is obtained. Of more importance is a second objection, which expresses more definitely a view that has been urged against me from other quarters as well. Corssen says "he cannot conceive how pure bald consonants with no vowel sounded with them, which taken by themselves are unpronounceable elements of sound, sound-monads existing only in the mind . . . could be originally affixed by themselves to roots to give distinctness to their meaning". This, which is to me equally inconceivable, is a view I never expressed: all I did was to maintain the origin of the determinative to be unexplained. This is not the only instance in which philologists have to reckon with unknown quantities, and they have to be content sometimes in such cases to arrange them, to classify them and to determine their functions. A name by which we distinguish a certain class of such elements from the others seems to me by no means worthless. — If, however any hypothesis is to be hazarded as to the origin of the root-determinatives, it seems to

family this younger kind of roots are used by preference. It is remarkable that J. Grimm allows to the German and also the Slavonic languages only a small number of roots ending in a vowel, while in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin a considerable number have been retained.

9.

73 In our endeavour to subject the methods of comparative philology to a comprehensive criticism, we saw that there were two errors of frequent occurrence, against which we must be on our guard, the one an unwarrantably high estimation of the importance of Sanskrit, the other an excessively minute analysis of roots. The consideration of the latter point necessitated a short discussion of the idea

me two possible ones are presented to us. It is conceivable that during the period when roots were originated, language created duplicate roots — a short one and, a longer one with an affixed consonant and a kindred meaning. This is Max Müller's opinion (Lect. II 312): he assumes clusters of roots, 'differing from each other merely by one or two letters', and in this respect puts the initial and the final letter on a level. In this view there is no assumption of the addition of letters. The second possible hypothesis is that of an expansion by means of composition, in which case we should have to recognize in those single consonants weather-worn stems. It has been shown above that this hypothesis has been brought to some degree of probability only in the case of the root *dha*, compared with *dh*. I grant that the second supposition, which is adopted also by Carl Pauli (Zur Geschichte der lat. Verba auf *uo* p. 7) is more in accordance with the results arrived at by the science in other quarters, but as long as the greatest part of these elements remain in such obscurity I prefer to regard the question as an open one. In my essay 'Zur Chronologie der indogermanischen Sprachforschung' (Abh. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., philolog. histor. Cl. Bd. V No. III) I have advanced my views as to the whole question of the gradual creation of the Indogermanic form of speech, and in this connection have also (p. 206 ff.) touched on this subject again. Further suggestions are offered by Fick in the often-mentioned 'Nachwort' to his 'Wörterbuch', where he adopts the terminology here proposed.

of a root, from which we were led to the question of the possible shifting elements still to be found in the root, and further to the question how far we may assume accessory components to have been added to the roots themselves. In direct contrast to this excessive analysis and decomposition of roots is the attempt made by comparative etymologists wherever they can, to prove entire words unmistakeably related to each other to be completely identical. From this tendency Pott is exceptionally free. He has repeatedly (again II² 897, 935) and emphatically asserted that we must be content to distinguish between partial and complete identity, and must not deny to language, the right of deriving different words from one root or one stem by means of different affixes. On the other hand an attempt has been quite recently made, first by Kuhn and Ebel, then to a much greater extent by Benfey and Leo Meyer to prove the identity of suffixes of different sound from the fact that they are added with similar meaning to the same stems; and this attempt finally results in the above-mentioned endeavour to raise partial to the rank of complete resemblance. Adalb. Kuhn first tried to prove (Ztschr. I 368 ff.) that the Sanskrit suffix *as*, much used, especially in the case of neuters — as representative of which the Gk. *ες* Nom. *ος*, and the Lat. *es* Nom. *us* had been long recognized —, arose from *at*, and going through a long list of words he arrived at the result that not only these forms but the suffixes *ar*, *an*, *ant* as well had all arisen from one and the same primitive form. For Sanskrit some of the changes of sound here maintained can be established, especially that of final *s* to *r*. But if we seek for analogous cases, in order for example to prove the asserted change of the older *ῑδος* — the dative *ῑδει* does not actually occur before Hesiod. Theog. 61 — to *ῑδορ*, and the origin of both in *ῑδατ*, we are referred at p. 374 to the pretended identity of the syllables *ᾗρι* and *ἔρι* with the Skt. *ati*. But this single analogous case is a very suspicious one. To the Skt. *ati* (*ultra*, *nimis*) cor- 74

responds, as is universally acknowledged, the Gk. *ἐτι* the Lat. *et* and most likely the *at* in *at-aru-s*. That the same word is to be found besides in so different a form is of itself unlikely. But the use of the word moreover does not favour the supposition. It is true that the emphasizing and superlative force of *ἄρι* and *ἔρι*, as to the difference between which Buttmann's observations Lexil. I. 147 are still quite worth reading, comes very near to that of the Skt. *ati* in composition. But not a trace is to be found in the use of *ἄρι* and *ἔρι* of the primitive meaning 'out over' which is unmistakeably prominent e. g. in *ati-mâtra-s* excessive, and *ati-râtra-s* lasting over-night. The use of *ἄρι* is rather one which reminds us much of *ἄρι*, *ἄριος*. *ἀριφρων* ω 261 means 'right-minded' like *ἀριφρων*, *ἀριεπής* X 281 'rightly speaking'. If we consider further that from the notions of fitting aright and suiting the Greek gets the metaphysical conceptions contained in *ἄριος*, *ἀρηώς*, *ἀρέ-σκω* and its nearly related *ἀρε-τή*, we shall be much inclined to refer *ἄρι* to this very root and to connect it with *ἄρι-στο-ς*, *ἀρίων* (No. 488). We meet the same letters in Sanskrit too with a similar meaning in the adverb *ara-m* 'aright, fitly, sufficiently', *ar-ja-s* which among other things means 'kindly, the best', with which the name Aryan, as denoting the noble good people, has been long connected. Why then seek so far for an origin for *ἄρι*, when it lies so near at hand? As to *ἔρι* whose meaning Buttmann was for connecting with *ἐρύς*, I will not too positively assert its identity with *ἄρι*, though it happens that the vowels *ε* and *α* interchange before *ρ* more often than before other consonants. It is moreover possible that it may be connected with Skt. *varu*, which on account of *vari-ja-s* we must suppose as an older form of *uru-s* = *ἐρύς*. In that case the digamma would have disappeared without a trace. Bcpp in his Glossary compares with *uru* the Irish *ur* (very), which in that case would come very near to our *ἔρι*. However that may be, what has been said is quite enough to discredit the asso-

ciation of the two prefixes with *ati*. After all who can believe that the *t* which is of such constant and universal occurrence in inflexions and derivatives, which we see before our very eyes hundreds of times pass, through the influence of a neighbouring *ι* or *υ* into *σ*, in a few cases here and there struck out quite different paths. All rational processes of Etymology must follow the method laid down by Herodotus for his investigations (II 33). There are certain plain facts which occasionally, even in spite of the rarity of the appearances which they present, compel us to an unconditional recognition. Although the change of *πτ*, *κτ* in the middle of a word into *βδ* and *γδ* cannot be proved by any unmistakeable analogies*), no one will 75 deny that *ἔβδωμος* and *ὄγδοος* come from *ἐπτά* and *ὀκτώ*. Is this case a similar one? We see that by means of a multiplicity of suffixes, in some of which we are able to recognize pronoun-stems, a large number of words are derived from roots — not one from each root, but ever so many. Everything inclines us to ascribe to the language of those old times before the separation of the Indogermanic tongues an exuberant energy of growth. That the many words which spring from one root are not to be arranged under the abstract categories into which the grammar of a later age tries to force them, that on the other hand almost all suffixes were used to denote the same categories, I have shown in my dissertation *de nominum Græcorum formatione*. It does not of course follow that the numerous primitive words which sprang from one root were completely identical in meaning. The differences must have been of a somewhat physical and concrete kind, and we must consider that the real function of the suffixes is that of individualizing a word. Seeing then that from the one root *ud* there was made in Skt. *ud-an* (water) = Goth. *vato* (St. *vatm*) by means of the suffix *an*, and again

*) We have an example of initial *γδ* for *κτ* in *γδοῦπος* by the side of *κτύπος* (cf. p. 687).

the *ud-ar* or *vad-ar* which is the base of the O. Sax. *uat-ar*, why should we not here suppose an original double formation with no perceptible difference of meaning, and that too as there is an absolute lack of any plain example of the change of *n* into *r*, especially between vowels, which has so often maintained? With this *ud-ar* ranks the Gk. *ῥδωρ* which can hardly be connected with the stem of the other cases *ῥδατ* except through *ῥδαρτ*. This assumed *ῥδαρ-τ* is stronger than *ῥδαρ* by a *τ*. But I regard this *τ* as a new super-added suffix with an individualizing force, for which see further Ztschr. IV 211 ff. The explanation of the Hesiodic dative *ῥδεῖ*, which the old grammarians referred to *ῥδας*; like *οὔδεῖ* from *οὔδας*, will then be the simple one that it comes from a nominative *ῥδας* which was formed from this *ῥδατ* and has lost its *τ*. Meeting as we do in all stages of word-formation not with meagre uniformity but with manifold variety, why should we try in the face of all phonetic laws to weld these suffixes into one? In my opinion it is not even allowable to identify offhand suffixes nearer to each other in sound than these are. Al-

76 though in certain circumstances *t* passes into *s* I venture to bring together neither the suffixes with *t* with those with *s* nor even the pronoun-stem *ta* with *sa*. It seems to me that in all these cases it is safer to separate than to join. Even for the marking of such relations as in their simple and, one may almost say, palpable nature seem least to give an opportunity for it, the Indogermanic language makes use of different phonetic expedients: we find *πρόμος*, *primus*, Goth. *fruma* by the side of *πρώτος* and *pra-tha-ma-s*, we have two comparative suffixes and a great variety of diminutive forms. From one and the same root *an* (No. 419) are formed with the same meaning and different suffixes Skt. *an-i-la-s*, Gk. *ἄν-ε-μος* (= Lat. *an-i-mu-s*) O.H.G. *un-s-t*. From the root *par* fill (Gk. and Lat. *ple*) spring *πλή-θ-ος*, *plé-bé-s*, O.H.G. *fol-c*, with only slight difference of meaning, though we should not be justified in identifying the formative syllables in these

words as well as the root. We have a redundancy in the case of the two Ch.-Sl. words *ple-me* (tribus) and *plŭ-kŭ* which is identical with *Volk*. Sanskrit itself, though that is the language in which all these attempts at identifying suffixes have their origin, shows from the beginning an extraordinary variety in its formations. We have from the root *ad*, eat, the substantives *ad-ana-m*, *an-na-m* (i. e. *ad-na-m*), *ad-man*, *ad-ja-m* with no difference or at all events no sensible difference of meaning, all having the sense of eating, nourishment, while in the Gk. ἐδ-ωδή, ἐδ-ηρύ-s, in the Lat *es-ca*, in the Lith. ēd-i-s (St. ēdja), other suffixes are used for the same purpose. From the root *da*, give, are formed with the meaning of a *nomen agentis* *dātar* (= δότηρ, *dator*) and *dā-ja-s*, *dā-ja-ka-s* giving, *dā-ru-s* generous, to denote a gift *dā-na-m* (= *dōnum*), *dā-man*. Why then try to derive the Gk. δῶ-ρο-ν from such a word as *dā-na-m*, and that too when we find the same double form in Slavonic and Lithuanian? A gift in Lith. is *dŭ-ni-s* with an N-suffix, in Ch.-Sl. *da-rŭ* with an R-suffix. Again -*ti* occurs in just the same sense in δῶ-τ-i-s = Lat. *do-t-(i)-s*. From the root *gan* 'beget' is formed *gan-i-tar* = γενετήρ, genitor, *gan-aka-s*, *gan-i-tva-s* 'father', *ganas* = γένος, *genus*, and in the same sense the common *gan-us* and with a slight difference of meaning *gan-i-man*, *gā-t-i-s* = *gen(t-i)-s*, *gā-na-m*, *gān-a-na-m*, *gāni-s* (cp. Goth. *kunī*). Seeing then that the same language has recourse, as far back as we can trace it, to a number of suffixes, and that in the related languages now this suffix and now that one has come into use exclusively or at least mainly for a definite purpose, there is absolutely no inducement to us to identify suffixes that are different in sound. Ebel's attempts alone (Ztschr. IV p. 121 ff.) show what it costs to carry out the theory of monotony. I hope below to be able to give more probable explanations of several of 77 the suffixes he treats of, and especially of those with a δ, which when alone can never be proved to be a degenerate τ. But Leo Meyer in the second vol. of his *Vgl. Gr. des*

Gr. u. Lat. goes much farther. He there carries to its extreme a theory of word-formation which has been aptly termed the participial theory*). This theory most decisively rejected by Pott II² 936, W. I 416 and by Corssen e. g. Ausspr. I² 585, and controverted on excellent grounds by Sonne (Ztschr. XII 285), rests on the entirely arbitrary assumption of Benfey's that the participles, and particularly the present participle active, are of older date than a number of other noun-forms. Benfey really rests this assertion solely on the extraordinary idea that the suffix of this participle *-ant* has arisen from *bharanti* = Dor. *φέροντι*. I doubt whether a single person shares this opinion. Still Leo Meyer makes the suffix *-ant* the starting-point for his argument, and seeks to shew that by means of weakening and loss of sounds, a large number of the commonest noun-suffixes have arisen from this *-ant* and its collateral form with an added *a* *-anta*. According to him among others *-as*, e. g. in Skt. *jan-as* = *γενος*, *genus*, *-an*, *-ân* e. g. in *ἀηδ-ον*, *αἰθ-ων*, *-ana* e. g. in *τρύπ-ανο-ν*, *-ala* e. g. in *ἰκ-ελο-ς*, *-ara*, e. g. in *λιπ-αρό-ς*, *-na*, e. g. in *δει-νό-ς*, are one and all only various phases of this *-ant*. Definite analogies for the assumed changes of sound are seldom brought forward; the requisition of such analogies is even styled in so many words a vain pedantry, and appeal is made to tendencies of sound which look to the future for recognition. It seems that the spirit of language, which even Leo Meyer does not allow to range at will in the case of roots and verb-terminations through such sounds as *t*, *s*, *n*, *l* and *r*, took a special fancy to destroy in the one case of noun-suffixes all that had been previously created even though far from awkward, allowing all the while the old suffix-forms to live on side by side with the new ones. While the new science of language is at pains to reveal

*) A. Ludwig's essay "Die Entstehung der A-Declination" has since appeared in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy (histor. philol. Cl. Bd. 65, Jan. 1867) in which the same views are carried out to an even greater extent.

in all other cases a governing rational principle in language, this theory would enthrone, at least in this province of linguistic formations the merest chance as a destroyer of sound, and while it is elsewhere held to be proved that what is purely accidental does not come within the province of scientific knowledge, the power is claimed in this case of unravelling the serpentine windings of this game of chance, and that too often with an assurance which proposes to trample all doubt underfoot. — Even the supporters of the participial theory. — which might just as well be called the Proteus theory — assume that noun-suffixes have arisen from pronoun-stems. They would very probably admit that their favourite *-ant* is itself a compound of *an* and *ta*. But then what in the world can warrant the assertion that the former of these two stems is never used by itself, but that rather where *-an* actually occurs it is a deformed *-ant*? I feel accordingly in respect to this theory the want of internal consistency and agreement with what we believe we have discerned about language elsewhere.

In our review of the store of words possessed by the Greek language attention on the contrary will constantly be drawn to the existence of a diversified variety, and also to the fact that origin from one and the same root by no means implies the use of the same suffix even where the meaning is the same. I make no attempt to prove the identity of *lacruma* (No. 10) with the Gk. *δάκρυ* or *δάκρυ-ο-ν*, of *δάκτυλο-ς* or Lat. *digitu-s* (No. 11) with the O.H.G. *-zēhā*, of *ι-ό-ς* 'arrow' with the Skt. *ish-u-s*, in the suffix as well as in the rest of the word, but am content to point out the identity of the root and of the meaning. It is easy to find many ways of explaining how it can exist in both these points without existing in the third. In the first place, for instance, it is certain that in many cases several forms existed side by side, even before the separation of the languages, with but a slight difference of usage; a fact of which we find numerous proofs in every

language; and it has happened that one language has kept one form and another another, though we are not able — and this is specially difficult in the case of names for external objects — to perceive any difference of meaning between them. Again we may be allowed to attribute even to the time subsequent to the separation so much remains of vital energy as would serve, not merely to maim and disfigure the suffixes but to amplify them and make them ramify afresh. Seeing that e. g. Latin even after its separation from the primitive Græco-Italic stock was able from the stem *gno-ti* (Gk. *γνώ-σι-ς*), apparently already existing, to form *gno-ti-on* (Nom. *gno-ti-o**) by adding a second suffix, why not credit the Greeks with the power
 79 of occasionally assuming a *τ* independently, especially as the absolute identification of all related and synonymous words is a goal that cannot be reached even by the boldest etymologist? The *κ* of the Persian word *σνά-κ-α* = *κνν-α* (No. 84) mentioned by Herodotus we shall be obliged to allow to stand as an additional formative affix, while the stem *σνα* can by Persian phonetic rules be derived from *σαν* = *κνον*. If the Persians however could individualize this name for an animal by *k*, why not other nations by other sounds. (Cp. Ebel Ztschr. IV 331.) To prove new changes of sound we need striking cases, but no comparison can be a striking one unless meaning and form both coincide. A clearly defined meaning however can be said to belong to but very few suffixes. It follows that as a rule one of the two chief factors disappears when a comparison is made between suffixes. If then the sounds are different as well, and it is an assured fact that by the addition of different suffixes to like roots words of similar meaning are produced, what becomes of the cogency of the argument?

*) Another origin for the Lat. *-tión*, — though likewise from two suffixes (*tjá* + *na*) — has been maintained by Leo Meyer *Orient u. Occident* II 586 ff.

10.

The error against which we have thought the above warning necessary, arose from a tendency to ascribe to the Indogermanic language, before it branched off as it did later into its several divisions, the largest possible supply of perfect words with a determinate sound and meaning. There is another mistake akin to this — that of identifying words of similar meaning even when the identification is not supported by evident similarity of sound. It is true there are parts of the vocabulary in which similarity of meaning carries great weight, even when accompanied by a certain difference of sound. It is plain e. g. that the numerals, excepting the first and those over a hundred, were determined at a very early period, and it is scarcely conceivable that a single language has taken a way of its own in reference to one of these much-used words. Accordingly though *έννέα* is by no means so much like the Skt. *navan* or Lat. *novem* as we should like, no attempt will be made to separate it from them, nor will any one separate *ἑβδομος* from *ἐπτά*, or *ὄγδοος* from *ὀκτώ*, although the weakening of *π* or *κ* in the middle of a word is unknown elsewhere. The number of the pronominal-stems is in general small, but the personal pronouns are derived from a specially limited number of stems. Accordingly 80 if Hesychius' gloss "*τρεῖς Κρητες*" has been transmitted to us without any error we have no choice but to declare both forms identical with the Skt. *tva*. For it is in the last degree improbable that in *τρεῖς* we encounter a special stem for this pronoun that is heard of nowhere else. The number of prepositions is considerably larger, but the list in each language may soon be passed under review. It seems to me therefore to be not very probable that within one and the same language we should find, alongside of the regular prepositions which are fixed by the most constant use, other words of the same class, isolated but in full use, and moreover completely identical in meaning with the

regular ones. The complete similarity of meaning between the Doric-Homeric *ποτί* and the Homeric *ποτι* (= Skt. *prati*) and the Cretan *πορι*, is enough to make me assume for the first form the loss of the *ρ*, and in spite of Pott I² 272, consider *πορι*, *ποτί* and *πρός* as identical. I agreed just as little with Corssen when he impugned the identity of the Lat. *á*, *au*, *af* with *ab* and that of *é* with *ec* and *ex* (Beitr. 510, 426). I am delighted to see that he now (Ausspr. I² 152) allows at least that of *á* with *ab* and that of *é* with *ex*. As Corssen remarks at p. 395 of the 'Beiträge' with regard to the identification of *pédo* with *πέδω*, and of *péjerare* with *perjurare*, the connection is too directly obvious to be disallowed. These small words which have no independent existence are not to be measured by the same rule as nouns and verbs*). In their close connection with words possessing more meaning they were exposed to more manifold ravages and disfigurements. How easy it was for the *c* in *é-mendo*, *é-neco* to fall out after the analogy of *lúmen* (*luc-men*), *lú-na* (*luc-na*) and for *é* to take regularly the place of *ec* even when used separately! *Ab* might also have passed through *abs* to *as* and so to *á*, so that *á* would be to *as* as *tra* to *trans*. Even though we here still look in vain for analogies for particular phonetic processes, it seems to me more prudent to hold fast to the
81 identity of these synonymous words than to make new combinations, which would lose probability in another direction.
— A similar, if not the same decision may be arrived at also

*) Corssen (as above) gathers from this sentence of mine that I put such little words "outside the range of the laws that hold elsewhere"; but his words that follow — "I called them a lawless abandoned crew" — show how impossible it is here to weigh his words accurately. What I mean is only this — that these words which even in accentuation are dependent on others, are exposed to more manifold losses of sound than noun and verb forms, and I hold firmly to this opinion, in proof of which I point e. g. to the Greek particles *ἐκ*, *ὅκ*, *ἄρα* (*ᾗρ*, *ῥα*). I have dwelt at greater length on these points in my essay 'Ueber die Tragweite der Lautgesetze', Ber. der k. sächs. Ges. d. Wissensch. 1870.

as to the names for objects and conceptions, which from apparently primitive times downwards were provided among the Indo-Germanic peoples with fixed and much-used names; this is the case with names of relationships and of domestic animals and of the commonest beasts of prey. Grassmann was the first to explain clearly the phonetic relation of *θυγατερ* to the Skt. *duhitar* (Ztschr. XII 126). Still before this every body justly connected the two words. A Latin *p* does not often correspond to a Greek *κ*. Still I connect *lupu-s* (No. 89) with *λύκο-s* (for *Φλυκος*) and the Skt. *vrka-s* because I find it more easy to believe that in this case the *k* has, contrary to the rule become *p*, than that the Romans used for the beast of prey which has always been the most dreaded a name that was not the primitive one, although almost identical in sound. After all we do actually find some few analogies for $p = k$. Of more recent etymologists Hugo Weber is the *διαφεικωτάτος*. I find myself differing from him constantly in maintaining the connection of several stems of the same meaning which may be phonetically brought together, e. g. No. 187, 188.

The farther however we go from this kind of words and advance into a region where the conception, and with it the name, has a larger range allowed to it, the less we are able to decide from an agreement in meaning when not accompanied by complete agreement in sound. The Greeks had many names for individual Gods. How much more then shall we be justified in assuming with respect to the general word for God, that the Indogermanic nation felt "*Namen nennen ihn nicht*" and accordingly made from the beginning different attempts at finding a name. Hence it is that the several nations of the same stem differ so greatly from each other in these names. Out of many primitive ones there remains here one and there another, doubtless not without connection with the national conception of the Deity. The less right have we —, seeing that there is moreover a difference in the initial letter entirely unexplained — to connect *θεός* and *deu-s*. Now the same

holds good also in the case of other words of a less metaphysical stamp. Thus Bopp in his Glossary compares Skt. *gág*, *pugnare* with the Lat. *pug-n-o*, '*mutata gutturali in labialem*', though neither is the change of the guttural media *g* into the labial tenuis *p* proveable in any other instance, nor can *pug-n-a-re* with *pug-na* be separated from *pug-nu-s* Gk. *πύξ* O.H.G. *fúst*, which latter is again brought
82 with a '*huc traxerim*' side by side with the Skt *mush/i* fist. *πύλη* and *porta* find themselves placed with a '*fortasse*' under the Skt. *dvāra-m* 'door', a connection of which we shall certainly not be convinced by the analogy there adduced between the Pers. *aṣpa* and the Skt. *aṣva* (*equus*), because while in the latter case *v* in the middle of the word is changed to *p* by means of a neighbouring *ç*, in the former an even bolder assumption of corruption of sound at the beginning of the word would have to be made without any such reason; and moreover it is *θύρα* that is the Greek representative of the above Skr. *dvāra-m*, which I have no doubt is a corruption of *dhvāra-m* (No. 319). Still bolder is it to compare, as is done, with another '*fortasse*', at p. 240 of the 3rd edition (cp. Pott II² 345), *θύρα* "*ε βίψα pro πίψα*" with the Skt. *pi-pā-sā* of the same meaning, or (p. 244) the Lat. *urb-s* "*litteris transpositis*" with the Skt. *purī* town. Of the suspicious character of such propositions their author was himself aware, though he held to them firmly to the end of his life; few will be found to agree with him now. Still there is no lack of later attempts in a similar direction, in which I reckon that of Legerlotz to identify the German *schwarz* with the Gk. *μέλας* (Ztschr. VII 135). In referring then to these attempts, our sole object was to find the origin of the mistake. Language arrives at the same idea by means of the most different conceptions and at the same conceptions by means of the most different signs. The Skt. *purī* for *parī* = Gk. *πόλις* (No. 374) comes undoubtedly from the root *par*, *πελ*, *πλε* and denoted originally the idea of fulness, of a crowd, a throng, from which later the idea 'town' is deve-

loped even without this physical conception. The Greeks themselves were conscious of the relation of πόλις to πολ-λοι. Even in Plato (Republ. II p. 369c.), aristocrat though he was, there is a reference, as Steinthal (Gesch. d. Sprachw. 82), points out, to this etymology. On the other hand āstv for *fastu* = Skt. *vāstu* (No. 206), from the root *vas* to dwell, has attained to the same idea from the more general conception of 'dwelling', 'an inhabited place', which is still in Sanskrit associated with the word *vāstu*. A sense of the difference has been actually preserved in the more political meaning of πόλις and the purely local one of āstv. By the side of *urb-s* the etymology of which is still doubtful*), the Romans have their word *op-pidu-m* which I (cp. Schweizer Ztschr. II 354) derive from *pedu-m* 83 (cp. *Pedum*) = Gk. πέδο-ν Skt. *pada-m* (No. 291) and *ob* 'on', 'near', 'over', and interpret it accordingly as originally "what lies on or over the open ground" — a compound like *am-segetes*, *quorum ager viam tangit* (Paul. p. 21), *am-termini*, *qui circa terminos provinciae manent* (ib. 17); hence may well also be derived the old use of *oppida* for the barriers of a race-course (ib. 184), which lie on, over the *arena*. Seeing then that in this manner every language is wont to have a number of synonymous words for the same idea, what probability is there that one of these words should be identical even in spite of phonetic differences with that of another language? Pott warns us repeatedly in his writings against "that Siren, similarity of sound", and it is certainly a characteristic distinc-

*) Against the identification of *urbs* with *orbis* in the sense of the encircling wall (κύκλος) Corssen Ausspr. I² 170 raises the objection that the old Italian towns were not built in a circular form. Whether this is proved by the old 'Roma quadrata' I do not know. Varro de l. l. V, 5, 143 says: "oppida quae prius erant circumducta aratro ab *orbe* et urvo *urbes*". The connection lately approved by Corssen of *urbs* with the old Persian *vard-ana* town (Ascoli Ztschr. XVI 120) remains very doubtful, as no traces at all are elsewhere to be found in any Italian language of this word or its root (*vardh* grow).

tion between the sober well-regulated etymology which we aim at and the wild etymology of earlier times, that for us mere similarity of sound not only counts for little, but is actually, when the relation of words of different languages is in question, a positive reason for denying the connection. Max Müller (Lectures II 243) states this in the following witty saying: "sound etymology has nothing to do with sound", — a saying which however might easily be misunderstood. But we must also beware of a fairy, related to the above-mentioned Siren, namely similarity of meaning, and must avoid its influence with equal care. When properly examined similarity of sound, like similarity of meaning, occurs in many cases as a matter of pure chance, and as in no way fundamental. If there really had occurred in the history of language such very sporadic variations and completely diseased and unaccountable corruptions of sound as are confidently assumed by many scholars, we should be obliged to renounce etymologising altogether. For it is only what is regular, and internally coherent, that can be scientifically investigated; what is arbitrary can at most be guessed at, never decided with certainty. The case is however, I believe, not quite so bad as that; we shall be able to hold fast by laws and rules even though allowing occasional exceptions and deviations; and to treat our word-stores to a great extent on the same principles as those used by Bopp to discover the formative structure of the Indogermanic languages with all its firmly established rules.

 11.

Now if we ask what is the surest method of solving the problem we have set ourselves, we shall find
 84 that it is necessary before all things, without making precipitate attempts at discovering the ultimate elements of language, to select from the word-stores of each single language that which appears on simple and directly con-

vincing principles to be related to the stores of the related languages, to place what appears to be so related together, and thus to prepare the way for a general view of the common stores of the whole group of languages on the one hand, and of the special inheritance of each separate language on the other. This simple collection of related words is so far radically distinct from investigation of roots, inasmuch as the question as to the root of two related words is here often quite disregarded. But where a number of roots are unmistakeably to be referred to one root, which has a corresponding form in the related languages, the comparison of roots is naturally not excluded. Comparison of words is much more productive than comparison of roots; inasmuch as in considering the wide-spread agreement of several languages in the case of words formed with similar sound and meaning, we catch a glimpse of an old world of intellectual life and of common national views and ideas, which forms the back-ground of the individual life of every people. If starting from Greek we are to attempt on this principle to collect all words in the related languages that clearly correspond to Greek words, our first object must be to obtain criteria of relationship. We see at once that such words in kindred languages are related as — and thus far all are agreed — correspond in sound and in sense. On each of these two points something still remains to be said here.

With regard to the correspondence of sound, this is the point from which we must always start. Where there is phonetic agreement, there exists within the circle of the related languages, as it were, the presumption of relationship. We have, it is true, already seen that phonetic agreement is not to be understood in the sense of similarity of sound, which often is a matter of pure chance. It is precisely in the life of sounds that fixed laws may be discovered which act with the consistency of the forces of nature. Phonetic laws are the one sure foundation of all rational etymology. For this very reason the law of the

'shifting' of sounds discovered by Jacob Grimm inaugurated almost as completely a new epoch for the science of languages as did the acquisition of Sanskrit. By its means the Teutonic languages have obtained their fixed place in the entire Indogermanic stock, like planets in the Solar system. And now that the discovery is made every rational investigation of a single language must begin with
 85 the question, how are the sounds of this language related to those of the kindred ones? Since such investigations with reference to the community of stock which embraces have been undertaken in many quarters all these kindred languages, it has become possible to determine the list of sounds which the original Indogermanic language possessed before it was broken up into its various divisions and subdivisions. In general agreement with Schleicher (who begins his Compendium with a similar review) I assume for this original Indogermanic language the following list of sounds*) which must naturally form the starting-point for the consideration of the Greek sounds.

A) the vowels *a á i í u ú***)

B) the consonants

1) explosive or momentary sounds

<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>b (?)</i>	<i>bh</i>

*) In denoting the sounds — at least as far as the main distinctions are concerned — I adopt the theory which was arrived at by a physiological method (cp. Lepsius, *Das allgemeine linguistische Alphabet* p. 27 and *Standard Alphabet*, Second Edition, London and Berlin 1863; Brücke *Grundzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute*, Wien 1856; Heyse *System der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 269). Still I retain the names 'nasals', 'liquids', 'spirants', which are very convenient in the study of language, as also the denotation of the organs of speech as 'guttural', 'dental', 'labial' and the distinction between 'tenuis' and 'mediae' in spite of the many manifest inconveniences of these expressions.

**) Schleicher, in the 'Beiträge' I 328—333, brings forward reasons well worthy of consideration for the assumption that the long

2) fricative or	\dot{n}	} nasals	r l	} liquids	j v	} spirants
continuous sounds	n					
	m					

The guttural nasal — corresponding to the Greek γ before gutturals — is here denoted by \dot{n} . For aspirates I have set down the soft aspirates which (as I have argued at length in 'Zeitschrift' II 321 sqq.) must certainly be assumed to have existed in the original Indogermanic language, in order to explain various consonants in the kindred languages which correspond to the Sanskrit gh (h), dh , bh . Schleicher now shares this conviction of mine, in common with most etymologists. Even Grassmann in the treatises above mentioned (p. 63) agrees with me so far as 86 to consider that gh , dh , bh are the sounds of the original Indogermanic language, from which the Greek aspirates in the majority of cases have been derived. But he supposes that the language of that time possessed, like Sanskrit, not only the soft but also the hard aspirates kh , th , ph and that the Greek χ , θ , ϕ in some degree correspond to these. I agree decidedly with Grassmann that there are — as I have myself maintained in my treatise on the aspirates — a number of Sanskrit words in which as in *çāṅkhas* = *κόγχος* (No. 65) the hard aspirate of the Indic languages is found side by side with that of the Greek. But it does not appear to me to be quite established that the aspirate was present in such words before the division of the languages, but on the other hand it is quite possible that in both languages the aspirate was developed independently out of the tenuis. It is true that one or two word-stems, in which a German and Latin k (c) is found side by side with an Indic kh , are very well explained according to Grassmann's view, ex. gr. *khalati-s* (bald-headed) Germ. *kahlköpf* = Lat. *cal-vu-s* A.S. *calo* [Eng. *callow*]; but we can

i and u were wanting as yet in the Indogermanic language. The question however seems to me not yet definitely settled. And indeed it is of no great importance for the etymology of single forms.

also understand them in their German form by supposing an occasional 'stoppage of the shifting of sounds' (Stocken der Lautverschiebung) which is not to be altogether rejected. In other cases there are other explanations possible, and the number of the words which belong to this class is altogether not large enough to enable us very easily to come to a definite decision. Hence I regard it as an open question whether the original Indogermanic language possessed hard as well as soft aspirates. That the hard aspirates of Sanskrit are in many cases specially Indic transformations of a tenuis even Grassmann concedes. Of the view of those who regard all aspirates as originally hard I shall have to speak in the third book. With regard to the liquids Schleicher assumes only one, *r*, and considers *l* in every case as a weakening of *r*. Still we shall see further on that, in spite of the frequent interchange of the two sounds, in a considerable number of instances the Greek *λ* is represented in the cognate languages by *l*, while on the other hand in a large number of words the *r* remains constant*). Therefore it appears to me more prudent to start from the assumption that there were always two sounds, but at the same time to recognize a very close relationship between the two and therefore an early tendency to the transition from *r* to *l*,
 87 though probably not from *l* to *r*. For the nasals *m* and *n* a similar liability to interchange must be conceded, although within far narrower limits. Lastly we may without doubt assume the presence also of that weakest of all sounds — that of the *spiritus lenis* — in the earliest age of the Indogermanic language. (See above p. 55 n.)

Now this original list of sounds, i. e. the sounds which existed immediately before the division of the languages, has not been retained in its entirety by a single Indoger-

*) Lottner Zeitschrift VII 19 shews that the European branches of the Indogermanic stem are in this respect distinguished in many cases from the Asiatic. With this may be compared my remarks further on upon the division of the A-sound.

manic language. Among the changes which are to be observed in the single languages we shall do well to distinguish two classes. The one class of sound-change pervades the entire structure of a language, and gives it distinctly its phonetic character. We may call these regular or general changes*). In the Teutonic languages since the time of Grimm the very appropriate name of 'shifting of sounds' (*Lautverschiebung*) has come into use for any prominent example of changes of this sort. For the Greek language also this name is very appropriate. As in Gothic the old *gh*, *dh*, *bh* is represented by *g*, *d*, *b*, so in Greek it is represented by *kh*, *th*, *ph* i. e. *χ*, *θ*, *φ*. Nevertheless the name 'shifting of sounds' does not serve to denote all the essential or general changes of the sound-system. For in addition to shifting we meet also with division, to which must be added in the third place the complete loss of single sounds. We regard then shifting, division or splitting (*Spaltung*), and loss of sounds as subdivisions of essential sound-change. But from this essential sound-change we must be careful to distinguish irregular or sporadic, i. e. such a disturbance of the original relation as presents itself only in a more or less limited number of instances, so that the distinct phonetic character of a language is not determined by them. This is why all the dialects of a language share — although not in the same degree — the regular changes of sound, whereas it is in the sporadic changes that the varieties of dialect are seen. For example, all Greek dialects have *φ* in the place of an original *bh*, we can conceive of no Greek at all without the sound *φ*, all dialects show the 'splitting' of the short *a* as well as of the long *a*; but the appearance of a *π* in the place of an original *k*, as for instance in *πῶς* from the interrogative stem *ka*, is sporadic, and hence the new-Ionic dialect has still preserved the old *k* in *κῶς*. The distinction between these

*) Ascoli uses for these changes the name '*tralignamento*' (*Fonologia* p. 26).

two main classes of sound-change seems to me to be of the greatest importance in etymology. Through trusting to a few examples of correspondence of sound the mistake
 88 has very often been made of making the interchange of two sounds universally admissible. Thus, for example, on the strength of certain well-established instances in which the Greek π corresponds to the old k it has been asserted that for every k π may be expected in Greek, nay even (what is of course a still bolder inference) that for every p a π may sometimes be expected in Greek. Every rational scientific process depends simply on the rule being distinguished from the exception, and this is why we insist upon a complete separation between the two classes of sound-change. In the second book of this treatise we shall have to examine the rule in its far-reaching influence, including the permanence of the Indogermanic-sounds in the Greek language and that regular change of them which has become a law. For this reason the arrangement of a lexicon has been chosen for that part. In the third book we treat of the exceptions and endeavour to throw some further light upon a series of unessential phonetic transitions and modifications. At the same time it is needless to say that we do not regard either the one or the other class of phonetic change as accidental, but rather start with the opinion that laws penetrate this phonetic side of the language, as they do the whole. But as the students of natural science are wont to distinguish between normal and abnormal phenomena, so also must the students of language. It will not always be possible to discover the reason of the anomaly, but still by comparison of kindred anomalies we may discover even in these a certain order, and it is important to determine the extent of that order with statistical exactness. Especially the great preponderance of the rule over the exception in point of number may be made clear by this method, and a standard obtained for possible future etymological combinations.

When we return then to the question, what is the re-

lation of the Greek phonetic system to that of the original Indogermanic language, we find that of the vowels *i* both short and long, of the consonants the first two orders of explosive sounds, and the nasals and the liquids, in all 13 out of 23 sounds have remained untouched. On the other hand of the vowels *ū* has become *ǔ*, *û* has become *ǖ*, of the explosive sounds the aspirates have become *tenuēs aspiratae*. The two *a*-sounds have been 'split' into the three sounds *a*, *e*, *o*, and of the spirants *j* entirely, *v* to a great extent, *s* in the great majority of cases where it occurs before a vowel, either have become changed into a simple breathing or has completely disappeared. If we compare with this the phonetic relations of the languages most nearly related to the Greek — the Italian —, we meet directly with a point of agreement in the fact that 89 no single primitive sound is changed in the Italian languages which remained untouched in the Greek. On the other hand of the 10 sounds which Greek has altered the Italian languages have kept the long and the short *u* throughout, and spirants have as a general rule been retained. A regular transformation is seen then only in 5 sounds, i. e. in the three aspirates, which are completely 'shifted' and in the two sounds of *a* which have been 'split' as in Greek.

That this 'splitting' must have been shared in common by the two families while the Græco-Italians were still one people was maintained by me first in my paper before the '*Hamburger Philologenversammlung*' in 1855. I consider e. g. *lego*, *ego* as Græco-Italic forms, which with their present vocalisation were already in use at the time where the Greeks and Italians formed one people, but had already separated themselves from the rest of the Indogermanic stock. Similarly I hold *anemos* too to be a Græco-Italic form, which, retained untouched by the Greeks, was weakened by the Latins into *animus*, though not till a much later time historically demonstrable. As to the degree in which the two classical tongues agree in this respect I have instituted a more elaborate inquiry in the essay already

mentioned at p. 65 (Sitzungsber. d. k. s. Ges. d. Wissensch. 1864 p. 9 ff.). The most important result is the establishment of the fact that the splitting of the *a*-sound is common to all the European members of our family of languages as distinguished from the oriental ones. A similar agreement of the European group is to be met with in more cases than one. At p. 108 we adduced one such instance. Schleicher (Hildebrand's Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie 1863 p. 498) and likewise Pictet in his 'Origines' show several important notions of civilization to be the common property of this group (cp. No. 490, No. 481)*. In a considerable number of word-stems we find the old *a* preserved in all these languages — e. g.

Gk. <i>ἄγω</i>	Lat. <i>ago</i>	O.-N. <i>aka</i>	No. 117
„ <i>ἄλλος</i>	„ <i>aliu-s</i>	Goth. <i>ali-s</i>	O.-I. <i>aile</i> No. 524
„ <i>ἄντι</i>	„ <i>ante</i>	„ <i>and</i>	Lith. <i>ànt</i> O.-Gall. <i>ande</i> No. 204.

In a still longer list *a* is in all these languages attenuated to *e* or still more so to *i* — e. g.

Gk. <i>δέκα</i>	Lat. <i>decem</i>	O.-H.-G. <i>zehan</i>	Ch.-Sl. <i>deseti</i>	O.-I. <i>déc</i>	No. 12
„ <i>ἔδος</i>	„ <i>sedeo</i>	Goth. <i>sita</i>	Lith. <i>sédmi</i>	„ <i>sedait</i>	No. 280
„ <i>μέσσο-ς</i>	„ <i>mediu-s</i>	„ <i>midji-s</i>	Ch.-Sl. <i>meždu</i>	„ <i>medón</i>	No. 469.

90 In a much smaller one we find in all the dulling of *a* to *o* or further to *u* — e. g.

Gk. <i>βοῦ-ς</i>	Lat. <i>bó-s</i>	O.-H.-G. <i>chuo</i>	Ch.-Sl. <i>gov-ědo</i>	O.-I. <i>bó</i>	No. 644.
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In all these examples we recognize a closer relationship between Greek and Latin, but more especially in the fact that these two languages put the duller sound in the place of the old *a* even in cases where this is not done in the northern languages — e. g.

Gk.	Lat.			O.Ir.	
γν-γνώ-σх-ω	<i>gnô-sc-o</i>	O.H.G. <i>knâ-u</i>	Ch.Sl. <i>zna-ti</i>	<i>ad-gén-sa</i>	No. 135
ὄϊ-ς	<i>ovi-s</i>	Goth. <i>avi-str</i>	Lit. <i>avì-s</i>	<i>oi</i>	No. 595
ὄκτω	<i>octo</i>	„ <i>ahtau</i>	„ <i>asztûni</i>	<i>ocht</i>	No. 96.

*) [This question has recently been most fully discussed by Fick, Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas, pp. 262—432. Cp. 'Essays and Addresses' (Owens College, Manchester) pp. 320—325.]

We see then that this vowel division ranks as a phenomenon which, though not a special possession of the two languages is in certain exceptional cases common to these two alone. In particular it is not improbable that in a very early period the *e*-sound appeared by the side of the *a*-sound, but that it was not till much later that the *o*-sound did so, and that the latter change happened at a time in which the northern languages were no longer in any connection with the southern. In the Graeco-Italian period however *a* was often changed into the duller vowel, which then remained as a witness of a longer and closer connection between the Greeks and Romans. The Keltic languages, to which some reference is made in the above-mentioned essay, appear on the whole to stand nearer in this respect to the southern nations than to the northern. — The practical utilization of these results will lie in the direction of careful attention to the differences of the vowels as well as the consonants in etymology.

In general we may with tolerable certainty assert that the phonetic conditions of the Italian languages are of greater antiquity than those of Greek. It is true that in estimating this antiquity we must not forget to reckon the serious disturbance of the position of the aspirates noticed in my essay on the subject, and especially the rise of the purely Italian spirant *f*, which corresponds not only to the old *bh* (root *fu* No. 417) but also very often to an old *dh* (No. 320), nor must we forget the confounding of the vowels *i* and *u* in the sphere of the *a* which appears on Italian soil. — The position in Gothic is quite a different one. Here the change appears at quite other points. The spirants, which were exposed in the Graeco-Italian languages to so many disturbances, are here completely unaltered, but the whole class of explosive sounds have been transformed to an extent which gives its special character to the German languages. Similarly the Slavo-Lithuanian family of languages, which shows a still more decided inclination to the spirants, shares on the 91

other hand with the German languages the mutilation of the aspirates and has as its special characteristic the manifold corruption of the guttural explosive sounds. We see then that even in their phonetic conditions the connection of the two south-European families is in certain important points clearly manifest. It is true that owing to the fact that each single language again developes different laws with respect to groups of sounds, consonantal and vowel alike, and in respect to the different parts of the word — the beginning, the middle and the end — their position becomes a far more complicated one. Of these special laws which cannot be entirely distinguished from the sporadic sound-changes, those which find an extended application in the accident, e. g. the expulsion of the sibilant between two vowels, the change of every final *m* into *v*, the very strict laws as to final letters in Greek, are as a rule passed by here, seeing that their discussion falls within the province of the science of forms or grammar. Other phenomena of the kind will occupy our attention in the investigations in the third book. Where a doubt seemed possible a slight hint has been given in the notes to the separate etymologies.

12.

It must be confessed that it is much harder to discover the fixed principles which underlie the change and transition of meanings. While the majority of the Indo-Germanic sounds have remained unaltered in Greek, and the remainder have undergone change according to simple laws, the number of roots and words which can be assumed to have completely retained their meaning from that primeval period is not large. Slight differences at least will as a general rule present themselves, and it will be difficult to reduce these to laws, or merely to illustrate them by analogies, even when we have to deal with the development of meaning in a single language. "The words of a language", says a reviewer of Grimm's dictionary in

the *Litterar. Centralblatt* 1852 p. 484, "do not in the development of their meaning take a logical straight-forward course; it is simply a delusion to suppose that we can thus make out the route of their journey now. He who should wish to stretch out the words of a language upon the frame-work of a logically evolved scheme, would torture them to death and scare away the spirit of fresh wanton daring life — their very soul itself". A special 92 linguistic science, Semasiology or the science of signification, has more than once been laid down as necessary. Reisig assigned to it a place of its own in grammar between accidence and syntax. In his "*Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft*" this part contains nothing but scattered remarks, some of which do not belong to the province of grammar at all, but to rhetoric, and have little in common with what concerns us here. Apart from the meaning of inflexions, which is treated of in syntax, and from the meaning of the elements of word-formation which comes under the formation of nouns, the science of signification in the case of a single language would have this task, to show in what special way the meanings of words have been developed in the language. Evidently this is a task of the highest interest, inasmuch as the special intellectual life of a people will be seen with peculiar clearness in the way in which they have turned to account what is most intellectual in their language. But just as we cannot estimate the course taken by the sounds of a language until the list of sounds which it possessed at its beginning is before us, so we require for determining the course taken by the signification the firm basis supplied by the stem-words which were in existence before that course began, and neither the one nor the other can be obtained without a historical comparison of languages. There is then hardly any other course open to us but to arrange with all possible foresight the materials in each single language as a preliminary step, and to leave to the future the construction of a science of signification partly

of the Indo-Germanic language partly of the single tongues specially. Indeed for this a still more general point of view is possible. As it is possible that general investigation of languages will one day enable us to obtain completely general laws for all change of sound, laws common to all languages, and as at least one or two widely extended phenomena of language are already explained from this point of view — such as e. g. the dual form by W. von Humboldt, the principle of the system of numbers and ‘reduplication’ by Pott, and the phonetic process of what he calls *zetacismus* by Schleicher —, it will also be possible to find for transitions of meaning general
 93 human laws and analogies*), which will then be naturally of the greatest importance to philosophic etymology and for philosophy in general. How interesting would it be for example if the generally received principle that the abstract proceeds from the concrete were to be tested by a multitude of examples from the most different languages! These are however distant views into the undoubtedly great and rich future of the science of language, in the elements of which we find as yet enough to occupy us. But why should we not, while conscious of our present elementary point of view, hold even such distant goals in sight? The comparative investigation of languages has hitherto done this too little; it has but too often lost itself in the particular, in which each in his way makes his experiments, often without the least attention to the undertakings of others. For the exploration of this profoundly dark province of the shifting of signification guiding points of view are indispensably necessary.

In order to arrive at these we must lay it down at

*) Individual references and interesting collocations of the kind are given by Renan ‘De l’origine du langage’ p. 125—130 of the 4th edition (Paris 1864); on the relation between sound and meaning in general he makes at p. 149 the following striking remark: — *la liaison du sens et du mot n’est jamais nécessaire jamais arbitraire, toujours elle est motivée.*

starting that there is as a rule a limit even to these changes, that although in the attempt to seize on the true meaning of a word-stem or a root we may often be inclined to exclaim *quo teneam voltus mutantem Protea nodo?* still in the end the Proteus is obliged to give an answer to the persistent hero. In spite of all change there is also to be seen in language a tendency to conservatism. We see, how, in spite of the thousands of years that lie between them, the sounds of Greek and more still those of Latin have been preserved in another form in Gothic. All the people of our stock from the Ganges to the Atlantic use the sound-group *sta* to convey the idea of standing; to the sound-group *plu* with only immaterial changes they all attach the notion of flowing. This cannot have happened by chance. It was no doubt because there existed between sound and sense an inward bond for the instinct of those nations, that the same idea remained bound for thousands of years to the same sounds, in other words there existed a tendency to express this idea by means of just these sounds. The philosophy of language must postulate a physiological value of sounds and can only account for the origin of words by the assumption of a relation between their sounds and the impression the things denoted by them produce in the mind of the speaker. The idea therefore dwells like a soul in the sounds, "the conception" says W. v. Humboldt, Introduction p. 110 "is just as little able to separate itself from the word as the man can lay aside his features". But this is the very reason why we must be able to recognize this type of features in the many members of a family of words, and must 94 practise our eye in observing the changes which as necessarily pass over the features of words in old age as over those of old men. In this sense we may speak of a physiognomy of languages. No help is however to be obtained here from logical schemes, but all must depend on certain just fundamental intuitions in the statement of which the science of language touches upon the ground

of Psychology*), and also on the nice discernment of analogies.

13.

A question which we must certainly ask in these investigations is, how are we to conceive of the oldest vocabulary with respect to signification. Did language arise out of a limited number of simple ideas? In that case we should have to suppose such simple ideas in their natural ramification as in all cases our starting points. Or was the childhood of a language richer than its later stages, was it at that time master of a more copious store not so much of ideas as of concrete conceptions — the birth of lively impressions? In that case we should have to be careful how we traced special meanings to general ones. The attempt to refer the motley variety of words back to certain simple primitive ideas has been frequently made. K. Ferd. Becker especially in his treatise "*das Wort in seiner organischen Verwandlung*" (Frankf. 1833) lays down 12 cardinal ideas from which he thinks it possible to derive all other ideas and conceptions. But Pott — among other places in his "Rassen" p. 212 f. and Et. Forsch. II² 238 — and Heyse (System p. 132) have rightly taken exception to this view. Man forms ideas through abstraction and generalization from individual conceptions, which must necessarily be in existence before he can arrive at the idea (*Begriff*), that is, as the name itself implies, at comprehension. Accordingly ideas as e. g. that of going presuppose conceptions e. g. of wandering, walking, striding, 95 creeping, climbing, running, leaping, from which man, in that period in which reflecting thought began to awake, first grasped the simple idea that comprehends

*) With this idea L. Tobler in the Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft I 360 brings forward his "*Versuch eines Systems der Etymologie*" an essay rich in examples, to which we shall occasionally refer.

them all. In this respect the case is the same with nominal as with verbal ideas. Man could name the several animals for thousands of years before he found an expression that denoted all animals generally. It was not till Plato's time that Greek arrived at a word for animal as distinguished from man, and the word ζῷον, which, like the Latin *animal* includes all living beings, is — as Ed. Ott remarks in the 'Programm' of the Triest Gymnasium for 1857 p. 6 — posthomeric. The attempt to construct the multitude of significations from cardinal ideas would turn upside down all that has been discovered since Wilh. v. Humboldt about the nature and life of language. Such a theory is moreover contradicted by the vocabulary of the Indo-Germanic languages. If language had originated from those cardinal ideas we should be driven to expect for each of them one root only, and could at most hold it to be possible that, as the meaning became individualized, stems had arisen from them which, though modified, were still to be recognized from their sounds as related to them. But the reverse is the case. For the first of Becker's cardinal ideas, that of going, there are to be found in the Indo-Germanic languages a quantity of roots which have not the slightest phonetic connection. The two which are the most widely extended were originally *i* and *ga*, Greek *i* and *βα*, both of which, though having undoubtedly the meaning go, were even in Homer's time so distinct not in idea but with the difference that is the result of linguistic instinct (*Sprachgefühl*), that they could be brought together in such formulas as βᾶσθ' ἰθι, or βῆ λέυαι. I see not the faintest reason for regarding this difference as an after-growth. On the contrary, if there was any inherent necessity ruling the creation of language, it cannot be the result of chance that for an action, which regarded from the point of view of reflection forms a single idea, two different words should occur. From the difference of the words we may infer originally different conceptions which necessarily found their expression in

different phonetic formations. The Indo-Germanic stock then denoted the different kinds of going before they denoted the general idea. And we find the same process in all cases. The idea of seeing is to the linguistic consciousness of the Greeks so far from being a single one that they actually make use of another root in the different
 96 tenses to express it. The momentary perception of a thing they denote by *ἰδεῖν*, continued observance, by the derived word *ὁρᾶν*, the root of which may be seen more clearly in *ὠρῶς* watchman; if they wished to mark future time, and occasionally if they wished to denote a completed action they had recourse to the root *ὄν*, which, arising from *ὄκ* has given its name to the organ of sight in the Indo-Germanic languages. It was only by the use of this threefold form that they could express the idea of seeing. But there was no lack of other separate words besides these for the same idea, which denote again other modifications of the idea or rather other conceptions, from which the general idea first arose by combination. Any one, who is not wilfully blind, learns from such patent facts that diversity is older than uniformity, and abandons the attempt at going to work with cardinal ideas, an attempt that in its way is as absurd with respect to signification as the attempts to refer the whole of the actually existing roots to a limited number of primitive forms is phonetically. And yet with the stupidity that is generally exhibited by classical scholars in linguistic matters, such absurdities are constantly being set before us. For example, in the latest edition of Passow's *Lexicon* p. 2374 not only the Latin *fundo* but even *φέρω*, *fero*, and *gero* are derived from the Greek *φύω*, and Joh. Heinr. Voss is quoted who in an unlucky moment hit upon the idea that "the entire Greek, Old-Latin and German languages were derived from this common root". He who instead of forcing language into the torture-boots of his logic, or subjecting it like a genuine pedagogue to his caprices, prefers to learn from it, will necessarily

be brought to an entirely opposite view, such as has lately been stated with great clearness and consistency in the excellent work of Heyse. There we read (p. 130 f.) 'If we consider the root as that which lies at the foundation of a whole family of words in common, its meaning must certainly appear more general, that is, indefinite, than that of any single word formed from it; both in form and in substance, for form and substance cannot be absolutely separated, and by the limitation of the form the contents also become different. On the other hand if we regard the root in its origin as the product of an intuition (*Anschauung*) created by sensuous perception, we must on the contrary consider it as the expression of something entirely individual and particular. It is more general, more vague than any word developed out of it, and yet in respect of its original contents it is more individual, more sensuously intuitive, more absolutely vivid'. And 97 further on he says 'The procedure is as a rule from the unit of sensuous perception to the more or less general intuition and conception, and from this back to the particular'*). We might also say: the differences of synonyms

*) If Max Müller (Lectures II 352) remarks 'the specialization of general roots is more common than the generalization of special roots, though both processes must be admitted', this is opposed to our view more in appearance than in reality. For the question there rather concerns the manifold employment of a root in words coined from it. 'Thus from roots meaning to shine' (he says p. 353) to be bright names were formed for sun, moon, stars, the eye of man, gold, silver, play, joy, happiness, love'. I would only add, that it is not every root, which falls under the *δνoμα* of 'to shine', which is adapted for all these uses: rather there is in the root something peculiar to itself, so to say a *character indelebilis*, which capacitates it preeminently for a certain specialization in the sense assigned to it. As an instance I may quote the root *div* (No. 269) which is distinguished from the many roots meaning 'shine', e. g. *bha*, *bharg*, *rag* or *arg*, *lamp* by its developement of the meanings 'to play', 'to be cheerful'. Herein it agrees to a certain extent only with the root *gal*, discussed under No. 123, and perhaps with *las* 'glitter, play'. Jacob Grimm (Kl. Schrift. I 124) calls words which do not now allow their fundamental

are older and more original than the differences of the spheres of conception. We conjectured this before with regard to the conceptions 'go' and 'see', but we return once more to the latter, for it may be shown with especial clearness that the ideas of contemplating, espying, looking, regarding, observing existed as distinct earlier than the general words which denote the various operations of the senses, those of seeing, hearing and feeling. And words which like the post-Homeric *αἰσθάνεσθαι*, *sentire*, 'to perceive', denote sensuous perception generally, belong to the latest development.

The Indo-Germanic root *skav* (No. 64) which occurs most plainly in the O.-H.-G. *scawôn* (*schauen*), 'to contemplate', is preserved in Greek in the form *σκοῦ, κοῦ*, but it has not only in *θυο-σό-ο-ς* the meaning 'to look out', but also in *κοῦ* (Hesych. *ἀκούει, πυνθεται*; cp. *κοῦσαι αἰσθάνεσθαι*) that of hearing, ascertaining. The limits of the two senses are overlept, but the particular fundamental meaning, by which contemplation (*schauen*) is distinguished from looking (*blicken*) or spying (*spähen*) is preserved. It occurs in the Lat. *cavere, cautus* precisely as in the Goth. *skau-s* cautious. The vagueness of the meaning of the root here lies in something very different from the
98 idea; it lies in the fact that the conception of thoughtful contemplation is not yet applied to anything special. For certainly from this the notion of cautious looking out, as in the German proverb '*trau, schau, uem*' may be developed just as well as that of joyful satisfied contemplation, from which, to say nothing of other comparisons, not quite free from doubt, the Goth. *skaun-s* (*schön*), beautiful, sprang. The fundamental idea is that of the eye dwelling on an object. The sensuous meaning may be faintly perceived in the Latin formula *lege cautum est*, for as this

idea to appear '*hard lava*', and adds 'All appellations are wont to overflow faster or slower the banks of the conception which lies in them'.

occurs in connection not only with *ne* but also with *ut*, *cautum est* comes very near to the German *es ist vorgesehen*, 'it is provided'. According to the analogy which the senses bear one to another, it was possible for this root to be transferred from the sense of sight, as we saw, to that of hearing, sooner than from the fundamental idea to another, as for instance to that of looking or espying. Just as old as the conception of contemplation (*schauen*) is that of espying (*spähen*). We Germans are fortunate enough to distinguish them directly by the instinct of our language, as the living sense of nations, it is true, has always done, while the definition of the meaning of the two verbs is not easy, but even an uneducated man can easily distinguish the espying eye from the contemplative. The root for this conception (No. 111) was originally *spak*, whence Skt. *spāṣa-s*, Gr. *σπορό-ς* 'spy', Lat. *spec-ula* 'place of espial', O.-H.-G. *spēh-ō-m*, 'I espy'*). In Sanskrit this root has lost its initial *s* in the present stem *paç-ja*. The meaning assigned is 'see, descry, behold'; and it is significant that *paçjāmi*, at any rate in the later language, is only used in the present stem, like *ὁράω*, but in the other tenses it is supplemented by *darç*, corresponding to the Greek *δεκx*. The force of the Latin root *spac* in *speculum*, *conspicio*, *adspicio* has been generalized in like manner. For certainly the spirit of language allows itself to generalize conceptions, to 'strip them of their natural element' as Heyse (*System* p. 96) well calls it, while on the other hand it is by the irresistible force of usage that the name *σπῶψ*, 'espier' is given only to one particular

* A. Weber (*Ztschr.* VI 819) wishes to derive this root from the Skt. *paç* (*pak*) 'establish' (*πῆγνυμι* No. 343) 'by means of a prefixed *s*'. The assumption of this added sound appears to me, as has been said above (p. 58), just as uncertain, as the assumption which concerns the meaning, that the sensuous conception of espying should have proceeded from the entirely abstract notion of 'attaching the look firmly to anything'.

bird. From the same sensuous fundamental notion Greek arrived at the idea of the 'mark' σκοπό-ς and at that of hesitating reflection σκέπτεσθαι, σκοπεῖσθαι. But in all 99 these cases it is not difficult to recognize the fixed nucleus in the development of the meanings. — A third synonyme for the idea of seeing was originally *ak*, in which form it has been preserved only in the Lithuanian verb *āk-ti* and in the substantive *āk-i-s* 'eye'. Expanded by a sibilant the root appears in the Skt. *ak-sh-i* 'eye': the Graeco-Italic form *ok* occurs in *oc-ulu-s*, and more disguised in ὄσσε for ὀκ-ι-ε, which the Slav. *ok-o* very closely approaches, the Goth. *aug-ô* somewhat more distantly. By labialism ὀκ becomes ὀπ in ὄψις, ὄψομαι &c. The especial meaning of this root appears, as will be shown more fully on p. 457, to be that of a keen, penetrating look. The Lithuanian *āk-ti*, 'to have open i. e. penetrating eyes' comes very near to this idea. The opposite to it is τυφλός if we are right in regarding it under No. 251 as 'surrounded with mist, gloomy, dull'. — In a fourth root, which comes under the ὄνομα of seeing, the root *Fid*, we may at least regard it as characteristic that in five families of language the idea of knowing has developed out of it: οἶδα — Skt. *vêda* but also *vêdmi* — Goth. *vait* — Ch.-Sl. *vêd-ě-ti* — O.Ir. *ro-filir* (for *ro-fid-tir*) *novit*. In Sanskrit we also meet with the apparently related verb *vi-n-d-â-mi* 'I find'. Hence it may be conjectured that from the beginning the idea of the apprehending, discovering sight was attached to this root: and therefore Greek confined this root in its sensuous signification to the aorist. Indeed in some passages *ιδεῖν* cannot be translated better than by 'find': e. g. Plat. Sympos. 174E χθὲς ζητῶν σε ἵνα καλέσαιμι, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἢ ἰδεῖν. For a fifth synonymous root, in its oldest form appearing as *dark* (No. 13), Skt. *dadarç-a* = Gr. δέ-δορκ-α, as it is connected with the idea of brightness (Ch.-Sl. *torh-t*, *splendens*), and served to supply a name for the dragon δράκ-ων and for the gazelle δορκ-άς, we may perhaps assume the idea of a clear, bright flashing

look as the proper or especial meaning*). — The case is quite otherwise with ὄρα-ω, whose connection with οὐρο-s, 'watchman' was intimated above (p. 120). As the forms ἰώρων, ἰώραα point to an initial digamma, the root Fop (No. 501) may be compared with the O.-H.-G. *war-a cura*, *war-t custos* and the substantive *war* in the usage found even in Middle-High-German '*war nemen eines dinges*' (to take heed [be ware] of a thing); and with these we have to place also ᾤρα 'care, heed'. Perhaps even Lat. *ver-e-o-r* is derived from this root: its proper meaning would then be 'I beware of'. However this may be, we assign to the 100 root Fop the fundamental notion of wary, anxious sight. — Besides these six verbs of seeing we have still a number of others which for the most part bear the marks of great antiquity, as for instance — to confine ourselves to Greek — *λεύσσω* (No. 87), *βλέπω*, *θεάομαι* (No. 308). The original multiplicity is here as obvious as possible, and must banish any thought of a cardinal-idea. But the same plurality may be proved in the case of many other ideas. We have only to think of the numerous roots which mean 'say', of the manifold verbs of shining and gleaming. In this multiplicity of concrete and quite peculiar conceptions, all of which carry in themselves the power of being generalized and of becoming as it were signs of the idea, lies the main reason which explains the *πολυωνυμία*, and at the same time also the plurality of languages and the deviations of even nearly related languages from each other. To group these relations a special sense is requisite, which is nurtured rather by a genuine scholarly devotion to single languages than by widely extended investigations into the struction of language generally. Here lies the weakness of comparative grammar in the direction laid down by Bopp, a weakness which is indeed very naturally explained by the immeasurable extent of the task

*) This conjecture is confirmed by the thorough discussion of this root in its employment by the Indians and Greeks, given by Sonne, *Ztschr.* XII 351 ff.

to be performed. Here we need the instinct for language, the instinctive perception of the poetry slumbering in language — such as no one showed more than Jacob Grimm —, and on the other hand the careful attention to out-of-the-way formations and differences of usage, which not uncommonly guided Döderlein to successful combinations. But as all enquiries of the kind go back to the earliest periods of the life of language, it is quite impossible to limit one's self to a single language in conducting them, and here we may clearly see how detailed and comprehensive investigation require and claim each other's help*).

We now set ourselves the task — not indeed of explaining the meanings of words from the mechanical aggregation of small elements of little force — but rather so far as possible of referring them to a physical conception as special as possible, which is the ruling idea and as it were the soul of the word, and adopt the long-approved principle that abstract words have proceeded from
 101 concrete ones. But we must not however neglect to use the greatest caution in the application of this principle. For it is well established that there are among the roots of the Indo-Germanic languages some, which — whether from the first or not we need not consider at present — at any rate before the separation of languages denoted strictly mental activities**). As such we may regard the roots *man* (No. 429), *smar* (No. 486), *gna* (No. 135). Indeed in these we can discover, so to say, a retrograde tendency: starting with what may be clearly recognized as a metaphysical application they are employed to denote ideas, which lie rather in the region of the senses. The

*) Compare the excellent remarks of Steinthal (Philologie, Geschichte und Psychologie p. 45) directed against the severance of Philology and the Science of Language, which in such questions as those discussed above is most decisively shown to be impossible. Similarly in 'Abriss der Sprachwissenschaft' I p. 40 f.

**) The attempt to make these roots also dependent on sensuous ideas will be discussed in the case of each separately.

Indo-Germanic root *man*, which in Sanskrit means 'think', and which expresses mental activities in the substantives *man-as* 'animus', *ma-t-is* 'opinion', in the Gr. μέμωνα, μένος, μήτις, in the Lat. *memini*, *mens*, *moneo*, in the Goth. *ga-mun-an* 'remember', in the Lith. *menù* 'I think', cannot however be separated either from the more physical *μαλνομαι*, *μήνις* (Skt. *manju-s*, 'sense, spirit, ill. humour') nor from μένω, *maneo*, Zend *upa-man*, *fra-man* 'to remain, wait'; and it appears certain that language derived the idea of remaining and persisting first from that of reflective hesitant thinking and bethinking, as the opposite of hasty action. According to this precedent I connect the Lat. *mora* with the root occurring in *me-mor*, which appears in Greek as μερ, and preserves its form most completely in μέρ-ι-μνα, μέρ-μηρ-α, but in Skt. as *smar* 'to bethink', *smr-ti-s*, *smar-a-na-m*, *mémoria*. The Latin language, it is true, certainly was not conscious that *mora* had any connection with *memor*, and so entirely generalized the usage of this substantive, as of the derived verb *morari* (in a manner, as it appears, especially common in Latin) that without the analogy we have quoted we should hardly think of assuming a connection between these two words*). Perhaps however the same root experienced a similar change of meaning in Greek also, if we may connect μέλλω with the root μερ. In any case we find here the ideas of thinking and hesitating side by side with each other. Hence if there is a shifting of the meaning from the metaphysical back to the physical, the accepted derivation of the German *manu* and the Lat. *mas*, Ch.-Sl. *maš* from the root of thinking has nothing absurd in it; and we need not be prevented from accepting this deriva-¹⁰²tion by the fact that the Latin word, even more exclusively than the German, denotes only a half of the human race. Hence any one who with Diefenbach (Vergl. Wörterb.

*) A confirmation of this view may be found in O.Ir. *mar-aš* (manent), *ní-mair* (he is not living.)

II. p. 33) should prefer to separate the German words from the root *man* and to connect it with *mar* 'die' would be mistaken, inasmuch as he would be sinning against our first principle, to start with an agreement in sound, and for the sake of avoiding a change of meaning, surprising only at first sight, would be driven to maintain a change of sound which is altogether untenable.

14.

To discover the fundamental idea in a family of words it is of great importance to examine it, where possible, in a verb. For though we are not to go back to the old erroneous view that roots are verbs, and that the verb was older than the noun, the idea of a root unmistakably unfolds itself most freely and broadly in verbal expression. It is here to a certain extent still in a state of flux, and here it reveals to us soonest upon close examination its essential nature. As a rule only one side of this idea is expressed in a noun, in a verb several. There is an advantage for the etymologist even in the fact that a root which is living as a verb always presents itself to us in a different light in the various tenses. For undoubtedly the difference between incipient*), continuous and complete action — which I think I have justly distinguished in my school Greek Grammar § 484 (cp. my 'Elucidations' of it p. 203 ff. [E.T.]) from the difference between the orders of time (*Zeitstufen*) has the closest connexion with the fundamental idea of a verb, and stands generally on that limit between the substance and the form of language, between inflection and word-building, which, though for the requirements of elementary teaching we regard it as

*) ["The epithet is difficult of translation, and cannot be represented in all its bearings by any single English word. It is 'initial' as opposed to 'continued', 'culminating' as opposed to 'preparatory', 'instantaneous' as opposed to 'durative'." *Elucidations* p. 205 (E.T.).]

v/f/c.
4

ally established, yet in deeper investigations we may consider as in many respects wavering. That this difference is an original one, to be assumed as existing even in the earliest period of the Indo-Germanic language, although hardly a trace of it is to be found in Sanskrit, can hardly be doubted, when we consider that the whole conjugation of the verb, and especially of the Indian verb, rests upon the distinction between the verbal stem (*budh* = $\pi\upsilon\theta$) and the present stem (*bódh* = $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta$). With Steinthal ¹⁰³ (Philologie &c. p. 46) I recognise the principle 'the sound is always the secondary factor, the primary factor is the inner mental activity', and it seems to me inconceivable that the relation which comes out so clearly in Greek and in the Slavonic languages, according to which an action viewed as momentary is connected with the shorter stem-form, one viewed as continuous with the extended form, should rest upon pure accident, and that such a distinction only arose after the separation of languages. Pott has recently again expressed himself to the same effect (II² 668 ff.), and adduces, as a proof of the fact that the finer distinctions of duration themselves are by no means a product of the reflection of the understanding or of mental cultivation, but rather belong peculiarly to the instinct of language, some remarkable analogies from the dialects of India. With measure, moderation, limitation the Indians in no sense concerned themselves. Their earliest poetry reveals to us a ideal character averse to reality, and what wonder is it if they early lost the sense for distinctions which had little importance for them? There is nothing surprising in the fact that among them too forms deprived of their significance were still preserved. But inasmuch as certain roots by virtue of their fundamental idea could be conceived of only as continuous, or on the other hand only as incipient, we find some roots only in the present stem, others only in the aorist, and for this very reason, as we have seen, language was compelled sometimes to unite various defective roots and stems, in order to arrive at a complete verb,

bound together by one conception, as ὄρα̃ν — εἶδον — ὄψομαι, φέρω — ἤνεγκον — οἶσω, *sum* — *fui*, εἰμί — ἔφην or ἐγενόμην — πέφυκα or γέγονα, λέγω — εἶπον — ἔρῳ. It is just this primitive wealth of the Greek language, which often furnishes us in this respect with the most important conclusions*). For, apart from such mixed verbs, it is undoubtedly not a matter of indifference to which class a verb belongs, whether the shortest stem occurs in the aorist or the present, whether the present, if it has a lengthened stem, is lengthened by nasal or vowel affixes, or it may be by reduplication, or by the inchoative characteristic σκ, which indeed sometimes occurs united with re-
 104 duplication. On the contrary all this throws light upon the meaning of the root, and facilitates the difficult task of ascertaining its fundamental idea, especially if we also pay attention to the employment of the individual forms in living use, particularly in the oldest period. For instance, to a root which like the Greek καμ, means when regarded as momentary, 'to make ready, manufacture' (J. 187 τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες) and in the middle voice (Σ. 341 τὰς αὐτοὶ καμόμεσθα) 'to acquire' (Döderlein, Glossar. 2169), we cannot possibly attach as its fundamental idea that of torpidity or exhaustion, because of the idea of growing weary peculiar to the durative κάμνω: though this would have to be the case if, with Benfey II. 150 we wished to connect καμ with Skt. *ṣam* sedari, cessare, — a view to which there would be no phonetic objections. For the aoristic form of 'make ready, manufacture', could not be developed from any such fundamental idea†. Even

*) Cp. the discussion of this anomaly by L. Tobler (Ztschr. IX. 251 ff.), who falls in with my view. The tendency to characterize the present stem by methods peculiar to it, is preserved in Greek down to historic times. Thus Atticism limits the use of the root *καμ* to the aorist, perfect and future, and uses in the place of it the derived σκοπῶ in the present and imperfect. Kontos, in the *λόγος*: Ἐρμῆς A, 566.

†) It is a significant fact for the meaning of κάμνειν, that the word in modern Greek means *do*: μὴ κάμῃς τό, in Cyprus is 'don't do that'. Cp. E. Curtius, Gött. Anz. 1857 p. 301.

the distinction of the so-called *genera verbi* is instructive for the determination of meaning. Our judgement as to the fundamental idea of a verb will vary according as it occurs only in the active, or only in the middle, or in both forms, and according to the meaning which it has developed in the latter. For instance, the fact that both ἀνδάνω and ἡδομαι originate in the root ἄδ (pr. *svad*), by no means favours the derivation of *suad* from *su ad* 'gut essen', or even *su á ad* 'gut anessen' rejected above on other grounds. Again, as the idea of a verb is brought out, as it were, in various lights by the richness of inflection, so it is presented in various aspects and situations, so to speak, by the composition of the verb with prepositions. By this means we frequently get additional elucidation. The fundamental meaning is completely ascertained only by surveying all the instances of its composition with prepositions — though it is not always easy to effect this, owing to the arrangement of our lexicons. It is certainly not unimportant with regard to the correct conception of the Lat. root *tul* that while in other respects it follows the meaning of the synonymous *fer*, it does not share its intransitive use, which occurs in *differre* = διαφέρειν, while *distuli*, as I have shown in my Prooemium *de aoristi latini reliquiis* (Ind. lect. Kil. hib. 18½) p. VI [reprinted in *Studien* Vol. V: cp. p. 429], is not found in the sense of *diversus fui*. The root ἐχ (*éχō*) (No. 169, 170) has been considered quite identical with the Skt. *vah* (*vah-â-mi*,¹⁰⁵ *veho*) and the Lat. *veh* (*veho*). But in addition to the use of the middle ἐχομαι τινος 'I hold on to a thing', which of itself would make us hesitate, compounds like συν-έχω 'I hold together' are not less opposed to such a view. The meaning of the Skt. root *pat* 'fly, throw oneself down, fall' (No. 214) does not seem to be very close to that of the Lat. *petere* which is much less definite. But compounds like *ut-pat* 'spring up, go up' *pra-pat* 'hasten before, hasten to' show that the fundamental idea was that of motion through the air generally, just as a certain in-

definiteness remained with the Romans. Finally in the case of a verb we have certainly also to consider its construction, in which sometimes a trace of the original idea betrays itself. This forms part of the border-land between etymology and syntax. The latter has often been led into error by endeavouring to derive the construction of a verb from the meaning most common to it in a later stage of the language, while the reason of it lay in the original idea, which has perhaps almost wholly faded away in the current usage. This I have endeavoured to show, for instance in the case of the Lat. *ûti* (Ztschr. IV. 237). Conversely the genitive, with which *ἄρχω*, *ἄρχομαι* are construed, must be taken into consideration in enquiring as to the meaning of the root *ἀρχ* (No. 165) and it is significant as regards the difference of the radically identical verbs *διηγáναι* and *fingere* (No. 145) that the former is almost always followed by the genitive, the latter by the accusative.

Nouns, as compared with verbs, show a certain inflexibility. They do not offer by any means so many advantages for the discovery of the primitive sense which language attached to them. But still sometimes the derivation of nouns gives us the same kind of help as the inflection of verbs. For in the case of derivation also, it is not always the full and undivided fundamental idea which meets us in single derived words, but often a fragment of it, a modified meaning. The fundamental idea, so to say, breaks up in the derivatives, and each one of these elucidates the whole, just as the fragments of a rock give indications of its quality. Hence it is of the greatest importance for etymology to collect as completely as possible all the words that belong to each other and in the case of every word that is to be discussed, we shall have to adduce at least the most important representatives from among its derivatives. Even formations of a date so (pro-
106 portionally) late as diminutives are sometimes throw much light upon the stem-word. Thus Pictet (Ztschr. V. 27) aptly makes use of the form *sig-ill-um*, which presupposes

a shorter *sig-ul-um* to refer the abstract idea of the primitive *sig-nu-m* to a visible conception, which he not im- probably derives from the Skt. *saḡ, sañḡ, adhaerere*, the Lit. *sig-ti* 'fasten on', so that the more physical idea of 'the fastening' or 'the attached' appears to have been preserved longer in the diminutive than in the stem-word. Corssen however explains the word otherwise in Nachtr. 122. Con- versely an etymology is often refuted by the fact that some member of the family, which can hardly be se- parated from the word explained, refuses to coincide in its peculiar application with the idea assumed as funda- mental. Thus Ebel (Ztschr. IV. 20b) connects the Lat. *vincere* with the Gr. *ἐκτείνω*, as its causative. There is no difficulty presented by their phonetic relations, and as far as the meaning is concerned also the words might well be brought into connection. But we cannot separate *per-vic- ax* from *vincere* and this word cannot be referred to the idea of yielding (Cp. Corssen Beitr. 61). We must regard as the first requisite for arriving at the fundamental idea (cp. Pott II² 233) the most comprehensive examination of all usages. Even etymologers of repute have often sinned against this principle. Meanings are often treated far too lightly, and they are drawn from indices of roots and lexi- cons, and not from the living language, or constructed artificially out of inadequate materials. Inasmuch as com- parative philology has to do with many languages, there is of course often great difficulty in discovering the pre- cise meaning of a word, for it is impossible to be equally at home in all, and certainly it is mainly in this direction that our labours will need to be corrected in the future. But we must at least be aware of the dangers which threaten us at every step. We may therefore give here some instances of incorrect procedure. In the Ztschr. XII. 238 *σπέος* 'cavern' is derived from *σπάω*, and the substan- tive is translated by 'cleft, tear', the verb by 'cleave, tear'. But in reality *σπάω* has only the meaning 'draw, drag, pull', never of dividing or of tearing in pieces; and this

alone would suit the etymology proposed. Occasion for error has been given by the fact that *παῦν* may sometimes be translated by 'tear' (*reissen*) in the sense of 'drag to oneself' or 'drag forth'. From the root *an*, which as a verb in Sanskrit means only 'breathe, blow' (cf. *ἀνεμο-ς*, *anima*) it certainly appears that also *anala-s* 'fire' is derived; and it may be not without reason that the notion of flickering (cf. *πνοιῇ 'Hφαίστοιο* Φ. 355) serves as a link between the ideas of breathing and burning. (Cf. Studien IV. p. 228). But this by no means justifies us in ascribing
107 to the root itself the meaning 'burn', and further the more remote idea of 'shine'. It is not improbable that Skt. *agni-s* = Lat. *igni-s*, Lith. *ugni-s*, is derived from the root *ag* (Skt. *ag*) 'move' (P. W.: but cp. Fick² 6), but who would therefore venture to ascribe to the root *ag* itself the meaning 'burn'? With the same justice, on the ground of *φᾶρος*, which undoubtedly belongs to the root *φερ* (No. 411) we might attribute to this root the bye-meaning 'clothe', and even, as *φῶρ* = *fur* is also derived from it, the further notion of 'steal'. Nouns are always to a certain extent names, which are given from some motive or other, drawn from the object and often fixed upon with bold caprice. We cannot distinguish sharply enough between such isolated offshoots of a root, and the main stem, or, to drop metaphor, between the fundamental idea which is visible throughout and isolated applications and bolder metonymies. The danger of embracing a cloud instead of Hera is one to which the etymologist is always exposed. And in this respect the Indian indices of roots are misleading. If we reflect how hard it is to give the idea of a word, especially of a verb, with brevity, we shall not imagine that we have, in the meanings assigned by grammarians to their roots, anything but approximate estimates. Let any one take any verbs he pleases in our High German literary language, as e. g. *heben* (heave) *schöpfen* (draw) *ahnen* (guess) *helfen* (help), and endeavour to explain them merely by two or three other words, without the help of

another language, and without complete definitions, and it will be seen how impossible it is in this way to hit the central point of the meaning. He could hardly do more than set by the side of them some similar words such as *tragen* (bear) *nehmen* (take) *vermuthen* (conjecture) *unterstützen* (support). Now this is just what the compilers of the Indian indices of roots did. They only state that one verb is synonymous with another, or that it is a word for the general idea (*nāman* = ὄνομα) go, wish, sound &c. Hence Pott especially has justly warned us (e. g. II². 460) against too hasty a use of these indices; and so also Westergaard (*Radices linguae Sanscritae* p. XI) has uttered the words — which well deserve to be laid to heart: — ‘caeterum puto cavendum esse, ne illa grammaticorum de potestate radicum decreta nimis urgeantur, nam illis nihil vagius nihil magis dubium et ambiguum esse potest’. These indices — to which an additional confusing element is added by the Latin translations of their editors — hardly give us more information than would be gained in the case of Latin verbs if they were divided into *verba declarandi*, *sentiendi*, *eundi*, *splendendi* &c. We can never arrive at¹⁰⁸ the real meaning of a root, except from its usage, and hence nothing can be done with unauthenticated roots, even if many of them do not rest upon arbitrary assumption. But even in the case of those which are established by isolated examples, we can see from the number of quite different meanings which are found united under one root, how impossible it is to say that their fundamental idea is ascertained. For instance, under the root *vi* we have no less than six; 1) *ire* (trans. *ferre*), 2) *obtinere*, 3) (fetus) *concupere*, 4) *desiderare*, *amare*, 5) *iacere*, 6) *comedere*. So long as these different meanings are not referred to one centre, the etymologer can make no use of a root of the kind, especially beyond the limits of Sanskrit. Benfey in his *Lexicon* to the *Sāmavêda* makes it probable that the fourth meaning is merely an offshoot of the first, and that the notion *adire* is the intermediate stage between

1 and 4, which 2 also fits. (Cp. Pott W. I. 609). Hence we cannot approve of Corssen's use (Beitr. 18, Nachtr. 53) of the fourth meaning, severed from the rest, to explain thereby the Lat. *in-vi-tus*. The arguments which Benfey (Orient und Occident. III. 91) brings forward to establish the active meaning 'willing' for the Skt. *vita-s*, rest upon a very unconvincing explanation of an obscure passage in the *Rgveda*. A scholar who aims at exactness not merely in reference to the sounds, but also to the more meta-physical element of language, will have to guard himself carefully in etymologizing against the ἀμενῆνὰ κάρηνα of the indices of roots.

It is a further departure from the region of the comprehensible and intelligible, when such shadowy forms are created only by abstraction. This is an error, into which Leo Meyer falls. This scholar himself declares, it is true (Vergl. Gramm. I. 336) that he has taken the trouble to extract only 'roots in a less rigorous sense', that is 'those simplest elements, which it has been found possible hitherto to separate from words actually occurring after stripping off parts which belong to a suffix or a prefix': but he does not always follow his own rule. It might be difficult to prove that in Lat. *saxu-m* the syllable *sax* (p. 399), in ἔλη = *silva* the syllable *sul*, in νῆσο-ς the syllable *nas* had no suffix still attached to them. But apart from this it is quite impossible to see what use is to be made of the assertion of groups of sounds arrived at in such a purely arbitrary manner. The author himself feels the shadowy nature of these forms, for he does not venture to attach any meaning whatever to many of them. Pott gives as a jocose example of such procedure the root *gen* 'to be a cheek' for *gena* (II² 929); and in reality for the root *as*, which Leo Meyer (p. 345) extracts from *as-inu-s*, if we wished to translate it, we should have nothing to choose
 109 but the meaning 'to be an ass'. But there is hardly more sense in assuming for the benefit of the Lat. *facere* (p. 359) a root *bhak* 'make', for ἀγαπᾶν (p. 399) a root *gap* 'love'. We may

assert confidently that the root of *sci-o* is *sci*, but what is gained thereby, if we here lay down the abstract idea as the only one. But inasmuch as *sci-sc-o*, *plebi-sci-tu-m*, *populi-sci-tu-m* also belong to this root, and as in *de-sci-sco* we see the notion of separation coming out prominently, it becomes clear that *sci-o* is identical with *κεί-ω* (for *σκει-ω*) 'cleave' (No. 45b) and that the meaning 'sever' (*scheiden*) branched off into 'decide' (*entscheiden*) and 'distinguish' (*unter-scheiden*). From the last it is a short step to 'know'; and indeed in German we use the word *gescheit* (discreet) in a similar sense (cp. Döderlein, *Synon. and Etym.* VI. 323): while the Lat. *cernere* offers another parallel instance. The etymon is therefore in this case only found, when to the form which may be proved to be the most primitive, we attach that meaning which the living usage of the whole group of connected words has shown to be the oldest.

It is self-evident that we may on the whole expect to find both the fundamental meaning and the primitive form of a word first in the oldest language, and that accordingly we have to pay especial attention to the usage in the earliest period of language: and it is hardly necessary to point out the great importance of Homer's diction for Greek etymology. Yet many etymologists in ancient and modern times have paid too little regard to the Homeric usage. The old etymology of *μέριμνα* 'care' from *μερίζειν* 'divide', 'because care distracts the heart' lingered on down to very recent times. This explanation would have little probability in itself, because it would ascribe to language the propounding of a riddle, but it is completely disproved by the consideration, that in Homer, as I have noticed already in the *Philologus* III. p. 738, the words *μέρος* and *μερίζειν* do not occur at all, and the related *μόρος*, *μοῖρα*, *εἵματα* only justify us in attaching to the root *μερ* the meaning 'apportion to', and by no means the materially different meaning of 'part asunder' (Homer. *δαίειν*, *δαΐζειν*). Hence *μέριμνα* like *μέριμνα* belongs to the root *μερ* from *smar* (No. 466); from which on p. 101 we

explained *me-mor* and *mora*. The same consideration disproves the explanation of μέροψ as 'dividing the voice, speaking articulately', which is now attacked on all sides, and which is in itself improbable enough: it is maintained however by Döderlein (Gloss. 2479). Christ (Gr. Lautlehre p. 186) derives φράζω from the Skt. *pra-vad* 'to say before or to
 110 say out'. But even Aristarchus showed (Lehrs. p. 93) that the verb in Homer still meant, not 'say', but 'show' διασημαίνειν, whence in the middle, e. g. σὺ δε φράσαι εἰ με σαώσεις (A. 83) comes the force 'to show oneself', 'to make oneself clear', 'to consider'. This is alone enough to wreck Christ's theory. In consequence of the importance of the language of Homer for our purpose I have taken especial care to adduce in their proper place characteristic passages from the Homeric poems to elucidate the meanings. It will be readily understood that on the other hand the later language also can in its turn often supply its own peculiar offshoots, in particular cases, especially in popular and proverbial uses. Even Modern Greek is not to be despised occasionally. Now καιρός means 'weather', χρόνος 'year'. In both words the essential idea remained unaltered: in καιρός this is mutability, in χρόνος it is duration. We shall be obliged to presuppose this essential notion even in the etymon. Fortunately the rich history of the Greek language furnishes us with such facts in abundance*), and we are very rarely so situated as to be obliged to learn the meaning of any Greek words merely from lexicons and other isolated explanations which might readily lead us astray. Accordingly where we are thrown back upon such notices, e. g. those of Hesychius, we ought

*) There is a peculiar feature in the development of the meaning of words, called the 'pessimistic' (cp. Bechstein, Germania VIII. 330) which occurs occasionally also in Greek, e. g. in πονηρός, θράσος. Max Müller (II. 249) notices similar instances. But undoubtedly the motive to this pessimism is often the endeavour to give milder names to bad things, i. e. euphemism. Cf. Lobeck de *antiphrasi et euphemismo*. Acta Societ. Graec. II. 291.

never to forget on what slippery ground we are moving. But it will be permissible to make a cautious use of glosses whose transmission does not in itself lie open to any suspicion. This is certainly less venturesome than to refer rare words of the kind by doubtful conjectures to the standard of familiar Greek.

15.

Apart from the assistance in the discovery of the meanings of words, given by the means already indicated, we are exclusively confined to analogy, a great, but unquestionably not always trustworthy teacher. In linguistic investigations analogy has of course demonstrative force only when it is supported by a series of evident instances.¹¹¹ This is frequently the case with regard to the substitution of sounds. But in the region with which we are at present concerned it is difficult to form a series of any length, because the particular cases are too individual, so that we shall not often find that precisely the same conception is formed more than twice from one and the same original conception. But even a single sure example can throw surprising light on a similar case. Hence what is especially needed is a careful collection of such analogies: and up to the present time we feel a painful want of this. Hitherto at most one side of the development of meanings has been regarded, though this is certainly one of the most important, the figurative nature of expression, which runs through all languages. No one can fail to see that language is crowded in every part with metaphors, which shed a poetic fragrance over the simplest forms of speech. On this point much material has been collected. We have already referred (p. 91) to Renan — *De l'origine du langage*. Pott (Ztschr. II. 101) shows how man transfers his own circumstances, relations and properties to inanimate nature. Indeed grammatical gender is nothing but an at-

tempt of the same kind to assimilate the world of things to the nature of man. Even the ancients did not fail to observe that language itself here paved the way, so to speak, for the poet and the orator. Quint. VIII. 6. 4. says that *translatio* is *ita ab ipsa nobis concessa natura, ut indocti quoque ac non sentientes ea frequenter utantur*. Hence he views artistic metaphor as a continuation of the natural process. The same opinion is expressed by Lobeck in the attractive dissertations *de metaphora et metonymia*, which Friedlaender has published (Königsb. 1864). Max Müller also (II. 535) discusses metaphors very thoroughly, dividing them into *radical* and *poetical metaphors*. We cannot overlook the distinction between the unconscious expression of an image which is, for the naïve instinct of language, the most natural way of denoting a thing, and the intentional choice of one which the poet summons in order to reflect in it what he has to denote. But as the language of poetry in general approaches closely to the creative spirit of the people, so from poetical metaphors light may be cast upon those which are instinctive. Thus the student of language will be able to learn from collections such as the extremely rich one of Hense 'Poetic Personification in Greek poetry with reference to Latin Poets and to Shakspeare' — Parchim 1864, published in an enlarged form as a first
 112 part, Halle 1868. In this, e. g. it is explained how numerous the ways are in which expressions like *κάρα*, *κόμη*, *μέτωπον*, *πούς* are used by the poets.

Here without rigorously distinguishing the metaphorical change of meaning from changes otherwise effected, we may point out some instances of repeated transition. We start with what is directly obvious. It will be readily admitted that the Greek *λέύσσω* 'see' (No. 87), though most closely corresponding to the Skt. *lók* 'see', is connected not only with *λευκός*, but also with *lux*, *luceo*, if it is remembered that *lumina* and *φάεα* denote the eyes, that *ἀνγάζεσθαι* means in poetic language 'to look upon', and that also the root *δερκ*, as we saw on p. 99, is related to O. S. *torht*

'splendens'. We may therefore here state the compound proportion

$$\begin{aligned}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omega : \lambda\upsilon\kappa &= \textit{lumina} : \textit{luceo} \\ &= \phi\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\alpha : \phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega \\ &= \alpha\nu\acute{\gamma}\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota : \alpha\nu\gamma\acute{\eta} \\ &= \delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota : \textit{torht}.\end{aligned}$$

The correspondence of Lat. *gemo* with the Gr. *γέμω* (No. 127 b) is not merely phonetic: language seems rather to derive the sigh, the expression of a burdened anxious heart from the idea of crowded fulness, for

$$\textit{gemo} \text{ 'sigh' } : \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega \text{ 'amfull' } = \begin{cases} \text{Skt. } \textit{stan-āmi} \text{ 'sigh' } : \text{Gr. } \sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \\ \text{Gr. } \sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega \end{cases} \quad (\text{No. 220})*$$

This is a case of analogy in the change of meaning which Jos. Scaliger points out in his '*Coniectanea ad Varronem*'. Upon closer investigation we find in Latin also isolated traces of the meaning of fulness in derivatives of the root *gem*, and I even regard it as not improbable that the swelling bud, *gemma*, derived its name from this, as in Skt. *stana-s*, the swelling breast in woman, from the synonymous root *stan*. The Greek *βραδύς* with its derivatives (No. 255 b) has only the meaning of slowness: at most the form *βράδων*, explained by Hesychius as *ἀδύνατος*, might lead us to assign a different fundamental idea to the adjective. But the Skt. *mṛdu-s*, which, originating by metathesis in *mardu-s* is compelled, according to Greek phonetic laws to change its *m* into *β*, has preserved the earlier meaning *tener*, *mollis*, which occurs also in the Ch. Sl. *mlad-ŭ*. Now if we further compare the Lat. *lentus* 113 with *lenis* we have the proportion

$$\beta\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \text{ 'slow' } : \text{Skt. } \textit{mṛdus} \text{ 'soft' } = \textit{lentu-s} : \textit{leni-s}.$$

*) Albert Fulda in his '*Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Homerischen Gedichte I.*' Duisburg 1865 p. 112 points out how in 4 out of 5 places where *στένω* occurs in Homer with its second sense we find *πῆρ* added. The idea of this work, that of tracing out from such constructions the origin of metaphorical usages, is a happy one. It is very dangerous, though, to lay down criteria for the origin of the text from such considerations.

The old world, which honoured even its Achilles above all things as being πόδας ὠκύς conceived of slowness as an accident of weakness and soft effeminacy. But the idea of softness was reached by language from that of rubbing away, for the Skt. *mṛdu*-s points as clearly to the root *mard*, rub, rub away, as the Gr. τέρην with the related Skt. *taruṇa*-s 'soft' points to the root *τερ*, *τείρω* (No. 239). Again from the same fundamental notion of rubbing away is developed that of age. The root *gar* in Sanskrit unites both applications 'to rub away, to make small', and 'to cause to grow old' (*senio conficere*). The fundamental physical idea has been preserved in *grā-nu-m* and γῆρις 'fine meal', the metaphorical idea in γέρων, γῆρας (No. 130). Max Müller even unites in a similar way the conception of death with that of rubbing away, and derives the root *mor* (*mori* (No. 468) from a root *mar*, which has retained he thinks, its original force in μύλη, *mola*: according to this view γέρον: *grānu-m* as *mori*: *mola*. The notion of dirt is developed from that of wetting, moistening: for as no one can fail to see the connection of ἄρδα 'dirt', ἄρδαλος 'dirty', ἀρδαλοῦν 'to dirty', with ἄρδειν 'to wet', the connection of *pol-lu-o* with *lu-o*, *lav-o* is also made clear, and the two furnish an adequate analogy for the comparison of the Gr. μύδος 'wetness, rottenness' and μυδάω with the MHG. *smuz* (No. 479) 'smut'. — Language conceives of colour as a covering, for as *color* is connected with *celare*, *oc-cul-ere*, so the Skt. *varṇa*-s (colour) is with the root *var* 'cover, conceal' the Gr. χροῶμα with χρώς 'skin', and perhaps also the Skt. *kṛavi*-s in the sense of colour with the rt: *sku* (cp. No. 113) 'cover'. — The ground it denoted as 'the trodden', for as the Skt. *pada*-m and the Gr. πέδο-ν (No. 291) with the Ital. *Pedu-m* point to the root *pad* 'tread', so the Gr. οὔδας and ἔδ-αφος (No. 281) with the Lat. *sol-u-m* point to the Skt. *sad* which in compounds means 'go', as the Ch. Sl. *chod-i-ti* does always. — The notion of a meal is derived in many ways from the idea of portioning out. Thus δαί-ς, as every one

can see, is to be compared with δαίω, δέϊπνον not only with *dap-s*, but also with δαπ-άνη, and both with the Skt. *dāp*, the causative of the root *dā* 'give': but also φαγεῖν 'eat' (No. 408) is related to Skt. *bhag* 'portion out, receive as a portion, enjoy'. Hence φαγεῖν means properly 'to get one's share', and it was therefore limited to the expression of a point of time. A further analogy is presented by the Skt. root *aç*, *obtinere*, *comedere*. — Jacob Grimm (Gramm. II. 60) derives the Goth. *figgr-s* (finger) from *fangen* (*fahan*). This analogy extends to δάκτυλος (No. 11),¹¹⁴ which as being a diminutive form points to a lost δακτο-s, as *digitus* to *dec-etu-s*, to be connected, not indeed with the root *dik* (δείκνυμι), which the *α* shows to be wholly foreign to it, but (in spite of Pott's protest II. 220) with the root *dek*: the meaning of this root, employed only in the middle forms δέχομαι, δέχομαι, is there used in such an abstract manner, that there is something surprising in the idea of the connection. But this scruple vanishes when it is remembered that *empfangen* (receive, take to oneself) is a compound of *fangen* (take), and that δοκός 'beam', δοκάνη 'fork', δοχμή 'span' belong to the same root. To us the notion of 'quiver' does not seem to come very near to that of 'bear' inasmuch as many other things are borne, beside this particular article. Certainly nations thought otherwise in those old times when no part of the dress was so necessary as this, hence

φαρέτρα : root φερ = $\begin{cases} \text{Ch. Sl. } tulŭ \text{ 'quiver'} : \text{root } tul \text{ 'bear'} \\ \text{Skt. } tŭna-s \quad \quad \quad \text{"} \end{cases}$

πέλας and πλησίον 'near' are derived from the root πλα, to which we must assign the meaning 'strike, hit' (cp. No. 367). This root has been retained without any change of meaning in the Ch. Sl. *pra-ti* 'strike'. If we remember the German 'prallen' (bounce) and 'anprallen' (fly against), though these have nothing to do with the root phonetically, the connexion in sense will be regarded as a natural one. But as πλη-σίον is to πλα so is the equivalent ἔκ-ταρ to the root *ik*, Lat. *ic-ere* (No. 623). — θυ-μός passion, spirit belongs to θυ-

ειν 'rush, rage', whence the Thyiads have their name (No. 320), as well as the Ch. Sl. *du-chŭ* 'spiritus', Lith. *du-má* 'spirit'. The same relation exists between the root *kup*, which in the Skt. *kup-já-mi* means 'to be in motion, in agitation' and then 'to be angry', but in the Lat. *cup-io* only 'desire', and the hypothetical root *kvap*, which we must assume from the Lith. *kvápa-s* 'breath', *kvěp-ti* 'breathe, reek'. From this, with the loss of the *v* we have *καπ-νός* (No. 36) and Skt. *kap-i-s* 'smoke of frankincense', so that θυμός-ς is related to the Skt. *dhūma-s* 'smoke' (= *fū-mu-s*) just as *kup-já-mi* is to *καπνός*. In the Ztschr. XII. 399 I have shown with reference to *farcio* and φράσσω by the side of *frequens*, with the fundamental idea (No. 413) retained in the Lith. *brukù*, how the notions *crowd*, *stuff*, *protect* are often attached to one and the same root, also that *frequenter* is to φράσσειν as *saepe* is to *saepire* and as ἀλέντες to εἶλιν. — Verbs of saying frequently originate in words of pointing, so φά-ναι from the root φα (*φαίνω* No. 407) *dicere* from the root dik, δείκνυμι (No. 14) φράζειν, which still in Homer means 'to point'. — Mention has been made above of the repeatedly recurring connections between the ideas 'separate' and 'recognize' (p. 109). — Even some ap-
115 pellationations which appear at first sight quite arbitrary and originating rather in a witty fancy, recur to our surprise more than once in entirely independent regions of language. Poets have indeed called the windows the eyes of the house, as conversely the eye a window of the soul — but the window is explicitly called by the Goths *augo-dauro*, properly the 'eye-door', by the Slaves *ok-no* (*ok-o* 'eye'), the Indians *grháksha-s* from *grha* 'house' and *aksha-m* 'eye'. The O. N. *vind-auga* along with the English *wind-ow* is somewhat specialized (cp. Pictet II. 254). The appellation of 'look-out' for an opening occurs elsewhere too, e. g. in the Gr. ὀπή (No. 627). — We shall have therefore to pay good heed to these and similar analogies of the transition of meaning in the consideration of individual etymologies.

16.

Our principle of undertaking the etymology of no word without having thoroughly instructed ourselves as to its meaning from the living usage of the Greek language, is met by great difficulties in the case of certain kinds of words. In the first place there is the case of isolated words which cannot be said to have any usage at all. The ancients distinguished these words, so difficult of interpretation, from the rest of the stores of language, by the name *γλῶσσαι*. The explanation of these words, which we must regard as being for the most part remains of an older use, representatives of extinct families, has given the learned world plenty of occupation from the work of Democritus, *περὶ Ὀμήρου, ἣ ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων*, to the latest times. Even the connection in which these words are introduced, especially in Homer, often tells us very little about their meaning. In the Homeric epos the epithets are as traditional as the figures of gods and heroes: and therefore we may conjecture for *μέροπες, ἀλφησταί, διερός* according to the connection any epithet which suits the nature of man, and for *ἥνοψ, νῶροψ* any which suits the qualities of brass, provided it does not contradict the Homeric conception. Hence in cases like these a special meaning is given us only by the grammarians. And we must by all means guard against putting too low a value on the grammatical tradition. The Alexandrians possessed in the rich treasure of the literature accessible to them, in the collections of the old *γλωσσογράφοι*, in their own collections ¹¹⁶ of dialectic expressions, certainly drawn in part from living usage — as in fact Aristophanes of Byzantium gathered *Δακωνικάλ γλῶσσαι* — materials denied to us for the explanation of Homeric glosses, from which assuredly many a word could be at once interpreted. Since the work of the pioneer in this field, *Lehrs de Aristarchi studiis homerici*, no one can enter upon the task of explaining Homeric

words without having at least ransacked the Venetian scholiasts and Apollonius Sophista, if he does not wish to expose himself to the just charge of superficiality. But unfortunately many an etymologist of recent times thinks not only that he may neglect this task, but also that he can dispense with an exact knowledge of the Homeric dialect and construction of the verse, without which not a step can be taken with safety. Even when we employ all the aids accessible the difficulties with this class of words are very great, and the determination of the meaning of a word merely from its etymology is always a '*periculosae plenum opus aleae*'.

It is much the same with proper names, the very words for which the etymologer is called upon most constantly and most zealously to give his aid. It is demanded of him that he should solve by his art the riddle of the history of nations, the foundation of cities, the beliefs as to the Gods: and men are often not ill-disposed to estimate the whole art too low, if their warm desires are met by cold scepticism. Pott has based his extremely rich, inexhaustible book on Personal Names upon the principle that 'there are for the etymologer, as a matter of primary belief, absolutely no *nomina propria*, but only appellatives' (p. 1). This must be so far allowed, that certainly every proper name has arisen from an appellative, and in countless instances, the fundamental meaning may be ascertained with ease and certainty. This is most easy with reference to the names which form the proper matter of Pott's book, i. e. personal names, inasmuch as these have been formed, at least in great measure, in times known to history, were in part intelligible at the time to their own nation, and were derived from circumstances of life otherwise familiar, even though not always explicable at first sight*). But for all this,

*) Some remarks as to the giving of names are to be found in my dissertation on the Delphic inscriptions discovered by Wescher & Foucart (*Berichte der k. sächs. Ges. der Wissensch.* 1864 p. 234).

with every proper name the etymological operation is by one degree more difficult than with an appellative. For having to do in etymology with three factors generally, form, meaning, and origin, we are furnished in the case of appellatives with the first two of these, but in the case of proper names only with the first. Hence in the case of the latter we have to deal, so to speak, with two unknown quantities. It is therefore especially difficult to conjecture the meaning of proper names, and above all of local and mythical names. We do not refer here to the fact that even a man who is inclined to explain the Greek nation, Pelasgians as well as Hellenes, entirely from itself and its early history, cannot entirely disregard the influence of foreign stocks and nations. But even if, as is certainly the case with the great majority of names, Greek stems and roots lie at their base, difficulties enough are left remaining. In names of places we are helped by exact knowledge, by the aspect of the locality, which may be so characteristic that the meaning of the name at once becomes clear. But this is proportionately seldom the case, and there are so many motives for naming a place, natural, historic, mythologic, derived sometimes from the situation itself, sometimes from its inhabitants, that as a rule not one but many possibilities are furnished*). It is still more difficult with mythological etymologies. For in order to discover the meaning in such cases we must have some mythological conception as a basis from which to start. Are we to look for the occasion of the names of Gods in natural phenomena, or in ethical conceptions, in Greek localities, or in common

*) Gust. Ed. Benseler's third edition of Pape's Dictionary of Proper Names (completed in 1870) gives for all proper names German translations, a bold attempt, in which we cannot help recognizing the wit and the talent for combination shown by the translator. But G. Benseler was certainly right in not continuing these attempts of his father's in the portion of the book which he prepared himself.

Ernst Curtius (Gött. Anz., Nachr. 1861 p. 143 ff.) treats of 'geographic onomatology', and especially of the names of promontories.

natural circumstances, in the splendor of the morning and its beams, or the cloud-mountain and its billows? Are we to seek the source of the names of the heroes in historical and human, or on the other hand in physical facts. From the stand-point of language it is often quite impossible to come to a decision, especially as we find here a circumstance which creates great difficulties in the whole sphere of Greek etymology, i. e. the number of homonyms in Greek. In consequence of the extent to which the Greeks lost the three spirants *j v* and *s*, often without having any traces of them left, many words and stems originally distinct in sound became identical in their form. For instance a final *-ov* might equally well represent any one of the original roots *ak* (*ὄψομαι*) 'see', *vak* (*ὄψ*) 'call, speak', *ap* (*ὀπ*, Lat *opus*) 'work', *vap* (*ῥεπ*) 'to be busy': the syllable *id* might be referred equally well to *vid* 'see' or to *svid* 'sweat'. In fact even before the distinctively Greek stage of the language there were homonymous roots, such as *sak sequi*, *ἑπείσθαι* and *sak dicere*, *ἐπισπέν*. But it is just this plurality of meanings in a word which is a main cause of its difficulty. Hence etymological science in such cases can often only determine the sphere within which the meaning may lie, and not actually furnish it. For instance, from a linguistic point of view the name *Ἀχι-λεύς* may just as well mean *Ἐχέ-λαος* 'holder of the people' (cp. *Ἐχέδημος*, *Ἐχέστρατος*, *Ἐχέπολις*) as *Ἐχέ-λαος* 'holder of stones', seeing that the stem *lao* assumes the form *lev* in *βασί-λεύς*, *Λευ-τιχίδης* just as the stem *laa* does in *λεύ-ω* 'stone'. One who regards the heroes as historical personages will prefer the former hypothesis; one who views them as humanized deities who originated in natural conceptions, will prefer the second, seeing in Achilles a river-god. But we cannot allow what Preller — following earlier scholars — appears to regard as possible (by grouping together Myth. II² 400) *Ἀχιλεύς* and *Ἀχελῷος*, that the former part of the word denotes 'water' and may be compared with the Latin *aqua*.

For in the place of *aqua*, which corresponds to the Skt. *ap*, Goth. *ahva* of identical meaning, we can hardly assume any other form in Greek than *ἀπ*, a form which seems to be preserved in the names *Μεσσαπίοι*, i. e. *Μεθύδιοι*, *Μεσσαπέαι*. Although the *κ*, which we must assume as the original sound in this stem, is sometimes aspirated (cp. *δεκ δεχ*, *τυκ τυχ*) yet this is altogether improbable in the present instance: the analogy of Sanskrit and of the names quoted points rather to labialism*). Hence it often happens that nothing is left for the science of language except to give her veto. This is the case, for instance, with the comparison, formerly much in favour, of *Ἥρα* with the Lat. *hēra*, because the Greek *spiritus asper* is never equivalent to a genuine Italian *h*: and it is the same with the connection of this name with *ἔρα* 'earth' (Welcker Götterl. I. 363), because, to say nothing of the difference in quantity, the *spiritus asper* for the *lenis*, though not indeed unexampled, still hardly ever occurs without having traces of another initial sound in some dialect or other or in some related form. Leo Meyer certainly is right in¹¹⁹ assuming (Bemerkungen zur ältesten Geschichte d. Gr. Mythol. p. 18) as the stem the Skt. *svar* 'heaven' (cp. Preller II² 124). I find no convincing arguments in the objections of Pott to this derivation (W. I. 605, 925). We must as decisively reject the frequently repeated derivation of the name *Ἀηώς* from *λαθεῖν*, so far at any rate as the name is maintained to be Greek. For it is wholly inconceivable that by the side of *Ἀῆθος*, *Ἀῆθη*, the *θ* should in this name change without any provocation into a *τ*, however ready the older school of philology was to accept such assump-

*) Pott (in the Ztschr. IX. 211) has attempted to bring into favour again the old explanation 'troubler of the Ilians': and so too Benseler, who translates the name *Schmerz*. But the Digamma and the *ι* of *Ψίλος* are objections to this etymology. Sonne (Ztschr. X. 98) explains *Ἀ-γίλλεψ-ς* 'Clear shining', comparing *αἰ* with the Skt. *sa* 'with', and the second element with the words of bright colour, collected here under No. 197.

tions, at first sight not very bold, but really quite unfounded. On the contrary it is one of the chief characteristics of the Greek language to hold firmly to the gradations of the mutes, and from this there are but few exceptions, and these of a definite kind and confined to narrow limits. But I cannot agree with either Benfey (Höfer's *Ztschr.* II. 117) or with Welcker (Götterl. I. 300) that 'the etymological relations of sound are not to be pressed in all their rigour in the case of proper names'. On the contrary without such rigour all attempts at etymology are impossible. For this very reason it is much to be desired that historians, topographers, mythologists and ethnologists should make themselves acquainted with the simple principles of comparative philology, in order to have the instruments it supplies always at their command, and to avoid coming into collision with it.

But mythological etymology has other dangers peculiar to itself, which it is the more necessary to mention, because comparative mythologists of later years in particular have not always succeeded in avoiding them. In the attempt to connect Greek mythical names with the Indian, they have too often neglected to regard the Greek in connection with the family of words to which they belong, and in the meaning which they have outside the pale of mythology. Thus Max Müller in his able essay on '*Comparative Mythology*' (Oxford Essays 1856 p. 81, now reprinted in his '*Chips*' Vol. II), compares the Greek Ἠρως with the Skt. *ar-vân*, *arushi-s*, *arusha-s*, which forms, as he shows, starting from the original meaning 'runner, horse', denote the Sun-god. We pass over the doubts which might perhaps arise against the supposition, which Müller brings out so poetically, that love is denoted as the rising sun. But how can we separate Ἠρως from ἦρο-ς, ἦραμαι, ἦράω, ἦρατός, ἦρατεινός and other words, which are all of old date, and above all Homeric? They could not have arisen from the name ἦρως, and if we suppose their origin to be the same root *ar*, to which we should be obliged to give the original meaning

'go, run, strive', then ἔπος would mean something like ¹²⁰ 'striving, impulse' and it would be hard to show that the cognate Ἐπῶς had originated in the precise meaning 'horse, sun-horse' assumed for the Sanskrit words quoted. I hold the same opinion of the explanation of the Χάριτες as the Skt. *haritas* (the name given in the Vedas to the horses of the sun), at first sight attractive, and approved also by Leo Meyer (Bemerkungen p. 39), but rejected by Sonne in his exhaustive essay on Charis (Ztschr. X) and by Pott II³ 897, W. II. 1. 209. For what are we to do with the appellative χάρις, and with χαρά, χαίρω, χαρίζομαι, χαρίεις? Max Müller (II⁶ 418) now endeavours to derive both these words and the Sanskrit *harit* 'yellow, pale' from the root *ghar*, to which he assigns the fundamental meaning of glittering brightness: χάρις as a substantive would then originally mean 'brightness', *harit* as an adjective 'bright ones'. But the assumption of an adjective is still very bold in the case of Greek, and the explanation that 'one of the derivatives of the root was carried off by the stream of mythology' would excuse this, only if a more decided parallel really existed in the Greek conception between the Χάριτες and the horses of the sun: and this Müller himself does not altogether assume. But further, we cannot banish from Homer all personifications of abstract ideas: Δειμός, Φόβος, Ἔρις, Ἄτη, Ἥβη show this. I believe therefore that the mythical Χάρις was never distinct from the χάρις of real life. With respect to the physical basis of this conception, to which we shall recur in No. 185 Sonne's thorough discussion should be consulted. The attempts to refer a mythical name to a definite object, and the simple use of the appellative may not always agree well together; as e. g. Leo Meyer himself feels in his explanation of νύμφη and Νύμφαι (Bemerk. p. 66). But as certainly as class-names are older than proper names, so certainly must we regard as unsatisfactory any etymology of the latter which leaves unexplained a class-name evidently connected with it. As we must by no means exempt mythological etymology from

the necessity of paying attention to phonetic laws, so we can as little excuse it from the duty of looking at every word in connection with its family of related words. Purely linguistic etymology is in relation to mythology and other studies that need the explanation of words a kind of *topic* science. It teaches how to find in accordance with phonetic laws and the analogies of the change of meaning the *place* where the etymon of a word may be sought, and how to avoid the errors in which etymological dilettantism with its dim glimmer of 'similarity in sound' and not less dull light of 'connection of meaning' must always lose itself, and especially when despising linguistic studies, it seeks in names only the confirmation of the views of things which it has already formed. Still the meanings of difficult words can frequently only be discovered by a lucky dive into the stores of a knowledge of the subject, and always resemble to a certain extent conjectures in the realm of criticism. Just as grammar or palaeography cannot be required to restore to perfect correctness the texts of authors, so etymology as a branch of study cannot be expected to solve all the riddles offered by words. But it furnishes by the evidence of phonetic laws, by an abundance of examples, and by placing together what is mutually connected the indispensable tools for etymological divination: and this is the sense in which I give to this attempt the name of 'Principles of Greek Etymology'.

II.

Second Book.

Regular Substitution of Sounds.

*Ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ
γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος. Herod. II 33.*



Transliteration of the Sanscrit Alphabet.

Vowels	Di-phthongs	Consonants					
		Gutturals	Palatals	Linguals	Dentals	Labials	Liquids
अ a	ए ê	क k	च ḳ	ट ṭ	त t	प p	र r
आ â	ऐ êi	ख kh	छ kḥ	ठ ṭh	थ th	फ ph	ल l
इ i	ओ ô	ग g	ज ġ	ड ḍ	द d	ब b	ळ ḷ
ई i	औ au	घ gh	झ ġh	ढ ḍh	ध dh	भ bh	Aspirate
उ u		ङ ṅ	ञ ñ	ण ṇ	न n	म m	ह h
ऊ ū			य j	ष sh	स s	व v	
ऋ ṛ			श ṣ				
ॠ ṝ							

Anusvāra (a slight appended nasal) is represented by an inverted comma placed below the preceding vowel (ṝ).

[In the Skt. Alphabet ḷ = lī, ṛ = rī, ṝ = rī̄, ñ = ng, in *king*, ḳ = ch, in *church*, ġ = j, in *judge* (so commonly pronounced: but cp. p. 30), ñ = gn in *Campagna*, j = y, in *yes*, ṣ = ch in Germ. *Sichel* (see p. 32), ṭ, ḍ, ṇ are commonly pronounced as t, d, n but they were produced originally by the influence of a neighbouring r: the lower surface of the tongue should be brought against the palate in pronouncing them: v = probably the Eng. w. kh, th, ph, are pronounced almost as in *ink-horn*, *pothouse*, *topheavy*, gh, dh, bh as in *loghouse*, *madhouse*, *Hobhouse*.]

In the transliteration of the **Zend Alphabet** I follow Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache* (Leipzig, 1864). The most important points to be noticed are

j = Skt. ġ [Eng. j], y = Skt. j [Eng. y], c = ḳ [Eng. ch].

Transliteration of the Cyrillic Alphabet.

(Cp. Schleicher Beitr. I p. 30 ff.)

А а	М м	Ѳ ѳ (dull, light u)
Б б	Н н	Ѳ ѳ y
В в (German w)	О о	Ѳ ѳ i (light i)
Г г	П п	Ѳ ѳ è (je, perhaps pro-
Д д	Р р*	Ѳ ѳ ju perly a long e)
Е е	С с	Ѳ ѳ ja
Ж ж (French j)	Т т	Ѳ ѳ je
З з (soft s)	Ѳ ѳ u	Ѳ ѳ e (in in the French fñ)
И и	Х х (German ch)	Ѳ ѳ je
Й й	Ц ц (German z)	Ѳ ѳ a (on in the French on)
К к	Ч ч (tsch)	Ѳ ѳ ja
Л л	Ш ш (sch)	

* ĭ in Bohemian words has the sound of r followed by a French j.

Lithuanian.

The nasalized vowels are denoted as in Slavonic by an inverted comma subscript (ą ę į ū), which does not affect the pronunciation.

е denotes an open e (ā).

ė a closed long e appended to i, as in the Germ. See.

ė a diphthongal sound, lying intermediate between ea and ia, written by others ie and arising out of i.

ũ is to be pronounced like o with a following a.

y is a long i.

z is a soft s as in Slavonic.

ž is a French j, as in Slavonic.

sz = Ch. Sl. š is the Germ. sch [Eng. sh].

The Grave accent denotes an accented short vowel (sèkti), the Acute an accented long vowel (žolė).

(Cp. Schleicher Lit. Gramm. p. 7 ff.)

Irish.

The needful remarks with regard to the Irish consonants will be found at the head of the several sections. Here follow some remarks as to the phonetic laws of the vowels in Old Irish. Cp. Ebel *Beiträge* I. 163, Stokes, *Ir. Gl.* p. 160.

In most words the earliest demonstrable form of the intensification of *i* and *u* is a long *é* and *ó*, for which however we find even in the earliest authorities the *ia* and *ua* which appear with constantly increasing frequency. Rarer forms of the intensified *i* are *ai* *ae* *oi* *oe* (never alternating with *é*), in the place of which the modern language presents us throughout with *ao* (*aon* *unus*, in the place of the old *ain* *aen* *oin* *oen*). The appearance of *au* (alternating with *ó*) as an intensification of *u* is still rarer. An original *ava* or *va* seems as a rule to occur as a long *í*. A long *í* can only be proved with certainty for the *I*-row in the few cases in which an *i* originally short has suffered compensatory lengthening: it has also occasionally arisen at the beginning of a word from an original *ja*.

It is a well-known fact that we have in Irish (the younger the authority the more this appears) the endeavour to assimilate the vowels of neighbouring syllables. In this respect the influence which *i* and *e* exert backwards is especially important. Either it assimilates to itself the vowel of the preceding syllable, and then an *a* becomes an *i* (*e*), or it forces its way bodily into the preceding syllable. Thus arises a series of secondary diphthongs and triphthongs:

a becomes *ai* *ei* (*oi*) *ui*,

é becomes *éiui* *éui* *íui* *éoi* and commonly *éi*,

e *o* *u* *á* *ó* *ú* *ia* *ua* become respectively *ei* *oi* *ui* *ái* *ói* *úi* *iai* *uai*.

In the old language *u* has, though to a less extent, the same influence backwards. It assimilates *a* and the weakened forms of *a* to *u* (*o*) or it forces its way bodily into the preceding syllable. Usually *au* *eu* and *iu* have arisen in this way. A following *a* changes *i* and *u* in the preceding syllable into *e* and *o*. The accent over the vowels only denotes their length.

Regular Substitution in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Italian.

Indo-Germanic	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Italian
a	a	a (e o)	ᾱ ε ο	a e o i u
â	â	â	ᾱ η ω	â ê ô
i	i	i	ĩ	i e
î(?)	î	î	ĩ	i
u	u	u	ũ	u o
û(?)	û	û	ũ	u
ai	ê	aê	αι ει οι	ai ê oi ae oe î ù
âi	âi	âi	α η φ	
au	ô	ao éu	αυ ευ ου	au o u
âu	âu	âu	αυ ηυ	au
k	k kh kç	k kh c ç	κ	c q (Umbr. ç)
g	g g'	g gh j zh z	γ	g
gh	gh h	g gh j zh z	χ	init. h med. g
t	t th	t th	τ	t
d	d	d dh	δ	d
dh	dh	d dh	θ	Lat. init. f med. d, b Osc. Umb. f
p	p ph	p f	π	p
b	b	b	β	b
bh	bh	b (w)	φ	Lat. init. f med. b Osc. Umb. f
ñ	ñ ñ	ĩ ñ	γ before Gutt.	n
n	n ñ	n	ν	n
m	m	m	μ	m
r	r	r	ρ	r
l	l	r	λ	l
j	j	y	init. spir. asp.	j
s	s sh	s ç sh h	σ, spir. asp.	s (r)
v	v	v	ς	v

of Sounds.

German, Church-Slavonic, Lithuanian and Old Irish.

German		Slavonic	Lithuanian	Old Irish
Gothic	Old High Germ.			
a i u	a i u	a e o	a e i o u	a e i o u
ai au	e o	ŭ		
ê ô	â (ô) uo	a o	á o é	á é í ó
i ai	i e	i ǃ	i	i e
ei	î	i	y	
u au	u o	u o y ŭ	u	u o
u?	û	u y	u	
ai	ei	ě oj	ě ei	ai ae oi oe é ia
		aj	ai	
au, iu	ou ô iu io	u ov	ũ	au ó ua
		av	au	
h (g)	h (g)	k ċ c s	k sz	c ch (g)
k	k (ch)	g ž z	g ž	g
g	g (k)	g ž z	g ž	g
th (d)	d	t	t	t th (d)
t	z sz	d	d	d
d	t	d	d	d
f	f, v (b)	p	p	
b	b (p)	b	b	b
n	n	n	n	n
n	n	n	n	n
m	m	m	m	m
r	r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l	l
j	j	j	j	
s (z)	s (r)	s ch š	s	s
v	w	v	v	init. f

K

130 Greek κ corresponds to Indogermanic *k*. In Sanskrit this is represented by *k*, *kh*, *ḱ* or *ç*, in Zend by *k*, *kh*, *c*, *ç*, in Latin by *c* (*k*), *q*, seldom by *g*, in Gothic by *h*, at the beginning of words also by *g*, in Church-Slavonic by *k*, *č*, *c*, *s*, in Lithuanian by *k*, *sz*, in Old Irish by *c*, between vowels by *ch*, *g*. The Sanskrit sound *ḱh* stands for an original *sk* and therefore corresponds to the Greek *σx*.

1) Root ἀγκ *ἀγκ-ών* bend, *ἀγκ-ύλο-ς* crooked, *ἀγκ-ύλη* noose, *ὄγκ-ο-ς* bend, circumference, *ὄγκινος* hook.

Skt. root *ak* *añk-ā-mi* I bend, *añk-a-s* lap, hook.
Zd. *aka* (M.) a rivet.

Lat. *anc-u-s* (qui aduncum brachium habet Paul. p. 19, 15), *unc-u-s* *ad-unc-us*, *unc-inu-s*, *ungulu-s*.

Goth. *agga* (*hals-agga* neck) O.-H.-G. *angul* barb, hook.

Benf. II 22 P. W. under *añkas* and *ak*. Pott W. III 119. — The rest of the related words in Greek readily occur. *ἀγκάς*, *ἀγκάλη*, *ἀγκ-όνη* correspond remarkably closely to the meaning of 'arm' which we get from the Rv. for *añka-s*. For the meaning of *ὄγκο-ς* the fem. *ὄγκη*, *γωνία*, *μέγεθος* (Hesych.) must be noticed. — The neuter *añka-s*, bending, agrees perfectly in sound with *ἀγκο-ς* ravine, while *añkuça-s* hook agrees in meaning with *uncu-s*, as with the O.-H.-G. *angul*. It is probable that *angulu-s* belongs to the same stock: it has the same relation to *ancu-s*, as *un-gulu-s* (*anulus*), that was held to be an Oscan word (Mommesen U. D. 306) and was an old Latin one (Fest. 375), had to *uncu-s*.

- 2) Root *āk āx-αχ-μένο-s* pointed, *āk-ωκ-ή* point, *āk-όνη* whetstone, *āk-ων* (St. *άκοντ*) javelin, *āk-ανο-s*, *āk-αινα* thorn, *āk-ρος* pointed, *άκρι-s*, *όκρι-s* mountain peak, *ώκ-ύ-s* swift.

Skt. *aç-an* missile, *ak-ra-s* quick (?), *ācu-s* swift, *-āçra-s* (in compounds) -cornered, *açri-s* corner.

Zd. *aku* (M.) point.

Lat. *ac-u-s*, *acu-o*, *ācer*, *acu-ped-iu-s*, *ōc-ior*, *ōc-iter*. 131

O.-Norse. *egg-ja* sharpen, excite. [Eng. *egg on*.]

Lith. *asz-t-rū-s*, Ch.-Sl. *os-t-rŭ* sharp.

Cymr. *ochr* margo (Z.² 827).

Pott W. I 491, Benf. I. 155 ff., Roth Ztschr. II 46, Schleicher Ksl. 98, PW. 510. Joh. Schmidt gives the whole root a careful treatment in his 'Die Wurzel *ak*' Weimar 1865. — *acupediū* (Paul. Ep. p. 9) *dicebatur cui praecipuum erat in currendo acumen pedum*. Cp. Plac. gl. *acu pedum* *velocitate pedum*. For *acer* (St. *acri*) Old Lat. *acru-s*, Charis. I p. 117 K. On the Umbrian stem *okri*, which corresponds to the Latin *ocri* (Nom. *ocri-s*, *mons confragosus*) and the diminutive *Ocriculu-m* see A. & K. umbr. Sprachdenkm. II 64. — *Acior* can hardly be a borrowed word, but has the same change of vowel that the Gk. word has. — *άκμή* identical in meaning with *ac-iē-s*, approaches most closely to the Lith. *asz-mi'* (St. *aszmen*), sharpness. — The meanings *sharp*, *pointed*, *swift* arrived at through the idea of penetrating (Doederl. Gl. 180), are united in this root (cp. *ώκιδες ίνώια* Hes.). — From the amplified root *aks* (cp. Skt. *aksh* reach, hit) is derived *όξύ-s* swift, perhaps also *as-tū*, *astū-tu-s* with *s* for *x* as in *Ses-tius*, *tes-ta*, *tes-tu* (No. 235).

- 3) *āk-μων* (St. *άκμων*) anvil, thunderbolt.

Skt. *aç-mā* (St. *açman*) stone, thunderbolt, *aç-ma-ra-s* made of stone.

O.-Norse. *hamar-r* (saxum, malleus) O.-H.-G. *hamar* (malleus).

Lith. *ak-mŭ'* (St. *ak-men*), Ch.-Sl. *ka-menŭ'* stone.

Bopp Gl., Grimm Gesch. 400, Schleicher Ksl. 97, Pott W. I 502.

— In German as in Slavonic metathesis has taken place. — Roth Ztschr. II 42 shows, starting from the meaning *stone*, how first that of *sling-stone*, *thunderbolt*, was derived from it (Hes. Theog. 722 *ζάλκτος άκμων ούρανόςθεν κατιών*), secondly that of *anvil and hammer*, thirdly that of the *vault of heaven*, thought of as *stone*. Hence Zend *açman* heaven, and likewise Hesych. *Άκμων Ούρανός, άκμονίδαι of ούρανίδαι; Άκμονος ό Ούρανός Άλκμάν* ap. Eustath. p. 1154, 25. —

The meaning stone is prominent in ἄκμονα ἀλετριβανον (pestle) Κόπριοι (Hesych.). The root seems to be No. 2. Cp. Aufrecht Ztschr. V. 135 f.

- 4) ἀκρό-ς (ἄμος Hesych.) shoulder — Lat. *á-la* (for *ax-la*), *axilla*. — O.-H.-G. *ahsala*, *uohs-a*, shoulder.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *aca*, which I with the PW. hold to be only a defaced *asa* (No. 487) — Otherwise Benf. I 352, who connects also Hesychius's gloss ἀκχαλίβαρ κράββατος with ἀκρός; this Laconian word cannot however be separated from ἀλίβαρ νεκρός and seems to mean a bier, perh. from the root ἐχ. — ἀκρός itself indeed is not firmly established, for in the manuscript ἄμός not ὄμος occurs (Mor. Schmidt Hesych. s. v.). J. Grimm Dict. s. v. *Achse* conjectures relationship with ἄξων (No. 582) and origin in the Root ἀγ (No. 117) in the sense of turning round, cp. Pott W. III 376. — Corssen Ausspr. I² 641, Goetze 'Studien' II 170

- 5) ἄλκη elk. — Skt. *ṛṣa-s*, *ṛṣja-s* the buck of a kind of Antelope. — Lat. *alce-s*. — O.-H.-G. *claho*, Norse *elg-r*.

132 Pott W. II, 2, 456. — Weber Ztschr. VI 320, where however the Latin *hircu-s* is wrongly compared with it, for the *h* in it is shown by the Sabine *fircu-s* (Varro l. l. V 97) to belong to the stem. — On the mistake in connecting it with ἄρκτος and the relationship to ἔλαφος cp. ἄρκτος No. 8. — On the *a* that has been introduced in O.-H.-G. v. Kirchhoff Ztschr. I 39. — Dietrich, Jahn's Jahrb. 81, 38 considers the Latin and Gk. word to be borrowed from the German.

- 6) ἀλκυών (St. ἄλκυον) sea-kingfisher. — Lat. *alcédo*. — O.-H.-G. *alacra*.

Förstemann Ztschr. III 48. The *spir. lenis* is established I 563 and authenticated by other passages too; the *spir. asp.* is only Attic and is rightly explained by Förstemann as the result of popular etymology, i. e. of the similarity of the sound with that of ἄλς, whence the etymology παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἄλλι μνεῖν (E. M.). — The genuine Latin *alcedo* (Varro l. l. VII § 88 'haec avis nunc graece dicitur ἀλκυών') and the O.-H.-G. form prove that the word began with a vowel. — Hence Benfey's explanation II 165 is a wrong one.

- 7) Root $\begin{cases} \text{ἀλκ} \\ \text{ἀρκ} \end{cases}$ ἀλ-αλκ-εῖν to keep off, ἀλκ-ή defence

ἀρκέω I keep off, suffice, ἄρκι-ος sufficient, safe.
Lat. Root *arc* *arc-e-o*, *arx*, *arca* chest, *arc-era* covered waggon.

Pott W. II, 1, 100; 2, 455. — On the interchange of *λ* and *ρ* p. 537 ff. An amplification of ἀλκ by means of a vowel is ἀλέξω,

that corresponds to the Skt. *raksh* (for *rak-s*, *ark-s*) *rakshāmi* defend, protect, cp. p. 67 No. 24 and 581. On ἀρήγω p. 522. — In the root ἀρκ the positive meaning, to hold good, is prominent, in ἄρκ the negative one, to keep off. But Simonides Zeus fr. 102 B. ἤρκεσαν = *arcuerunt*. Lat. *arc-s* 'defence' Mommsen Rom. H. (I 39). — Perhaps the Goth. *alh-s* ναός, ἱερόν A. S. *ealh-stede* palatium belongs here as being a protected place (Delbrück *Ztschr. f. deutsche Philologie* I 133).

- 8) ἄρκτο-ς bear, also ἄρκο-ς, ἄρκιλο-ς young bear. — Skt. *rksha-s* bear (from *arksa-s*). — Lat. *ursu-s* (from *urcsu-s*). — Lith. *loký-s* (for *lokja-s*)? — Ir. *art* bear (O'Reilly Dict. p. 39).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 85. — On ἄρκος and ἄρκιλος cp. A. Nauck Aristophanis Byzantii fragm. p. 111, 115. — Kuhn Hofer's *Ztschr.* I 155 regards the root *ark* shine (No. 24) as the root (cp. M. Müller II 361), more correctly however the PW. the root *arc* (*ric*) hurt (= ὀλεσ cp. p. 63). Likewise Pictet I 427. — Kirchhoff's and Förstemann's connection of the word with O.-H.-G. *elaho* (No. 5), *Ztschr.* I 39, 493, cannot be allowed on account of the difference between the animals. — Lith. *loký-s* may be kept here more certainly because according to Nesselmann, Wörterb. p. 372 it is now obsolete and seems to have been in Old Prussian *cloki-s* (Vocab. p. 30), (Fick² 15).

- 9) Root δακ δάκ-ν-ω I bite, δάκ-ος a biting beast, δῆγ-μα bite.

Skt. root *daq* *daq-ā-mi* I bite, *daq-a-s* *daq-man* bite.

Goth. *tah-ja* lacero, O.-H.-G. *zāh-i* tough (Germ. *zähe*).

Bopp. Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 506. — Lat. *lac-er-o* belongs to root 133 *lax* No. 86.

- 10) δάκρυ, δάκρυ-ο ν tear, δακρύ-ω I weep. — Lat. *lacru-ma*. — Goth. *tagr* tear, *tagr-ja* I weep; O.-H.-G. *zahar*, N.-H.-G. *Zähre*. — Old-Cymr. *dacr* Z.² 827; O.-Ir. *déra* Nom Pl. (F. A. 305).

Grimm Gesch. 300 refers it to Skt. *daq*, δακ 'a tear bites'. — Pott W. II, 2, 509. — There is a trace of an old Latin initial *d* for *l* in Paul. Ep. p. 69 '*dacrimas pro lacrimas Livius saepe posuit*', and Bergk is undoubtedly right in reading in Ennius's epitaph '*nemo me dacrums decoret*' (Philol. XIV 187). The connection with the Skt. *asru* and Lith. *aszara*, is, in spite of the similarity of meaning, doubtful on account of the initial letter, especially as both words could

be formed from the root *ak* be sharp, in a way similar to that in which the words here brought together are formed from the root *dak*. Cp. Aufrecht on the Ugg'valadatta p. 277 n.

- 11) δάκτυ-λο-ς finger. — Lat. *digitu-s*. — A.-S. *tā*,
O.-H.-G. *zēhā* toe.

Grimm Gesch. 403. — δάκτυλο-ς is a secondary form, the prototype of which must be sought in *dig-itu-s*. The latter word has *g* for *c* like *viginti* (No. 16) and comes from an older *deceto-s*. A shorter form occurs as the base of the Teutonic words. The root I hold to be *dek* (δεχ) in *δέχομαι*, and its meaning has the same relation to the root as that of Germ. *Finger* (finger) to *fangen* (catch) (p. 113). A distinctly physical meaning of the root *dek* is to be seen in the Homeric *ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο χεῖρ' αἰ*, and in *δεξιός* (No. 266), *δοκός* beam, *δοκάνη* fork, *δοχή*, *δοχός*, *δοχεῖον* vessel, *δεξαμενὴ* cistern (that which has caught), reservoir, and *δοχμή* span, on which cp. Lobeck Paralip. 495. By this the doubts expressed by Corssen (Beitr. 47, cp. I 381, II 208), are removed; he assigns *digitu-s* to the root *dic* show, but leaves the Gk. and Teutonic words unexplained. *δέξα* too (No. 12), the sum of the fingers is related to this root. — Otherwise Pott II¹ 220.

- 12) δέξα ten. — Skt. Zd. *daṣan*. — Lat. *decem*, Umbr. *deçen-du-f* duodecim. — Goth. *taihun*. O.-H.-G. *zēhan*. — Ch.-Sl. *desetŭ*, Lith. *dėszimtis*. — O.-Ir. *deich*.

Bopp Gl. &c. On the formation of the Slavo-Lithuanian form see Schleicher Kirchenal. 88. O.-Ir. *deich* points to a form **deci*, the final nasal is kept in *deich mbai* decem vaccae (Z.² 304.) Cp. No. 11.

- 13) Root *δεрк* δέρεκ-ο-μαι I see, δέρεγ-μα look, δρεάκ-ων (St. *δρακοντ*) dragon, *δορκ-άς* (St. *δορκ-αδ*) gazelle.

Skt. root *darç* (from *dark*) see, perf. *da-darç-a*, *drç* eye.

Old-S. *torh-t* splendens, O.-H.-G. *zorah*t bright, clear.

O.-Ir. *ad-con-darc* conspexi (= δέδορκα, Z.² 448).

derc eye, (Amra p. 22), *derccaid* watchman (T. B.

Fr. p. 138), *air-dircc*, *ir-dircc* conspicuous (Z.² 67).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 531, Grimm Gesch. 402, Sonne Ztschr. XII 351. — δράκων παρὰ τὸ δέρεκω, τὸ βλέπω· ὁξυδερκὲς γὰρ τὸ ζῶον E. M., so also *δρεῖς* from root *dk*, *dk* (No. 629). — Cp. above 134 p. 99. — Perhaps Pott is right in supposing for *ἐπόδρα* (II² 938 W. 1, 137) a shorter root *dar*, *dra*, and in comparing this with the Skt. *dar* (*ā-dar* to take care) and the Lith. *dýr-o-ti* to gape.

- 14) Root *δικ* (δεικ) *δείκ-νυ-μι* I show, *δείξις* a pointing out, *δείγμα* something pointed out, *δίκη* justice. Skt. root *dic*, (*dic-á-mi*) show, exhibit, point out, *dīç*, *dīçá* judgment (of men and gods).

Lat. root *dīc*, *dīc-o*, *causi-dic-us*, *in-dīc-o*, *judex*, *dic-is causa*.

Goth. *teih-a* nuntio, O.-H.-G. *zihu* accuse (Germ. *zeihe*), *zeigōm* show (Germ. *zeige*).

O.-Ir. *decha* = *dīcat*, *in-dia dicet* (Beitr. VII 47).

Bopp Gl. Pott W. II, 2, 511, Grimm Gesch. 403. — *δίκη* has kept, both in the tragic Acc. *δίην* after the fashion, and in the Homeric *αὔτη τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν* (τ 43, cp. ω 255), the old meaning of way. As to the later use cp. *ju-dex* (= *jus-dex*) and the German '*Recht weisen*' (to put into the right way). *dic-io* is also related; it calls to mind the Skt. *dic* regio; the verb *dic* has in Skt. also the meaning 'command' which appears in *dictator*, *dīshṭa-m* (for *dīk-ta-m*) is *fatum*. Further *con-dic-io* (Corssen I² 52), properly an agreement. Sonne Ztschr. XV 52 gives an important collection of words related to this root among which however I cannot allow *δινεῖν* 'to cast' to have a place. — O.-Ir. *-dia* for **dēs* = *δεῖξει*.

- 15) Root *δοκ* *δοκ-έ-ω* I am valued at, am of opinion, *δόξα* value, opinion. — Skt. *daç-as-* fame (by the side of *jaças*). — Lat. *dec-et*, *dec-us*, *dig-mu-s*.

Kuhn Ztschr. II 265. — The relation of *daças-* (in *daças-já-mi*) to *jaças*, which will occupy us further on, does not invalidate the assumption here made of its connection with the root *δοκ*.

- 15b) Root *дук* *δα-δύσσε-σθαι* *ἔλκεσθαι*, *σπαράττεσθαι*, *δαι-δύσσεσθαι* *ἔλκεσθαι* (Hesych). — Lat. root *dūc*, *dux* (*dūc-is*), *dūco* (O.-Lat. *ab-doucīt*). — Goth. *tiuha*, O.-H.-G. *ziohu* I draw (Germ. *ziehe*).

Roscher Stud. III 199. — The Greek words which are also brought forward in the EM. to furnish *δοῦ-δνξ*, pestle, with a derivation which is a very doubtful one, have indeed an abnormal reduplication, but the meaning *ἔλκειν* comes so near to that of the Latin and Teutonic words, that I bring them forward here as long missed representatives of the latter in Greek. Roscher holds *Ὀδυσσεύς* as well to belong to the same root.

- 16) *εἰκοσι(ν)*, Boeot. *ῥίκατι*, Lacon. *βείκατι*, twenty. — Skt. *viçati*, Zd. *viçaiti*. — Lat. *viginti*. — O.-Ir. *fiche* (Z.² 305).

Bopp. Comp. Gr. II 87 &c. Ahrens d. aeol. 170, dor. 45: on *ἐείκοσι* and the traces of the *f* in Homer Hoffmann *Quaestiones Homer.* § 146. *ἐκάντιν εἴκοσιν* Hes. remarkable on account of the preservation of the nasal in the middle of the word. The diphthong in the first syllable seems to be a mistake (Ahrens Philol. XXIII 202). — The primitive *c* occurs in *vicesimus*, *vicies*. — Cp. No. 277. — O.-Ir. *fiche* Gen. *fichet* represents an original **vicant*, cp. O.-Cym. *uceint* (Z.² 319).

- 135 17) *ἱκ* (ik) *ἐλκω* yield, *ἱλ-voς* trace (?). — Skt. root *vik* (*vi-na-k-mi*) to separate, winnow (?). — Lat. *vi-to* for *vic-(i)-to* avoid.

Bopp Gl. — The connection of *vi-ta-re* with this root which is upheld Ztsch. II 153, I hold to be correct, notwithstanding Corssen's objections and attempts at different derivations (Beitr. 18, Nachtr. 55). *Vitoria* = *Victoria* is a certain example of a *c* driven out before a *t*. — From the Teutonic languages O.-N. *vik* (move, turn) O.-H.-G. *wichu* give way (Germ. *weiche*) and, with Leo Meyer Ztschr. VII 127 Schleicher XI 52 (cp. Pott II² 339) O.-H.-G. *wēh-sal* exchange (Germ. *Wechsel*) cp. Lat. *vic-es*, *vic-issim*, *wēhha* week, seem to belong to this root. The *f* is proved by clear traces in Homer (Hoffmann § 116), by *ἐεῖξε* in Alkman (fr. 31 B³) and by *γέξαι ζω-ῆσαι* (Ahr. d. aeol. p. 171). Cp. Leo Meyer Ztschr. VII 129. To the identity of this root with the Lat. *vic* in *vinc-o* maintained by Ebel Ztschr. IV 205 f., on which Corssen Beitr. 61 and Pott II² 874 may be compared, I find an insuperable objection in *per-vic-ar* (cp. above p. 106): the connection with *νικά-ω* for *νι.φικά-ω*, supposed to be a compound with the Skt. preposition *ni*, which he has again maintained, is at variance with the principles laid down in the Introduction p. 38 f. — Doubts are expressed by Pott W. II, 2, 590.

- 18) *ἐκατό-ν* hundred, *δια-κόσιοι*, Dor. *δια-κατίοι*. — Skt. *ṣata-m*. Zd. *ṣate-m*. — Lat. *centu-m*, *du-centi*. Goth. *hund*. — Lith. *szimta-s*, Ch.-Sl. *sūto*. — O.-Cymr. *cant*, O.-Ir. *cét* (Z.² 306, 321).

Bopp Gl. &c. — On *διακατίοι* Ahr. dor. 281. — The prefixed *c* must be the numeral *ἑν*.

- 19) Root *ἑκ* (ék) *ἐκ-ών* (St. *ἐκ-οντ*) willing, *ἐκ-η-τι* for the sake of, *ἐκ-η-λο-s* willing, calm.

Skt. root *vaç* (*vaç-mi*) to will, to desire, *a-vaç-a-s* *invitus*, *uç-ant* willing. — Zd. *an-uç-añ!* unwillingly.

Lat. *in-vi-tu-s* (for *in-vic-(i)-tu-s*).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 574, Kuhn Ztschr. II 132. — The *f*

betrays itself not only in ἄ-έκων, ἄ-έκῃτι but also in (Hesych.) γέγκαλον ἥσυχον, γεκαθά ἔκουσα (Ahr. dor. 53), also in the Homeric εὐκῆλος (Buttm. Lexil. I 146), perhaps for ἐφέκῆλος, ἐφέκῆλος. ἐκῶν in ἐ. οὐκ ἄν τις ἔλοιτο (Γ 66, cp. H 198), to which Aristarchus's διπλῇ must have referred, is a genuine participle 'even if he wished'. ἄ-έκ-η-τι: ἐκ = ἀμαχ-η-τί: μαχ. — I am not disconcerted by Corssen's repeated objection (Beitr. 18) to the comparison of *in-vi-tus* i. e. ἀέκῃτος with this root (cp. Ztschr. II 154). Cp. above No. 17 and p. 108.

20) ἔκυρό-ς father-in-law, ἔκυρά mother-in-law.

Skt. *çvaçura-s* socer, *çvaçrú-s* socrus. — Zd. *qaçura* (*q* = *sv*) socer.

Lat. *socer* (st. *socero*), *socrus*.

Goth. *svaihra* (St. *svaih-ran*) socer, *svaihró* socrus.

Ch.-Sl. *svekrŭ* socer, *svekrŭŭ* or *svekry* socrus, Lith. *szėszura-s* socer.

Corn. *hveger* mother-in-law, *hwigeren* father-in-law 136 (Z.² 124. 168).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 85 Benf. II 176. — Skt. initial *ç* stands here as often for *s* (cp. Grassmann Ztschr. IX 2) so that the primitive form is *svakura-s*, the connection of which with the stem *sva* 'one's own' is very probable. Cp. Pictet II 370. Perhaps we may with him and others refer -*κυρό-ς* to No. 82 and translate the word ἰδιος πρόιος. P. gives analogous instances for this polite designation of the *beau père*. — Lat. *so-* = *sva-* as *somnu-s* = Skt. *svapna-s* (No. 391); the Gk. *spir. asp.* is here as in the pronoun-stem *ἐ* = *sva* (No. 601) the representative of σF (Hoffmann *Quaest. Hom.* § 106).

21) ἐλίξη (Arcad.) willow. — Lat. *salix* (St. *salic*). — O.-H.-G. *salaha*. — Ir. *sail*, *saileach*, Corn. *heligen* (Z.² 296).

Kuhn Ztschr. II 129, Pictet I 194, Fick² 403. — The relationship with ἔλιξ, ἔλισσω, which viewed only with reference to Greek seems probable, cannot be maintained in the face of the kindred words above quoted, since the Root of ἔλιξ is Fελ (No. 527). — On the Keltic words cp. Stokes, *Corn. Gl. Transl.* p. 154, Williams *Lex. Cornu-Brit.* p. 213, O'Reilly *Dict.* p. 436.

22) Root Fελκ ἔλκω I draw, ὀλκή, ὀλκός a drawing, a line, ἔλκ-η-θ-μός a dragging.

Ch.-Sl. *vlěk-a*, Lith. *velk-ù* I draw, *vàlk-s-mas* fishing-line.

Schleicher *Kirchensl.* 135, Pott W. III 281. — To this root be-

long also the Homeric ὄλιξ (St. ὄλιx) furrow, by the side of ἀνίλαξ, Dor. ὄλαξ, Att. ὄλοξ, of which ἀνίλαx arose from ἀνίλαx by vocalization, ὄλοx from ἀνίλαx by expulsion of the *ν*, both being provided with a prothetic *α*. Cp. p. 566. The form *Φαυλαξ* given by Legerlotz Ztschr. X 371 has no authority. No sufficient explanation has been given of the relation of ὄλος to the Lat. *sulcus* and A.-S. *sulh* of like meaning, on which Kuhn Ztschr. II 135 may be referred to. — The augment of εἰλον is clearly to be explained by ἐ-*φελx-o-v*. — Corssen Beitr. 46 with Leo Meyer compares Lat. *lac-io*, *laqu-cu-s*, whose stem he supposes to have arisen from *vlak* with the loss of the *v*. Whether the German *locken* however has anything to do with this root is still doubtful. Cp. note to No. 89.

23) ἔλκος ulcer — Lat. *ulcus*.

G. J. Voss *Etymologicum linguae latinae* p. 564, Pott W. III 285. The Latin word is too frequently used, has developed its meaning in too special a line, branching as it does into *ulcerare*, *ulcerosus* &c., for it to be suspected of being borrowed from the Greek. — Connection with No. 22 is doubtful. — Other suppositions Benf. I 51.

24) ἡλέκ-τωρ sun, beaming, ἥλεκ-τρον shining metal and amber, Ἠλέκτρα, Ἠλεκτρονών.

Skt. root *ark* to beam, *ark-a-s* beam, sun, crystal, copper, *arkis* glitter.

PW. p. 419. — The connection here maintained rests chiefly on the similarity of meaning between the Skt. *ark-a-s* sun, also sun-god, and the Homeric ἡλέκ-τωρ which stands sometimes by itself and 137 sometimes as an epithet of Hyperion. As root I take *dak* = Skt. *ark*, the *ε* was developed later as in ἀλέξω from root *dak* (No. 7), the *α* lengthened into *η* as in τηλε-θά-ω i. e. *ταλ-θα-ω* (root *θαλ*). Walter Ztschr. XI 431. — Pott (cp. W. III 590) Ztschr. VI 357, Benf. I 105 compare Skt. *ráj*, *rañj* to shine (No. 121).

24b) Root *ik* *ik-μα(δ)-ς* moisture, *ikμα-λέo-ς* moist, *ix-μαίν-ω* I wet, *ikμα-το-ς* the wetter.

Skt. *siṅk* *siṅk-ā-mi* spargo, rigo, *sēk-a-s*, *sēk-ana-m* rigatio, *sēk-tar* adspersgens, maritus. — Zd. *hiñcaiti* to wet.

O.-H.-G. *sih-u* colo, M.-H.-G. *sih-e* sieve, *colum*, *sih-te* low. [Germ. *seicht*.]

Lith. *sunk-iū* I filter (?), *sēki-s* low ground, *sēk-ti* to get low (of water), to fall (?), Ch.-Sl. *šč-a-ti* mingere.

Bopp Gl., Pott I 234, Ztschr. VII 85, where the names Ἰμάλιος

(Cretan month) and Ἰξίων are referred to this root. — Benfey's objections (I 439, II 354) founded on a supposed *ῥ* in *ἱμάς*, which rely only on *P* 392, are of no weight, because an isolated hiatus of that kind occurs in Homer even before a number of words which certainly begin with a vowel (Hoffmann Quaest. Hom. I 93). — The original sibilant has here as in other cases left only a spir. lenis. Cp. No. 208, 518.

24c) Root *ῥικ* ἱκ-ω, ἱκ-νέ-ο-μαι, ἱκ-ά-νω come, reach, ἱκ-έ-τη-ς, ἱκ-τήρ, ἱκετή-σιο-ς coming for protection, ἱκ-ανό-ς coming far enough, sufficient, ἱκ-μενο-ς coming towards, favourable.

Skt. *viç* (*viç-â-mi*) to settle, enter, come. Zd. *viç* come, Mid. to do homage.

O.-Ir. *fechta* "he went in" (Stokes, Beitr. VII 27) *fri fecht* "on a journey" (Corm. Gl. p. 3), *infect-so* nunc (Z.² 212).

Bopp. Gl., Benf. I 350, Gust. Lange *Quaestionum hom. specimen* (Berl. 1863). — The one single trace of the *ῥ* is found in ἄ-ικ-το-ς 'not to be approached' (h. in Merc. 346) and Sappho fr. 109 Be., if we there with Schneidewin and in spite of Ahrens aeol. 27 read οὐκέτι *ῥίξω* πρὸς σέ, οὐκέτι *ῥίξω* instead of the more ordinary ἦξω, and thus remove the awkward hiatus. — It is quite certain though that *φοῖνος* (No. 95) which we cannot separate from this root, has the digamma, and consequently we shall not doubt the relationship here asserted. Perhaps *προ-ἱκ-τη-ς* beggar (q 352) belongs here too, (ὁ προῖκνομένος) (Phot. Lex), also *προῖσσομαι* (Archil. fr. 130 B.²). — On the development of the meaning of the Irish *fect*, *fecht*, cp. Stokes Beitr. III 161.

25) κάδο-ς pail, cask. — Lat. *cadu-s* cask, pitcher. Ch.-Sl. *kadŭ* cask.

Benf. II 161, Schleicher Kirchensl. 95. — According to the former it is borrowed from the Hebrew; this may be left undecided. — In any case the derivation from the root *καδ* *καδάνω* is one of the hallucinations that deface our dictionaries.

26) καθ-αρός pure, καθαίρω I purify; κάθαρ-σι-ς purification, expiation, *Κασταλία*.

Skt. *çudh*, *çundhâmi* purifico, lustro, *çudh-jâ-mi* ab-138 luor, lustror.

Lat. *cas-tu-s* for *cad-tu-s*.

O.-Sax. *hëdar*, O.-H.-G. *heitar* (?).

Ch.-Sl. *čis-tŭ* pure.

Grimm Gesch. 401, Pott I¹ 252. Benf. II 169 conjectures that Skt. *śudh* comes from a form *kvadh*. — *Candidus*, *candor* seem to be related to *castus*, but they must be separated from it because of *candere*, *candela*; cp. however Ztschr. I 32; I have not made up my mind about the Gk. *καίνυμαι*. — Scherer (z. Gesch. d. d. Spr. 472) derives *heitar* from the primitive form *kadh-ja-ra*, while Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 97 compares the Lith. *skaidrūs* clear, and consequently assumes another root for it.

27) *καί* and. — Skt. *kā*. — Lat. *que*.

Pott W. III 64. The form seems to be the Locative of the pronoun-stem *κα, κο* (cp. Lith. *kai* how?), which has here kept its demonstrative force. — From the same stem comes *τε* with *τ* for *κ*, on which see below p. 479.

27b) Root *κακ* *κακ-ός* bad, *κακό-ω*, *κακ-ύν-ω* harm, spoil, *κάκ-η* badness, *στομα-κάκη* pain in the mouth, *κηκ-άς* (late) mischievous abusive. — Lat. *Cacu-s* (?). — Lith. *kank-in-ti* to torment, *kėnk-ti* to injure.

Fick² 28.

28) *κάκκη* dung, *κακκά-ω*. — Lat. *cac-o*. — Lith. *seikū*. — O.-Ir. *cacc* dung.

Benf. II 159, Pott W. III 140. — The number of its derivatives in Latin proves that the word was not borrowed. — The Irish word occurs in Three Ir. Gl. p. 69 (s. v. conluan): *cach na con* stercus canum, and Ir. Gl. 1075: *cac gabhar*, goats' dung. According to Ebel (Z.² 267) and Stokes the correct form is *cacc*.

29) *κάλαμο-ς* reed, *καλάμη* stalk, *καλαμεύ-ς* reaper, fisherman, *Κάλαμοι* (the name of a place) *Κάλαμις*.

Skt. *kalama-s* a kind of rice, writing-reed.

Lat. *calamu-s* stalk, reed, *culmu-s* stalk.

O.-H.-G. *halam*, *halm* stalk.

Ch.-Sl. *slama* *καλάμη*.

Grimm Gesch. 399, Miklosich Lex. 856, Pott W. II 1, 180. — Lat. *cal-a-mu-s*: *cul-mu-s* = O.-H.-G. *hal-a-m*: *halm*. But perhaps the former is borrowed (Dietrich Jahn's Jahrb. 83, 38, Corssen Nachtr. 275). It is possible that this root may exist in the Lat. *cel* (*celsus*, *excello*), Lith. *kėl-ti* lift up (No. 68).

29b) *καλέ-ω* call (*κέ-κλη-α*, *κλη-τό-ς*), *κλη-τήρ* *κλη-τώρ* one who calls or summons, *κλη-σι-ς* call, summon, *κλη-τεύ-ω* I summon.

Lat. *calendae*, *cal-â-re*, *inter-calâ-ris*, *con-cil-iu-m*, *nomen-clâ-tor*.

O.-H.-G. *hal-ôn* to call, (Goth. *la-th-ô-n* (*ga-la-thô-n*),
O.-H.-G. *ladôn* to summon (Germ. *laden*). Goth.
lath-ôn-s κλησις (?).

Grimm Gesch. 401, Schweizer Ztschr. I 559, Corssen de Volsco-¹³⁹
rum l. p. 24, Pott W. II 1, 187. — On *calendae* from an obsolete
calere, Varro l. l. VI 27 (Müller) "*primi dies mensium nominati ab eo
quod his diebus calantur eius mensis Nonae, quintanae an septimanae
sint futurae*". Among the Latin themselves Quintilian (VI 1, 33)
connected *classis* with this same *calare*, which however as Pott has
seen (I¹ 214, II² 376) by its *ss* proves that it could not possibly have
come directly from the root *cal*, *cla* by addition of the Suffix *ti*. The
word is either (cp. *bassis*) borrowed from what we may suppose to
have been the Doric form of the Gk. κλησις, i. e. κλᾱσις (Mommson
Hist. of Rome I 95) or, as Corssen I² 496 supposes, arose from
an intermediate verbal stem *cla-t*, like *fassio* from *fa-t*. In any case
classis means "a mustering", "a summons", (Dion, Halic. Antiq. IV
18). The etymon may still be discerned in *classicum* (Quint. I 6, 33). —
The Goth. *lathô-n* &c. if, in spite of the absence of the initial *h*, it
belongs to this root, stands in the same rank with κλητεύειν. — κέλ-
ο-μαι, κελ-εύ-ω with the prominent meaning "urge on" (cp. No. 48)
I put aside, and still more decidedly *calu-mn-ia* which cannot be se-
parated from *calv-or*. — It is certain though that *clâ-mor* and *clâ-mâre*
are formations from the same root (Corssen Beitr. 241).

30) κελία hut, store-room, bird-cage, κελιό-ς, κελιά-ς
(St. κελιαδ) cottage, dim. κελιδιο-ν.

Skt. *khala-s*, *khala-m*, threshing floor, shed, झाला
house, झालारा-म bird-cage.

Lat. *cella*.

Ch.-Sl. κλή-ττ δῶμα, ταμεῖον, Lith. κλēt-i-s "outbuilding
for stores".

Kuhn in Weber's Ind. Studien I 360 — Ind. lect. Kiliens. aest.
a. 1856 p. IV, where the form and meaning of the words are dis-
cussed. The stem-form for Skt. Gk. and Lat. appears to be *kalâ* with
the meaning of store-house. The old etymology from κᾶλον wood
cannot be entertained for a moment. — In opposition to my view
that Lat. *cella* is a diminutive form for *cel-ula*, Kuhn Ztschr. V 454
holds that *cella* stands for *celia* and consequently answers completely
to the Greek word, but this does not admit of strict proof. He also
connects the Low Germ. *hille*, in Holstein *hilgen* "place over the
cow-stalls, where hay and the like are stored" — for which there is

also a form *hilde*. — The rt. is *καλ*, Lat. *cél-are* (cp. *domi-cil-iu-m*), O.-H.-G. *hél-an*, the same rt. from which comes also the Goth. *halja*, O.-H.-G. *hella*, hell, and from which the Slavo-Lith. words are derived with another suffix. — Cp. Döderlein Gloss. 2109, Pott W. II 1 196. — Otherwise Fick² 39.

31) *κάλο-s*, beautiful, comp. *καλλ-ίων*, *κάλλος*, *καλλονή* beauty, *καλλύνω* I adorn, clean.

Skt. *kal-ja-s* healthy, pleasant, *kaljāna-s* beautiful, striking.

Goth. *hail-s* sound, healthy.

Ch.-Sl. *cělŭ* totus, sanus.

Bopp Gl., Schleicher Ksl. 101. — Assimilation of *lj* to *ll* occurs in the comp. and superl. and also in *κάλλος*, and in compounds with *καλλι-*, also in the Dorian *καλλά* = *καλῶς* Apoll. de adv. 565, 140 14 (cp. Ahrens d. dor. 102, Lobeck Path. El. I 468). The length of the *α* in the earlier language is also a remnant of the double consonant. — Benfey's connection of the word with Skt. *kāru-s* pleasant, charming (Ztschr. VII 115), which is approved of by Pott II² 723, 828, is less consistent with *καλλύνειν*, *κάλλυντρον* broom, where the idea of *cleaning* is apparent (*κάλλιστον ὕδωρ* Φ 158, *Καλλιρρόη*). This idea is closely connected with Germ. *heil* — Goth. *hail-s* arose from *hal-ja-s* as *χείρων* did from *χερ-ων* (Scherer 472). Cp. No. 74.

31a) *καμάρα* vault, covered waggon. — Skt. rt. *kmar* to be crooked, Zd. *kamara* vault, girdle. — Lat. *camuru-s* bent inwards.

Benf. II 283, Pictet II 247, Pott W. I 503. — Here belongs *κμήλ-ε-θορ-ν* (cp. *θύρ-ε-θορ-ν*), which Pamphilos according to Herodian (Et. M. 521, 29) marked as a gloss with the explanation *σημαίνει τὰς δοκοὺς* (timber-work) (cp. M. Schmidt ad. Hes. II 496). The Homeric *μέλαθορ-ν* has often been compared with it. — Fick² 33 compares Zd. *kameredha* head, skull, where the connection would lie in the meaning "vault". — *kmar* cannot be demonstrated to be the root, and has the look of a secondary form. — *camera* (also *camara*) must in spite of *camurus* have been borrowed from the Greek.

31b) *καμπ-η* caterpillar. — Skt. *kap-anā*, *kamp-anā* worm, caterpillar.

PW. — The rt. is doubtful, for the more we are tempted to compare it with Gk. *κάμπ-τ-ω*, the farther we are from an explanation of the Skt. word, since Skt. *kamp* to tremble can hardly be compared with the Gk. word.

32) Rt. *kan* *κανάξω* I sound, *καναχή* noise, *καναχίς* sounding, *κónαβο-s* sound.

Skt. *kañ-kan-i* bell, *kvañ* sonnare, tinnire.

Lat. *can-o*, *can-tu-s*, *can-oru-s*.

O-Ir. *canaid* canit (Z.² 431), *for-chun for-chanim* doceo praecipio (Z.² 428, 429), *for-ro-i-chan-sa* institui (*roichan* = **ro-chechan* Perf. Z.² 448), *fair-chechuin* praedixit (ibid.), *for-cital* doctrina, *for-cit-lid* praeceptor (Z.² 800).

Benf. II 63, Bopp Gl., Grassmann Ztschr. IX 13. — *κόνα-βο-ς* with suffix *βο* = Skt. *ra* (Pictet Ztschr. V 323). — That *κύ-κν-ο-ς* as well — reduplicated like *κύ-κλ-ο-ς* — comes from this root and gets its name from the sound it makes like the O.-H.-G. *svan* (Skt. *svan* sonare), and consequently corresponds, as far as its root goes, to the Goth. *hana*, O.-H.-G. *huon* (Grimm Gr. II 989) seems to me probable in spite of the different views of Förstemann Ztschr. III 52 (*κύ-κν-ο-ς* = *ci-con-ia*) and Pictet I 391 (= Skt. *kōka-s* duck, Pers. *cācāh* swan).

33) *κάνναβι-ς* hemp — Skt. *ḥanām* cannabis — O.-Norse *hanp-r*, O.-H.-G. *hanf* — Bohem. *konopě*.

Grimm Gesch. 407, Bopp Gl. Pictet I 316, who holds the Skt. *kañapa-s* a kind of lance to be also related, as being manufactured from the hemp-stalk. — Kuhn Beitr. II 382. Both consider the Greek word borrowed from the East, and the Teutonic one from the Lat. *cannabi-s* which certainly made its way to them. — So also Hehn *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* 120 f.

34) Rt. *καπ κόπ-η* handle. — Lat. *cap cap-ulu-m*, *cap-i-o*, ¹⁴¹ *cap-ax*. — Goth. *haf-ja* (Germ. *hebe*) I lift, M.-H.-G. *haft* vinculum, *hefte* handle, haft.

Benf. II 158, Grimm Gesch. 400. — In the three words *κόπ-η capulum*, *Heft* (cp. *λαβή*) the relationship is evident; the further development of the meaning in *cap-i-o* and *haf-ja* has taken a separate course of its own. Lat *capi-s* (St. *capid*) bowl with a handle = Umbr *kapiř* (Aufr. and Kirchh. II 409) is compared with the Greek *καπιθή*, but this word appears from Xen. Anab. I 5, 6 to be Persian. Froehde Ztschr. XIII 452 connects the former with No. 109. — If, as Fick² 32 conjectures the Skt. *kap-afī* two hands full (cp. the word *καπετι-ς* = *χοῖνιξ* which according to Hultsch Metrol. 275 is Persian) be from this root, it also would have to be considered an Eastern one.

35) *κάπ-ηλο-ς* peddler, Fem. *καπηλί-ς*, *καπηλεύω* hawk wares, *καπηλεία* retail trade, peddling.

Lat. *caupo* peddler, innkeeper, *cōp-a* bar-maid, *caup-ōna* inn, *caupōnari*.

Ch.-Sl. *kupiti* buy, *kupičŭ*, Lith. *kùpczu-s* merchant.

Benf. II 158, Schleicher Ch.-Sl. 96. — Goth. *kaupon*, O.-H.-G. *koufan*, *koufōn* must be held to be borrowed, on account of the irregularity of letter change. Corssen I² 352 takes No. 34 as the Rt. and refers to the fundamental meaning of *em-ere*. — On the relation of Lat. *au* to Gk. *ᾱ* cp. also Walter Ztschr. XII 379.

36) Rt. *καπ καπ-ύ-ω* breathe forth, *κε-καφ-η-ώς* gasping, panting, *ἐγ-κάπ-τ-ει* Hesych. *ἐκπνέτ*, *καπ-νό-ς* smoke, *κόπ-ρο-ς* dung.

Skt. *kap-is*, *kapi-la-s* incense (?).

Lat. *vap-or* (for *cvap-or*) vapour, fragrance, *vapor-are* to exhale vapour, *vap-idu-s* evaporated, flat, *vappa* flat wine.

Goth. *hwap-ja* I choke (?).

Lith. *kváp-a-s* breath, fragrance, evaporation, *kvėp-iū* breathe, smell, *kvėpalai* perfume, *kvėpoju* pant. — Bohem. *kopet* smoke, soot, Ch.-Sl. *kop-rŭ* anethum.

The rt. is *kvap*, the form in which it occurs in Lith. (cp. p. 114), the fundamental meaning 'breathe forth' (cp. Hes. *κέκηφε τέθνηκε*), whence the meanings breathe (Hes. *κάπος ψυχή πνεῦμα*), evaporate, smoke, smell are developed. Precisely similar changes are to be found in the case of the rt. *θυ* = *dhú* (No. 320). Pott II 205, Benf. I 268, whose analysis into *ka-vap* I reject in accordance with p. 48. — The query is put to the Ind. words on account of the variety of their other meanings, to the Goth. because of the final letter of its stem. — Here would belong *Καπαρεύς* either as the 'snorter' (*βακχεύων ἐπέπνει* Soph. Antig. 136), cp. Passow Philol. XX 606, or as 'the man of smoke and fire'. Pott Ztschr. VII 324 explains the word by *καπάνη* chariot.

37) *κάπ-ρο-ς* boar, also *κάπριο-ς*, *καπρώω*, *καπρίζω* am rank, lustful, *καπρία* the ovary of the sow.

142 Lat. Umbr. *caper* (St. *capro*) he-goat, *capra* she-goat. O.-Norse *hafr*, A.-S. *hāfar* buck.

Ch.-Sl. *veprŭ* boar.

Grimm Gesch. 35, 36, Pott I¹ 256, who gives No. 36 as the rt. — the "snorter, the stinker", Pictet (I 348) who with less probability takes as base the rt. found in the Skt. *kap-ala-s* active. Benf. I 269. — Cp. also Hesych. *κάπρα αἰξ Τυρρῆνοί*. — The agreement of several languages even in the final letter of the rt. makes Aufrecht's

derivation from Skt. *ῥαῥ* i. e. *kaṭ* (Umbr. Sprachdenkm. I 88) improbable. — Lat. *aper* = A.-S. *eofor*, O.-H.-G. *ebur* belongs elsewhere (Corssen Nachtr. 32, cp. Studien I 260).

38) *ῥάρα* (St. *κρα-αρ*, *καρη-αρ*), *ῥάρ*, *ῥαρη-νο-ν* head, *ῥανίο-ν* skull, *ῥόρη* head, temples.

Skt. *ḡiras* (for *karas*), *ḡira-m*, *ḡirsh-a-m*, Zd. *ḡara*, *ḡar-añh* head.

Lat. *cere-bru-m*, *cer-n-uu-s*.

Goth. *hwair-n-ei ῥανίον*, O.-H.-G. *hirni*.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, I, 141. — Neither *ῥάνος* helmet (cp. No. 42b) nor *ῥέρας* horn can be connected with these words, still less Lat. *calva* skull, which is apparently only the feminine of *calvus* bald used as a substantive, and belongs to the Skt. *khal-ati-s*, *khalv-āti-s* bald-headed. On the other hand the rare word *ῥάρανος* head, ruler, (Xen. Hellen. I 4, 3) and Aeschylus's *καρᾶνώα* I complete (cp. *κορυφώα*), again *κορυφή* summit, *Κόρυθος* (= *Ἐγύρα* watch-tower) belong here, also *ῥή-νη* the 'caput fontis', whence *Κρανών*. E. Curtius, Gr. Quellen-Inschriften p. 2, compares mod. Gk. *κεφαλάριον*, Förstemann after Schweizer Ztschr. XIII 229 O.-H.-G. *houbit*. With regard to *cere-bru-m* Ennius's bold tmesis (Ann. 586 Vahlen) "*saxo cere comminuit brum*" is to be noticed, which would seem to point to the consciousness of its being a compound, if Ennius had not also ventured (v. 605) on "*Massili — portabant juvenes ad litora — tanas*". — *ῥόρη* formed, except as to gender, like the Skt. *ḡirsh-a-m* is a secondary derivative from *karas*. On this word and on *ῥόρη* see Stud. I 248, on *cernuu-s* Bugge Stud. IV 342.

39) St. *καρδ*, *ῥῥ*, *ῥέαρ*, *καρδ-λα*, *καρδ-λή* heart.

Skt. *hrd* (for *hard*), *hrd-aja-m* (for *hard-aja-m*) heart.

Lat. *cor* (St. *cord*) dim. *cor-culu-m*, *cord-atus*, *vē-cors*.

Goth. *hairt-ó* (St. *hairtan*), O.-H.-G. *hīrzā*.

Lith. *szird-ì-s*, Ch.-Sl. *srūd-ì-ce* heart.

O.-Ir. *cride cor* (Z.² 230).

Bopp Gl., Accentuationssystem 232, Schleicher Kirchengl. 98. — The fundamental form is *kard*, which I refer to the rt. *καρδ* swing, start (No. 71); the initial letter is defaced in Skt. perhaps by an intermediate form *khard*. Fick² 35 assumes *skard* as the original form, which was before conjectured by Kuhn Ztschr. IV 13. — The Epic *ῥῥ* we must not with Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 369 derive from the later *ῥέαρ*, *η* is only a lengthening of the *α* after the loss of the 143 δ. The tragic and lyric form *ῥέαρ* for *καρδ* seems to have arisen by special modification from *καρδ*: Ztschr. VI 82. Teutonic *h*, Lith. *sz*, Slav. *s* point to an original initial *k*. — Lat. *Card-ea*, *Carn-a* dea

viscerum Preller Röm. Myth. 604. — Pictet I 438 wrongly, I think, separates the Skt. *hr̥da-ja-m* = Zd. *zaredha-ya* from the other words on account of the change of the initial letter.

40) *καρκ-ίνο-ς* crab, *καρκινά-ς* a sort of crab.

Skt. *kark-a-s*, *kark-a/a-s*, *kark-a/a-ka-s* crab.

Lat. *canc-er* (St. *cancro*).

Bohem. *rak* crab.

Pott W. II 1, 155, Bopp Gl., Benf. II 286, Förstemann Ztschr. III 52. — *καρκί-ς* too (St. *καρκιδ*) sea-crab seems related and only to lack the second *κ*. The relation of the St. *cancro* to the assumed form *καρκιο*, from which again *καρκ-ίνο-ς* is formed by a suffix often occurring (cp. No. 171) in the case of names of animals, remains as yet unexplained. — Düntzer Ztschr. XIII 9, Benfey Or. u. Occ. II 384 are perhaps right in supposing reduplication to have happened; the former who gives the St. *kar* as the base adduces *δέιν-δρε-ον* (No. 275), while the latter starts from the root *kart* 'cut' and maintains the loss of the *t* in many of these forms. Pictet I 517 is no doubt right in supposing connection with the Skt. *kar-kar-a-s* hard (No. 42 b)

41) Rt. *καρπ*, *κραπ* *καρπ-άλιμο-ς* swift, *κραιπ-νό-ς* swift, *κραιπ-άλη* intoxication, *κάλπ-η* gallop [cp. L. and S. s. v.].

Goth. *hlaup-a* *ἀναπηδῶ*, O.-H.-G. *hloufu* run.

Ch.-Sl. *krěp-ŭ* *krěp-ŭ-kŭ* fortis, Bohem. *krěp-ký* quick,

Lith. *krýp-ti* to turn oneself, *kreip-ti* turn, *kraip-ýti* turn hither and thither.

Benf. II 310, where other Gk. words besides are compared. especially *καρπαία*, the name of a Thessalian dance. — Index lect. Kil. 1855 p. IV. — Kuhn doubts the legitimacy of the comparison on account of the vowels, Ztschr. V 439. But I explain the diphthong in *κραιπνός*, *κραιπάλη*, whence *crápula* is without doubt derived, like that in *αἶγλη* gleam, by the side of Skt. *ag-ni-s*, *αἶγμη* by the side of the rt. *ák*, *ἄκων*, as the result of an *ι* which was at one time present in the following syllable (cp. Legerlotz Ztschr. VIII 397). In the Teutonic languages *καρπ* become by Metathesis *hlaup* — it is true the *p* remains unaltered — and passed moreover into the *u*-row, cp. Goth. *haub-ith* and *cap-ut* (No. 54), in the Lith.-Slav. languages into the *i*-row (Schleicher Lit. Gr. 45). With *καρπ-άλιμο-ς* cp. *ιβ-άλιμος*, *πενν-άλιμο-ς*.

42) *καρπό-ς* fruit, *κάρπ-ιμο-ς* fruitful, *καρπό-ω* bear fruit, *κρώπ-ιο-ν* sickle.

Lat. rt. *carp*, *carp-o*, *carp-ti-m*, *carp-tor*.

A.-S. *hearf-est* autumn, harvest, O.-H.-G. *herbist* autumn (Germ. *Herbst*).

Lith. *kerp-ù* I cut, shear, *ât-karp-ai* chip.

Grimm Gesch. 400. — Since *l* so often takes the place of *r* perhaps Skt. *kalp-aka-s* barber, *kalp-ana-m* cutting (cp. Skt. *kṛp-âna-s* sword) may be compared here. Cp. also ἄρκ-η and remarks on No. 332. — Pollux 10, 128 mentions κρῶπιον as an old synonyme for δρίπανον in Pherekydes, whence no doubt the Att. demes Κρωπία 144 Κρωπίδαι. As regards the sound Κέκροψ may belong here (cp. κέ-κράξ), and for the son of Ἐπιχρόνιος ('Good-land') 'Much-crop' (Vielschnitt) would not be an unsuitable name. — *ω* as in κῶπη rt. καρ (No. 34).

42b) κάρ-vo-ν Nut, kernel, καρία nut-tree. — Skt. *kar-aka-s* cocoa-nut, *kar-anika-s* cocoa-nut shell, skull.
— Lat. *carina* nut-shell, shell, keel [cp. Eng. *hull*].

Benf. II 154, Pictet I 131, Schweizer Ztschr. XV 314, Hehn p. 142. — With the latter I regard *kar* as the rt., which underlies many words with the common notion of hardness, so κάρ-καρ-οι (Hes.) = Skt. *kar-kar-a-s* (cp. κάρ-χαρο-ς) hard, as a subst. bone, hammer, pea-stone, clearly related in the last-mentioned use to ci-cer κριός, ὀροβίσκος, chick-pea, and κέγ-χρο-ς. From the fundamental notion of hardness, which may be seen also in Skt. *khara-s* hard, rough, sharp, arises specially that of stone, so Skt. *çarkarâ* flint, pot-sherd, with which also (Fick² 36) κρόκ-η, κρον-άλη flint, Lat. *calx* (St. *calc*), *calc-ulu-s* and Goth. *hallus* πέτρα are connected. To these Pictet adds Ir. *carraig*, Erse *carr* rock. From rock to the stone or kernel of fruit is no great step, while Skt. *kara-ka-s* used for hail corresponds to the English *hailstone*. On the other hand *karuaka-s* used for skull reminds us of κάρα (No. 38). κρά-νος helmet too, and κραν-αός rocky, rugged, steep, κραταί-λεω-ς with hard stones, κραταίπεδον οὐδας * 46 and Goth. *hardu-s*, O.-H.-G. *harti* are perhaps to be regarded as derived from the same rt. We made the same conjecture for καρ-κίνο-ς No. 40. — The Latin *callu-s* hard skin (cp. Skt. *çalka-m* rind) may belong here. — Otherwise Corssen I² 516.

43) κᾰσί-ς brother. — A.-S. *hise* man (?).

Grimm Gesch. 401. — Ztschr. I 31 ff. gives a conjectural derivation. — In Eurip. also ἡ κᾰσίς sister, occurs. Cp. κασλγνητος, Κασσάνδρα, Κασσιόπεια. That κασλγνητος like ἀδελφός denoted only a brother born of the same mother is proved by κασλγνητον καὶ ὀπατρον in A 257.

44) Rt. kav, kaf κα-ί-ω, κᾰ-ω burn, καῦ-μα heat, καν-στηρό-ς burning, κη-ώδη-ς fragrant.

Goth. *hais* torch, *hauri* coal, O.-Norse. *hyr* fire,
O.-H.-G. *hei* hot weather.

Lith. *kaist-ù* am hot, *kait-rà* heat (?).

Bopp, Gl., places one or two of these words under *kur*, to which also Lith. *kur-iù* I heat, which is perhaps related to Goth. *hauri*, belongs. The Skt. rt. is however not proved. Otherwise Benf. II 334. The earlier explanations of *καί-ω* Pott I¹ 272 (otherwise II² 343), Benfey I 33 from Skt. *gush* siccescere are mistaken. The diphthong *ai* must have arisen from *avi* (cp. No. 122) and thus *hais* (neut.) answers exactly to an assumed *κηφος* from which *κη-ώδης* was derived. Since a *t* is added in Lith. to the lengthened stem (*kait-inu* I heat, inflame), the Goth. *heito* fever, O.-H.-G. *hizza* seems also to be related. I leave this question to others. — Cp. Fick² 44, 512, 716.

- 145 45) St. *κεῖ καί-μαι* lie, *κοί-τη* bed, *κοι-μά-ω* put to bed,
put to sleep, *κῶ-μο-ς* banquet (Germ. *Gelage*),
κῶ-μη village, *Κύμη*.

Skt. *çi* jacere cubare, *çêté καί-ται*, *çaj-ana-m* bed.

Lat. *qui-es*, *qui-e-sc-o*, *ci-vi-s*, Osc. *ke-v-s* civis.

Goth. *hai-m-s* *κῶμη*, *hei-va* domus, O.-H.-G. *hi-wo*
conjux, *hi-wâ* uxor.

Lith. *pa-káj-u-s*, Ch.-Sl. *po-koj* rest, *po-çi-ti* requi-
escere. — Lith. *kěma-s*, farm, village, *kaim-ýna-s*
neighbour.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 542, Grimm Gesch. 401, Schleicher Ch.-Sl. 97, Benf. II 149. — All the derivatives are traceable to the radical meaning lie and the radical form *ki*. Also *κῶας* fleece, seems to belong here. — In *κῶ-μη* for *κῶ-μη*, Aeol. *Κῶμη* Euboic *Κούμη* with the old *u* sound still preserved at the present day (Baumeister Euboea p. 16), *Cumae*, and *κῶμο-ς* (otherwise Benf. Ztschr. VIII 88) the *o* sound takes the place of an *ω* as it does in *κῶας*. — On *ci-vi-s* cp. Corssen I² 385.

- 45b) *κέλ-ω*, *κε-άξ-ω* split, *καί-ατα* clefts in the ground,
κέ-αφ-vo-v axe. — Skt. rt. *khâ khjâ-mi* cut off,
cut up. — Lat. *de-sci-sc-o*, *sci-o*.

The rt. has lost in Gk. and Skt. an initial *s* which the Lat. has kept. We may assume it to be *σκε*, *cka*, so that Skt. *kh-j-âmi* has the same relation to *κε-ί-ω*, as *da-j-â-mi* has to *δαί-ω*, 'I divide' (No. 256), and this rt. may be compared with *σκειδ*, *σκιδ* (No. 294). — *εύκείατο-ς* ε 60, Theokr. 25, 248, 'easily split' belongs here in spite of Düntzer XIII. 12. It has the same relation to *κεάξω* that *θανμαρά ξργα* has to *θανμαξω*. — From the Laconian word *καίατα* La-

cedaemon gets the epithet *καίταέσσα* (δ 1), as Zenodotus read the line, according to Eustathius “ζωχμὸς ἀπὸ σεισμῶν ἔχουσα” (E. Curtius Peloponnesos II 308). Hence *καιάδᾱ-s* = *βάραθρον*. Fick (184, otherwise ²206) makes it very probable that *κῆ-το-s* gulf (cp. *μεγαλήτης*), sea monster also belongs to these words, by bringing forward the Lat. *squa-tu-s*, *squa-ti-na*, shark. — The meaning of *de-sci-sc-o* (properly “I tear myself away”) has the same relation to that of *κείω* that *σκέδ-να-μαι* has to *σίζω*. On *scio* cp. above p. 109. — *κέ-αρ-νο-ν* has a double suffix like *σκέπ-αρ-νο-ν*, Lat. *cav-er-na*. — Also *κε-σί-ο-ν* tow (what is separated from flax) *κο-σί-νο-ν* with an *i* sound like *sci-o* belong here. — Ascoli Ztschr. XVI 207 derives also Lat. *sec-a-re*, O.-H.-G. *sah-s* knife, and Lat. *saxu-m* from the rt. *ska* which seems to occur in Zend as well (“*vi-ská* decide” Justi), and certainly *sak*: *ska* = *man*: *mna* = *τεμ*: *τημ*. — The Skt. *kas*, compared with *κείω* by Delbrück Ztschr. XVII 80 means according to the PW. clearly ‘to split’, in the sense of ‘to open’, and therefore cannot find a place here.

46) *κελ-αινό-s*, *κελαι-νεφής* black, *κηλί-s* stain.

Skt. *kal-anka-s* stain, *kāla-s* black, stain.

Lat. *squal-or*, *squal-idu-s*.

Ch.-Sl. *kal-ŭ* lutum.

Bopp Gl., Pott II² 263 W. II 1, 195, Schleicher Ch.-Sl. 128, 146 Kuhn Ztschr. IV 13. We may assume the root to be *skal*, from which perhaps also the Skt. *khaluḡ*, darkness comes, on which however see the PW. In no case can this word be compared directly with *cāligo*; *cāligo* points rather to an adjective stem *cālo* (= Skt. *kāla*), to which it is related as *rubigo* (for *rubrigo*) to *rubro* (*ruber*), cp. *κηλ-ήνη*· *μέλαινα* Hes. — On *κελαινεφής* i. e. *κελαινο-νεφής* Döderlein Gloss. 2156. — The meanings ‘black’ and ‘stain’ meet also in *μέλας* and its related words (No. 551). Phonetically the two words have nothing in common.

47) *κέλ-ευ-θο-s* way, Hom. pl. *κέλευθα*, *ἀκόλουθο-s* companion. — Lat. *calli-s* path. — Lith. *kėlia-s* way, *keliáuju* I travel.

Benf. II 319, whose conjecture as to the root I do not share. — Bopp Gl. s. v. *kar*. The Gk. form points to a derived *κελέω* whose identity with *κελεύ-ω* command is not probable. *ἱπποκέλευθο-s* II 126, an epithet of Patroklos, must come from a verb-stem *κελευθ* go with affixed *θ*.

48) Rt. *κελ κέλ-η-s* (St. *κελητ*) a racer, *κελητίζω* run a race, *βου-κόλ-ο-s* cattle driver.

Skt. *kal kalajāmi* urge on.

Lat. *cel-er*, *Celeres*, *celeritas*, *cel-ox* yacht.

Pott W. II 1, 175, who supposes a different root; that here proposed is established by the PW. p. 150, where *kalajāmi* is mentioned as especially used of horses ("at full speed"). I am not quite certain whether κλόνο-ς and *pro-cella* are to be brought under this head (Corssen II² 158); *pro-cella* may perhaps be connected with the stem of *percellere*, perhaps with κέλλω, ὀκέλλω 'run ashore', which on their side remind us of *kal* 3 in the PW. 151. — Otherwise Bopp Gl. s. v. *kal*. — Several related Gk. words resemble the Skt. Rt. *kar* 'go' in sound, especially κίγ-κλ-ο-ς a water-bird with quickly moving tail (also κίγ-κλ-ο-ς) and κίλλ-ουρο-ς wagtail resembles the Skt. *Āra-s* movable and (subst.) wagtail, *mota-cilla*. It has also been attempted to connect *col-o* with these words. Cp. Benfey Ztschr. VIII 92, Pictet II 12, Fick² 39.

49) κενεός-ς, κεινός, κενός empty, κενεών the flank.

Skt. *ḡñja-s* inanis.

Bopp Gl., Pott II² 53, Benf. II 165. Leo Meyer Ztschr. VI 164. — The Greek forms to which may be added a doubtful Aeol. κέννο-ς (Ahr. d. aeol. 55), point to the St. κενιο, Skt. *ḡñja-s* to the rt. *kranjā*.

50) κέρας horn (St. κερα-τ), κεραός-ς horned, κριός-ς ram (?).

Skt. *karṇa-s* ear (?) *ḡrṇ-ga-m* horn (?).

Lat. *cornu*, *cervu-s*.

Goth. *hauru* horn, O.-H.-G. *hrind* ox, *hiruz* A.-S. *heorot* stag. [Germ. *hirsch*, Eng. *hart*.]

Ir. *corn*, Cymr. *corn*, Corn. *corn* (Williams, Lex. Cornu-Brit. p. 66); Cymr. *karu* Nom. Pl. *keyru* cervi (Z.² 282).

Bopp Gl. s. v. *ḡrṇga*, Förstemann Ztschr. I. 501, Grimm Gesch. 400. — The stag then and the ox get their names from their horns. κεραός-ς, Γ 24 epithet of the stag, must be for κεραφό-ς, whence (Paul. Epit. 54) *cervus*, which points to a shorter form than *cornu*.
147 which form has survived in κέρας. — I do not know what to say about the suffix of the Skt. *ḡrṇga-m*. Bopp compares also Lith. *rāga-s*, Ch.-Sl. *rogŭ* horn. — Otherwise Pictet I 438. — If we suppose relationship with No. 42b, we can perceive also the relation of κέρας to Skt. *ḡiras* head, inasmuch as both mean 'something hard'. Along with Lat. *cornu* go κάρνος (Hesych.) βόσκημα πρόβατον, and κάρνην τὴν βοῦν Κρήτες perhaps, inasmuch as κάρνος probably only stood for the ram, 'horned beast'. Many proper names too point to this stem: Καρνάσιον, Αἰλιακρνασσός 'Little sea horn, (?). On Ἀπόλλων

Καρφείος cp. Preller II² 198 Welcker, Gotterl. I 471, where other forms that belong to this stem are discussed. — Fick² 34, 38.

- 51) *κέφ-αυο-ς* cherry tree, *κρά-υο-ς*, *κράυο-υ*, *κράν-εια* cornel-tree.

Lat. *cornu-s* cornel-cherry tree, *cornu-m* cornel-berry.

Ch.-Sl. *črěšnja* cherry.

Benf. II 174.. — Pott and Rödiger *Kurdische Studien*, *Ztschr.* f. Kunde des Morgenl. VII 108 give connected words from other sources. Pictet I 244. — According to Hehn p. 292 the cherry tree gets its name from the horny hardness of its wood, accordingly from *κίρας* (No. 50).

- 52) *Κεράων* Spartan hero of cooks. — Skt. rt. *grá* coquere, *ā-çir* milk mixed with Soma-juice.

Pott W. I 13, Benf. II 167. — It is probable that *κέραμο-ς* *terra coctilis*, and *κέφ-υο-ς* earthenware dish are connected with this root. Bopp Gl. s. v. *grá*, Pictet II 260, Sonne *Ztschr.* XV 372 compare other words: they are perhaps right in holding the rt. *κρα* (*κράτηρ*), *κεράν-υμι* 'mix' to be related, cp. Skt. *karambha-s* mess, pap, Corssen I² 443.

- 53) Rt. *κερ κείρω* consume, shear, *κορ-μός-ς* log *κέφ-μα* a small slice, small coin, *κουρά* shearing, *κουρεύ-ς* shearer, *κερατίζω* demolish, *κηραίνω* damage, am in need.

Skt. *çar*, *çr-ná-mi* dirumpo, laedo, *çir-i* sword, *kar-tarī* shears. — Zd. *çūra* spit.

Lat. *cur-tu-s*, Sabin. *curi-s* lance.

Goth. *haír-u-s*, O.-S. *hër-u*, O.-N. *hiör-r* μάχαιρα, cardo.

Ch.-Sl. *kor-a* cortex, Lith. *korà* penalty (?).

The root appears to have lost an initial *s*. Cp. No. 76, Pott W. II 1, 157, Corssen I² 350. For it suggests the O.-H.-G. *skir-u* shears, O.-Ir. *co-scéra* destruet (Z.² 452). In Skt. *kṛ* stands by the side of *çr*, both pointing to *kar* with the meaning of 'damage, kill', *kára-s* murder, *kir-ña-s* damaged, killed, which suggests *κηρ*, *κηραίνω* I injure, *ἀκήριος* uninjured. *ḷ* instead of *ç* shows itself in *κελεῖ-ς* *ἀξίην* (Hesych.) = Lith. *kirvi-s* axe, and in *κόλ-ο-ς*, whence *κολούω* (No. 114): we have an added *t* in Skt. *kart* cut, split, whence *cortex* (cp. Skt. *kr-ti-s* skin, bark of a kind of birch, Lith. *karnà* bast) can be derived as easily as from *kar*, by the side of the Lith. *kert-ù* I hew, Ch.-Sl. *kratŭ-kŭ* short (Schleicher Ch.-Sl. 97). Under the root

thus increased by *t* Corssen Beitr. 383 places *cult-cr*, cp. Skt. *kart-ari* 148 hunting-knife, *kart-ari-s* shears, Benfey I 200 *ἀ-περσ-ε-κόμης* with head unshorn — we should be equally justified though in dividing it *ἀ-περ-σε-κόμης*, and giving *κερ* as the rt. (cp. *περ-σέ-πολι-ς*) — Leo Meyer Ztschr. VI 15 *κέρτ-ομο-ς*, *κέρτ-όμιο-ς*, where he aptly suggests Skt. *kṛt-ja-kā* tormentress. The Lith. *korà* corresponds to Gk. *κάρνη ξημία*, *αὐτόκαρνος αὐτοξήμιος* (Hesych.) and is not far removed from *κηραίνειν* and the Lat. *cār-inare* to blame. — Cp. Pictet I 202, II 190, Fick² 36, 203, Corssen I² 351, 403. — *κούρο-ς*, *κούρ-η* Att. *κόρη* and *κουρίδ-ιο-ς*, the latter meaning 'bridal' I have also tried to prove related to this root and explicable by the custom of cutting the hair at the time of puberty 'Studien' I 1, 250.

54) *κεφαλή* head (*κέβλη*, *κεβάλη*), *Κέφαλος*, *κεφαλαῖος*.
Skt. *kapāla-s*, *kapāla-m*, shell, potsherd, skull.

Lat. *cap-ut*, *capillus*.

Göth. *haub-ith* head (Germ. *Haupt*), A.-S. *heáfod*.

Bopp Gl., Grimm Gesch. 400. Kuhn Ztschr. I 137 only allows the relationship of *kapāla-s* and *caput*. But as the connection of Greek and Latin is so close and there are undeniable cases of Gk. *tenuēs* being aspirated, *κεφαλή* cannot be separated from *caput*, to which it is related as A.-S. *heafōla*, *hafela* is to the synonymous *heáfod*. The Ir. *capat* is most probably borrowed from the Lat. *caput* (Pictet I 307). Otherwise Grassmann Ztschr. XII 128, 133. *Capillus* seems to have been originally an adjective; it needs to be further investigated (Corssen Beitr. 456); *κέβλη* in Alexandrian poets, *κεβήλη* in Hesych., cp. *στροβίλο-ς* from the rt. *στρεφ*. On *Κέφαλος* cp. Max Müller Oxford Essays 1856 p. 53. — The meaning 'shell', 'potsherd' is doubtless the primitive one and hence connection with rt. *καπ* (No. 34) is probable. Cp. No. 38. Also the Skt. *kharpara-s*, which Fick¹ 183 compares with *κάλπη*, *καλπίς* pitcher and the Lat. *calpar* cask, means potsherd and skull, as does the vulgar-Lat. *testa*. [Cp. 'Owens College Essays' p. 314]. — Hehn p. 126 is doubtless right in placing here *κάπια* *σκόροδα* *Κερυνήται* (Hesych.) and Lat. *cepe* (*caepa capitata* — cp. Germ. *Kopflauch* 'head-leek'), a remarkable testimony to the existence of *π* in the Gk. word.

55) *κῆλο-ν* missile. — Skt. *śalja-m* arrow.

Benf. II 175, Pott W. II 1, 202. — *κῆλον*, with the meaning of missile (the only one in Homer and Hesiod), is quite a distinct word from *κᾶλον* (*καμπύλα κᾶλα* Hes. Op. 427). The missiles of Apollo and Zeus can hardly be called "wood", still less, according to the derivation from *καίω*, "fire-wood"; Pindar too (Pyth. I 12) would not have called his songs *κῆλα δαιμόνων* if so vulgar a meaning had made itself felt in the word. After the fashion of the Grammarians' far-fetched ex-

planations the lexicons persist in giving the meaning "wooden shaft, hence arrow itself". — The rt. is to be found perhaps in Lat. *cellere*, strike, hit, Lith. *kál-ti* to forge. — Cp. No. 534.

56) *κηρο-ς* garden. — O.-H.-G. *hof*.

Grimm Gesch. 401, Pott I¹ 141, II² 280. According to him and Pictet II 266 *καπ* dig is the rt. (No. 109), and so connection with Lat. *camp-u-s* (*Campāni*) and Osc. *Kappa* (Capua) is probable.

56b) *κηρό-ς* wax, *κηρίο-ν* honey comb. — Lat. *céra*. — 149

Lith. *kóri-s* honey-comb. — Ir. *céir* cera (Stokes

Ir. Gl. 225), *céirín κατάπλασμα* (ibid. 836); Cymr.

kuyr. Corn., Arem. *coar*, *coir*, *cera* (Z.³ 97, 98).

Pictet I 409.

57) Rt. *κι κί-ω* I go (*μετ-ε-κί-α-θ-ο-ν*), *κί-νν-μαι* move myself, hasten, *κί-νέ-ω* move, set going.

Skt. *çi* acuere, excitare, *çi-nu-té* = *κί-νν-ται*.

Lat. *ci-o*, *ci-e-o* move, excite, *cí-tu-s*, in motion, swift, *excito*, *incito*.

Lith. *kója* foot (?).

Bopp Gl. under the supposititious verbal-stem *kaj* (*ka-jám-i* eo). Groundless conjectures given by Benf. II 164, Pott I¹ 206, cp. W. I 454. — In Homer only *έ-κί-ο-ν*, *κί-οι*, *κί-ών* etc., which forms are related to *κί-νν-μαι* as *ἀρ-έ-σθαι* to *ἄρ-νν-μαι*: *κίεις* only Aesch. Choeph. 666 Herm. — *κί-νέ-ω*: *κί* = *κῶ-νέ-ω*: *κν*; the present stem then became the verbal stem. — It is probable that also *ὄνο-κί-ν-δ-ιο-ς*, donkey-driver (Pollux I 185) belongs here. A reduplicated form is perhaps to be found in the aor. *ἐκίξα* (Aristoph. Ach. 869 *ἀπέκικξαν* depulerunt) and in *κί-κν-ω* *ταχύνω* with *ν* for *ι* by dissimilation, the reverse of which process happens in *φι-τν-ς* from rt. *φν*, cp. Buttmann on the Schol. on *ι* 579.

58) Rt. *κλεπ*, *κλεπ-τ-ω* steal, *κλώψ*, *κλοπ-εύ-ς*, *κλέπ-τη-ς* thief, *κλοπ-ή* theft. — Lat. *clēp-o*. — Goth. *hlif-a*, steal, *hlif-tu-s* thief.

Pott W. II 1, 197, Grimm Gesch. 401. — I cannot agree with Kuhn Ztschr. II 471 in connecting this rt. with Skt. *garbh*, *garh*, 'grasp', because of the *k* and *p*, attested by three families of languages. The Indo-Germanic root which we arrive at is *klap*. — Pictet II 441 gives other conjectures. — Fick² 353 compares Skt. *kharp-ara-s* which means among other things thief, rogue.

59) *κλη-ί-ς*, *κλεί-ς* key, *κλεί-ω* shut, *κλοιό-ς* a dog-collar.

— Lat. *clāvi-s*, *clau-d-o*. — O.-H.-G. *sliuz-u* I shut.

— Ch.-Sl. *klju-čt* uncus, clavis, *ključati se* convenire. — O.-Ir. *chlúi* Nom. Pl. nails (F. A., 220, cp. Stokes, Ir. Gl. p. 149 no. 153).

Benf. II 289, Schleicher Ksl. 95, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 14, Pott W. I 684. — We may give *sklu* as the root. The Lat. and Teutonic verb show us a *d* affixed, the Slavonic words a *k*. — *κλητς* for *κλᾱτς* Dor *κλα-τς* *κλάξ* Ahr. Dor. 140.

60) Rt. *κλι κλί-ν-ω* lean, bow down, *κλί-νη* bed, *κλί-μα* situation, climate, *κλί-μαξ* ladder, *κλι-σί-α* tent, *κλί-τύς* slope of a hill.

Lat. *cli-vu-s* slope, *cli-tellae* saddle, *clinare*, *inclinare*, *declinare*.

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O.-H.-G. *hlinē-m* lean, Goth. *hlains* hill, *hlaiw* (N.), tomb, cairn, *hli-ja*, *hlei-thra* (F.) tent (?).

Lith. *szlėj-ù* bend, lean.

Pott W. I 476, Grimm Gesch. 401. — The rt. *κλι* appears most distinctly in the Homeric *κλ-κλί-αται*; the Aeol pres. is *κλίνω* i. e. *κλι-ν-ω*. — Corssen Beitr. 371 explains *clitellae* and compares (Ztschr. III 261) the proper names Cliternum, Clitumnus. — Schleicher Ksl. 95 and Miklos. L. consider the Ch.-Sl. *klon-iti* 'incline', and Lith. *klono-ti-s* 'bow down' related in spite of the difference of vowel. — Corssen's attempt (I² 463) to separate *κλίσθη*, *κλίσαιον* and even *ἐκί-κλιτο* from this rt. and to refer them to a rt. *kli* 'cover' is a complete failure. Passages like σ, 213 *παρὰ λεγέεσσι κλιθῆναι*, K 472 *ἔντα κατὰ παρ' αὐτοῖσι χθονὶ κέκλιτο*, the use of *κλίμα* &c. prove that *κεκλίσθαι* never means anything but 'lie', 'be in a certain condition'. — The transitive meaning of *κλίνειν* can hardly be reconciled with Fick's view (² 49) that it is connected with Skt. *grī* (go), (cp. Benf. Skt. Wörterb.).

61) *κλόνι-ς* os sacrum, *κλόνιο-ν* hip, *κλονιστήρ παραμήγιος μάχαιρα* (Hesych.).

Skt. *grōhi-s* buttocks.

Lat. *clūni-s* buttocks, *clunaculum* hip-knife.

Lith. *szlauni-s* upper part of the leg, hip.

Corn. *clun* hip (Williams Lex. Cornu-Brit. p. 61).

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 170 who also compares *γλου-τό-ς* buttocks and Skt. *grōma-s* crooked. — *κλό-νι-ς* for *κλοτ-νι-ς*, base-form *klauni-s* (cp. No. 122). On account of the long *ū* and *clunaculum* = *κλονιστήρ* Paul. Epit. 50 (*cultus sanguinarius dictus vel quia clunes hastiarum dividit vel quia ad clunes dependet*). — *κλό-νιον* Hesych. *ισχίον, ὀσφύς*. — Pott W. I 554 holds the Lat. *crūs* to be related as well.

- 62) Rt. κλυ κλύ-ω hear, κλυ-τό-ς renowned, κλέ-ος fame, κλέ-ι-ω make famous, κλέ-ο-μαι am famous, κλει-ν-ός-ς, κλει-τό-ς renowned.

Skt. *ḥru* hear, *ḥru-ti-s* reputation, *ḥrav-as* fame.

Lat. *clu-o*, *clu-e-o* hear, am called, *cli-ens* one who listens, a dependent, *in-clu-tu-s*.

Goth. *hlīu-ma āxoh*, O.-H.-G. *hlū-t* loud, *hlo-s-ē-m* hear.

Ch.-Sl. *slu-ti* nominari, clarum esse, *slov-o* (St. *sloves*) word, *slav-a* fame, Lith. *szlovė* honour, *klaui-s-ai* hear.

O.-Ir. *clú* rumor, gloria (Z.² 25), *chuas* eàr, *cloor* audio (Z.² 502, for *closor*), *cloathar* audit, for *closathar* (Stokes, *Goïd.* p. 66).

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 179, Grimm Gesch. 401, Schleicher Ch.-Sl. 98, Pott W. 1, 713. — The shortest and oldest form appears in κλύ-θι = Skt. (Ved.) *ḥru-dhi* and Lat. *in-clu-tu-s*; κλέ-ος i. e. κλέ-ι-ω are also to be referred to this strengthened stem. — Lat. *cli-ens* most likely (as Corssen II² 740 holds) from *clu-i-ens* (cp. *in-ciens* No. 79). — Lat. *glória* is compared by Kuhn Ztschr. III 398 ff. with the Skt. *ḥravas-jā* 'famous deed' (cp. Pott I¹ 214) and it is argued that as from *jūs* came *injuria* so *glória* for *glosia* could have come from *glós* = *klavos* κλέ-φος; *g* for *k* as in *glocio* κλώ-ζω (Corssen Beitr. 53, otherwise Pictet II 204). — The verb in O.-H.-G., Lith. and Ir. contains a formative affixed *s* which reminds us of the Indian desiderative (Pott II² 587 cp. No. 546). — Does also ἀ-κρο-ά-ομαι, keeping the *r*, belong here? — Ir. *clú* is identical with Skt. *ḥravas*, Gk. κλέ-ος; *chuas* is a feminine *a* stem and most likely stands for **clostā*, cp. the acc. s. *la cluaissn* by the hearing (T. B. Fr. 142). — The primitive form of the rt. is *kru*.

- 63) Rt. κλυ κλύ-ζω wash, κλύ-δ-ων wave, κλυσμός splashing, *Κλυμένη* name of a Nereid (?).

Old Lat. *clu-ēre* purgare, *clo-āca*.

Goth. *hlū-tr-s* pure, O.-H.-G. *hlūtār*. [Germ. *lauter*.]

The old Lat. *cluere* is vouched for by Pliny XXV 29, 36 *cluere antiqui purgare dicebant*. This gives us quite enough reason for setting down κλυ as the rt. and ζ as = γ: the primitive form would therefore have been *klu-jā-mi*. In Skt. *klid* humectari, madescere the difference of vowel forbids us to suppose a relationship. Still Bopp Gl. and Pott I¹ 243 compare this word and the Lith. *sklyti* flow (rt. *sklyd*

i. e. *sklid*) with κλύω without noticing the Latin and Teutonic words. — Jurmann Ztschr. XI 398 regards *klu* as the primary and *klud* as a secondary root and connects with the latter the Lat. *lus-tru-m* (No. 547) propitiatory sacrifice. On the δ in κλύω cp. p. 641.

- 64) Rt. κοφ *ἐ-κο-μεν ἡσθόμεθα* (Hesych.), *κο-έ-ω, κον-νέω* I observe, *Κό-ων, θυο-σκόο-ς* looker on at a sacrifice.

Skt. *kav-i-s* wise man, poet, *á-kú-ti-s* intention (?).

Lat. *cav-c-o, cau-tu-s*.

Goth. *us-skav-jan* be careful, O.-H.-G. *scauwōn* look (G. *schauen*), Goth. *us-skav-s* careful, *skau-n-s* beautiful (G. *schön*).

Schweizer Ztschr. III 373, Kuhn III 433, Ebel IV 157, Pott II¹ 841 W. I 658; in Ztschr. IV 238 ff. I have discussed a number of other less common forms. The original root is *skar*; Ebel rightly recognizes a trace of the σ in *θυο-σκόο-ς*, the primitive meaning is preserved in the Germ. *schauen* look; the Goth. *skau-s* comes near to *cau-tu-s*. The numerous proper names in *-κωων* such as *Λαο-κό-ων* (*Λαφοκόων* Prisc. I 22, VI 69), *Δημο-κό-ων*, *Ἰππο-κόων*, fem. *-κόωσα*, *Εὐφρ-κόα-ς* suit the meaning well. — *κον-νέ-ω* for *κοφ-νέ-ω* in Aesch. Suppl. 158. — It is probable from Hesych. *κοφ̃ ἀκούει, πεύθεται* that *ἀκούω* likewise belongs to this root. See Introduction p. 97. Others it is true, e. g. Delbrück Ztschr. XVI 271, connect *ἀ-κού-ειν* (cp. *ἀκουσ-τό-ς*) with the Goth. *haus-jan* to hear. — Corssen, who Beitr. 444, I² 353 denies the connection of this rt. with *cavere*, overlooks the words that form the steps between the two. The Teutonic words prove that the idea of self-protection can come from that of looking.

- 65) *κόγχη, κόγχο-ς* mussel, *κογχ-ύλη, κογχύλιο-ν*. — Skt. *śankha-s* concha.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 111, Förstemann Ztschr. III 53. Cp. above p. 86. — *κοχλος, κοχλίων, κοχλίας* snail, mussel must be derived forms for *κόγχ-λο-ς* etc. It may be that *κόγχη* purple snail and *Κάλχας, καλχαίνω* are related.

- 152 66) *κόκκυξ* (St. *κοκ-κῦγ*) cuckoo, *κόκκυ* cuckoo's cry, *κοκκυέω* cry like a cuckoo, crow.

Skt. *kókila-s* cuculus niger.

Lat. *cuculu-s*.

O.-H.-G. *gauh*.

Lith. *kukūti* cry like a cuckoo, Ch.-Sl. *kukarica* cuckoo.

Pott W. III 141, Förstemann Ztschr. III 43 in spite of the in-

regularity in the initial in the Teutonic words. In Gk. the last κ is softened to γ . I do not venture to say whether or not *καυκαλίης ὄρνις ποιός* Hesych. is related. The rt. seems to be *ku*, Skt. *kú* (*káu-ti*) to scream, *kó-kú-ja-té* intensive of the same, not far removed from *καυύ-ω* and Lith. *kaūk-ti* howl.

67) *κολεκάνο-ς, κολοκάνος* lean, *κολοσσό-ς* a great statue.

Skt. *karç* to become lean, *kṛça-s* lean, slim.

O.-Lat. *crac-entes* graciles, Lat. *grac-ili-s*.

Pott W. III 497. — *κολεκάνοι* Hesych. ἐπὶ μήκους σὺν λεπτότητι, *κολοκάνοι* εὐμήκεις καὶ λεπτοί. Strattis fr. 65 Meincke. — Hehn p. 220 compares *κολοκ-ύνη* gourd, so called, he says, "from its colossal size". — *crac-entes* Ennius Annal. 497 (Vahlen): *media regione crac-entes*. — *κολοσσός* for *κολοκ-jo-ς*. Pps. related to No. 68.

68) *κολ-ωνό-ς, κολ-ώνη* hill, *κολ-ο-φ-άν* summit.

Lat. *cel-su-s, ex-cel-lo, col-u-mna, cul-men, colli-s*.

O.-S. *hol-m*, hill, height.

Lith. *kėl-ti* lift, *kál-na-s* height, *pra-kil-nù-s* elevated.

Pott W. II 1, 181. — The change from λ to ρ suggests also *κορυφή, Κόρινθος* and No. 38. — *colli-s* perhaps for *col-ni-s*. Cp. No. 29. — Glück (Beitr. V 97) connects with these words, the old Gallic *celicnon* together with the Goth. *kélikn* (*πύργος, ἀνώγειον*) borrowed from the Celtic, cp. Becker Beitr. IV 136; further the name *Celtae* itself, whose nom. sing. **Celto-s* he identifies with Lat. *celsu-s* (another example of an arrogant national name is *Bituriges* "Kings of the world"). O'Beirne Crowe connects *Celtae* with the Ir. *celt* hair, suggesting Gallia Comata (Journ. 1871 Vol. I 405).

68b) Rt. *κοπ κόπ-τ-ω* hew, strike, tire, *κόμ-μα* incision,

κοπ-ή cutting, *κοπ-εύ-ς* chisel, *κόπ-ανο-ν*, *κοπ-ί-ς*

knife, sword, *κόπ-ι-ς* chatterer, 'bore', *κόπ-ο-ς*

fatigue, *κοπ-ιά-ω* I am tired, *κοπά-ξω* I tire,

κωφ-ός blunt, dumb, deaf, *κάπ-ων* capon.

Goth. *hamf-s* mutilated, O.-H.-G. *hauwan* cut (G. *hauen*) (?).

Ch.-Sl. *skop-i-ti* castrare, *skop-ŭci* eunuchus, *kop-ije* hasta, Lith. *kap-ó-ti* cut, *kapó-nė* mattock.

Pott I¹ 140, Benf. I 193, Grimm Gesch. 401. — My former conjecture, based on the late word *κόσσο-ς* box on the ear, and the doubtful Aeolic *κόσσω* = *κόπτω* (Ahr. d. Aeol. 67), that *κοπ* stands for *κοκ*, I have retracted Ztschr. III 417. — The φ in *κωφό-ς* (cp. *obtusus*) is, as the Goth. *hamf-s* shows, of later formation. — *skap* seems the primitive form and 153

hence *σκέπ-αφ-νο-ν* axe (cp. No. 109) seems to be related. — The meaning of *κόπο-ς* suggests the German "*zerschlagen, abgeschlagen sein*" 'to be knocked up'. *κοπ-λ-ς* chatterer is more remarkable; its synonym *κατίλο-ς* too, which has lost the *π* (cp. *καυ-τίλο-ς*) is doubtless related. — In *κάπ-ων*, which is only given in Glossaries (cp. Stier Ztschr. XI 227), the older *α* is preserved. — For other explanations see J. Grimm *Ueber Diphthongen* p. 15 f., Clemm Stud. III, 325, who brings *κίβδηλο-ς* under this root.

69) *κόρ-αξ* raven, *κορ-ώνη* crow. — Skt. *kārava-s* crow (?).

— Lat. *cor-vu-s* raven, *cor-n-ix* crow. — O.-H.-G. *hrab-an, hruoh*. — Pol. *kru-k* raven.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 213, Benf. II 132, Förstemann Ztschr. III 45, 47. — The stem of the words is the Indo-Germanic *kar* (cp. *κράζειν* croak). Pott compares *jū-n-ix* = *juven-ca* with *cor-n-ix*; the *c* is paragogic, and a stem-form *cor-na, cor-ni-s* may accordingly be assumed which approaches more nearly to the Gk. *κορ-ώνη*. A direct relationship to the Skt. *kruç* 'clamare' cannot be asserted. The derivation of the Skt. *kārava-s*, which is not vouched for except in the lexicons, from the interrogative-stem *ka*, and *rava-s* sound is manifestly false because the *v* is clearly derivative. Cp. above p. 41.

70) *κοχ-ώνη* *κυσός* Hesych. hinder part.

Skt. *kaksha-s* arm-pit, side, *kuksha-s, kukshi-s* belly.

Lat. *coxa, coxendix* hip-bone, *cossim*.

O.-H.-G. *hahsa* bend of the knee.

Benf. II 24. — The original meaning of the Skt. *kaksha-s*, according to the Ptsb. Wtb. is "hiding place", hence it is transferred to the various hidden parts of the body. *κοχ-ώνη* must be for *κοξ-ώνη* (cp. p. 700. — *cossim* Pomponius (Ribbeck Comici 129): *hoc sciunt omnes qui cossim cacant*. — Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 153 comes to the conclusion that the rt. is *kak* to bend, to which the Skt. *kākana-m* string, Goth. *hahan* (to hang) and Lat. *cingere, cing-ulu-m* belong.

71) Rt. *κράδ-η* swing, twig, tip, *κράδά-ω* swing, *κράδαίνω*.

Skt. *kūrd* a spring (f. *kard*), *kūrd-ana-m* springing.

Lat. *card-o* (St. *card-en*) hinge, pole, revolution.

O.-H.-G. *hrad* agilis, celer (?), O.-N. *hrata* to waver.

Ind. Lect. aestiv. Kil. a. 1856 p. VIII. Pictet II 471, Fick Ztschr. XX 164. — *κράδαίνω* was connected by Voss in the Etymol. p. 108 with *cardo*, "*in cardinibus enim janua agitatur vertiturque*". The original meaning is 'to swing', whence *κράδ-η* is explained, — according to Pollux IV 129 the suspended machine used in comedy for

making actors appear in the air, whence the saying *κράδης φάγελος* Plut. Prov. Alex. Cent. II 16 *ἐπὶ τῶν προφανέντων αἰφνυδίας*. *κράδη* is also used for the top of a tree. In this meaning Walter Ztschr. XII 389 sees ground for comparing *cris-ta* and *κόρυθ-ος* tufted lark. — Perhaps too *κορδύλη* a club, and the dance *κόρδαξ* are related: — The verbal meaning of *cardo* comes out plainly in expressions like *tanto cardine rerum* (Virg. Aen. I 672). The form *κλαδάσαι σείσαι* Hesych., perhaps only a denominative from *κλάδος* twig, is used by Corssen Beitr. 97, to bring *gladiu-s* too (cp. Ch.-Sl. *korūda* (fem.) gla- 154 dius) under this head, with *gl* for *cl* as in *gloria* (No. 82). To arrive from this word at *clād-ēs*, which he connects with these words I² 402, is not easy. — Cp. No. 39.

72) Rt. *κρα, κραν, κραιν-ω* I complete, *κράν-τωρ, αὐτο-κρά-τωρ, κρείων, κρέων* ruler, *Κρόνο-ς*.

Skt. *kar* do, make, *karman, krijā* deed, holy action, *kar-tr* (*kar-tār*) completer, creator.

Lat. *cer-u-s, Ceres, procēr-u-s, cre-o, caerimon-ia*.

Lith. *kur-iū* build.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *kr*, where he compares more or less correctly many other words, Pott W. II 1, 130, Benfey II 170, Walter Ztschr. XII 387. — *κραιν-ω* i. e. *κραν-jw* comes from a stem with affixed *ν* which suggests the Vedic *krñō-mi*, the Homeric forms *ἐκράλαινον, κρήνον, κερκάνται* on the other hand point to a stem *κραϊαν*, which must be denominative so that *κραιαίνω* is related to a conjectural *krajā* deed (cp. *krijā*) as *κραδαίνω* is to *κράδη*. *κρέων* is a present form with *ι*. *Κρόνο-ς* suggests the Skt. *karana-s* making, effecting. G. Hermann (de theol. Graec. antiqu. p. 176) and after him Schoemann (Opusc. II 112) interpreted the name "*Perficus*". — *Ceru-s manus* (*bonus creator* Paul. Epit. 122) is like *Ceres* (*a creando dicta* Serv. ad Georg. I 7) — which however Pott I² 197, Bopp Comp. Gr. I 282 explain otherwise (cp. Corssen I² 473) — formed directly from the rt. *kar*, but *creare* from the same stem *krajā* (*crejā*) which we used to explain *κραιαίνω*. The inchoative to *creo* is *cre-sc-o*. The *ae* in *caerimonia* is similar to that in *saep-io* (cp. *σηκός*). Otherwise Corssen I² 376. — On account of the absence of the normal 'shifting of the mutes' I do not venture to adduce the Teutonic verbs compared by others; with regard to the Lith. *kuriū* cp. rt. *qu* (No. 417). — The words derived from *κρα* with a suffixed *τ* form a group by themselves — *κρα-τύ-ς* strong, *Κρατύλο-ς, κρατύν-ω* strengthen, *κράτος, κάρτος* strength, *κρατέω* I have power, *κρατερός* powerful, *κραταιός* strong. A striking similarity shows itself between *κάρ-τα* and the O.-H.-G. *harto* 'very' (Schweizer Ztschr. XV 315). The Vedic *kratu-s* corresponds to these; it is used as an epithet of Varuna, and as my esteemed

colleague Brockhaus tells me, is to be translated Rv. I 17, 5 'the strongest'. The same word is by some scholars taken in other passages substantively as 'strength', 'might', while it also means 'wisdom'. On *κα-τα-λειω-ς* cp. No. 42b. — Stokes (Ir. Gl. 218) brings under this head the Ir. *cerd* (formator, faber) an i-stem; perhaps we should also add the Ir. *cuirim* pono (*cuirid diib* ponite de vobis Z.² 444, *hi-cuiretar* in quo ponunt Z.² 439, cp. Stokes Ir. Gl. p. 151).

74) *κρέας* flesh, *κρεῖον* meat board, dresser.

Skt. *kravja-m*, *kravi-s* raw flesh; *krû-ra-s* sore, bleeding.

Lat. *caro* (St. *caren*), *cru-or*, *cru-entu-s*.

Goth. *hraiv* (?), O.-H.-G. *hréo* (St. *hrêwa*) cadaver.

Ch.-Sl. *krûvŭ* cruor, Lith. *krauja-s* blood, *krûvina-s* bleeding.

O.-Ir. *crúu* blood (Corm. Gl. p. 11), *colinn* gen. *colno*, dat. *colin colain*, St. *colani* corpus, *caro* (Z.² 249).

- 155 Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 680, Schleicher Ksl. 96, Pauli 'Körpertheile' 25. — Kuhn Ztschr. II 236 explains the *ι* in the Homeric *κρεῖων* as the remains of the *i* or *j* retained in the Skt. words, and holds accordingly that *κρέας* is for *κρεῖας* St. *κρεῖας*. The Lat. *caro* has a different suffix (Ztschr. IV 214), the stem *caron* must be a shortened form of *caron*. Thus we get to an Indo-Germanic stem *krar*, *karv*; but *krav* points to the shorter *kru*, retained in *cru-or* and the Lith. *krûv-ina-s*, as the root (No. 77). Blood gets the name from its curdling, and flesh from the blood which it contains. — Scherer z. Gesch. 472 explains the Gothic diphthong here as in other cases (cp. No. 31) by epenthesis.

75) *κρέμα-μαι* hang (intr.), *κρεμάννυμι* hang (tr.), *κρημνό-ς* precipice. — Goth. *hram-jan* to crucify,

O.-H.-G. *rama* sustentaculum.

Benf. II 307, Pott W. II 1, 171. Skt. *kram* 'go' is connected by Benfey Ztschr. VIII 89 with this rt. by the help of the intermediate conception of 'floating in the air'. — Lith. *kar-iù* hang (tr. and intr.) may be related in stem, in which case the nasal in Gk. and Goth. would have to be regarded as a derivative suffix (Intr. p. 67).

76) Rt. *κρι κρί-ν-ω* separate, decide, *κρί-μνο-ν* coarse ground barley, *κρι-τή-ς* judge, *κρί-σι-ς* decision, *κρι-τήριον-ν* rule, test.

Skt. *kar kir-â-mi*, pour out, scatter, *apa-skara-s*, *ava-skara-s* excrement.

Lat. *cri-bru-m* sieve, *cer-n-o* sift, *cer-tu-s*, *ex-crementu-m*.

Goth. *skeir-s* pure, *skeir-ein-s* interpretatio, A.-S. *hri-dder*, O.-H.-G. *riterâ* sieve, riddle, O.-N. *skil-ja* separate.

Lith. *skir-iù* separate, sort, choose.

O.-Ir. *criathar* sieve (orig. form **crétara* Stokes Ir. Gl. 700), *cert*, justice (Corm. Gl. p. 30), *etar-ceirt*, gen. *etarcerta* (St. *certi* = *κρίσι-*) interpretatio (Z.² 1000). — *eter-scértar* separabuntur (Z.² 267), *ro-scail-set* they separated from each other (Cog. p. 234).

Pott W. II 1, 161 (who however treats Skt. *kar* as a separated root 173), Bopp Gl. s. v. *kṛ*. Kuhn Ztschr. II 146 gives *skar* as the orig. form, with which *σκάω* St. *σκαπτ* (No. 110) is connected. Benf. II 171. Corssen Beitr. 451, I² 177, Kuhn Ztschr. II 146, Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Phil. I 18. Bugge Stud. IV 333 conjectures the original identity of this rt. with No. 53. — *κρί* and *κρίθῃ* barley on the other hand he refers to a rt. *ghard* on account of *hord-cu-m* and O.-H.-G. *gers-ta* (cp. Pott I¹ 143, otherwise Kuhn Ztschr. XI 385). Pictet II 285 is perhaps right in connecting with the meaning 'separate' *κρόσ-* broom, *κρέω* sweep, which is by others (Corssen Beitr. 403) connected with Skt. *karsh* draw and Lat. *verr-o* (for *cvers-o*). — We are reminded of the metaphysical meaning of *κρίνω* by the Skt. *kárājê* recognize (cp. however Ptsb. Wtb. II p. 104). The frequentative *certare* corresponds to *κρίνισθαι* (e. g. *ἄρηι* B 385) along with *ἀποκρίνισθαι*, *ὑποκρίνισθαι*. See Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. W. 1866 p. 148.

77) Rt. *κρυ-ος* frost, *κρυ-μός* frost, *κρυό-ομαι* am freezing, *κρυό-εις* making one shudder, *κρυσταίνω* make to freeze, *κρύσταλλο-ς* ice.

Skt. *krú-ra-s* sore, bleeding, stiff. — Zd. *khrú-ra* 156 frightful.

Lat. *cru-s-ta*, *cru-du-s*, *crudeli-s*.

O.-N. *hri-m* rime, O.-H.-G. *hráo* (gen. *hráwes*) raw.

Ir. *cruaid* hard (L. U.), St. **craudi*, *cródatu* durities (Z.² 23, 257).

Benf. II 178, Grimm Gesch. 401. Fick² 50. Corssen I² 359.

The fundamental notion of the rt. is 'to be hard'; probably it is

connected with No. 42b; the connecting link between κρύος and κρωρ (No. 74) is 'to curdle'. — ὀκρυοέσεως Z 344, ὀκρυόεντος I 64, with the same meaning as the forms without ὀ may well have arisen in both passages from pure mistake, if it is held that the genitives that precede them were originally pronounced κακομηχάνου, ἐπιδημίου (Jahn's Jahrb. Bd. 67 p. 9). On *crus-ta* see Corssen Beitr. 416.

- 77b) Rt. κταν, κτεν κτείν-ω (κτίννυ-μι) kill, κτόνο-ς murder, καίν-ω kill. — Skt. *kshan kshan-ô-mi* injure, wound (partic *ksha-ta-s* laesus), *ksha-ti-s* damage, destruction.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 489, Benf. I 179. — The η in the Skt. is only euphonic for n. The PW. has *kshan*. Skt. *ksh* = Gk. κτ as in *takshan* = τεκτον (No. 235). καίνω is a softened form of κτείνω which occurs first in the tragic poets. The ι in κτίννυ-μι, ἀπο-κτινύ-ω is weakened from α. — In the language of Homer we find the shorter stem κτα (κτά-μεναι, κτέ-ω-μεν, κατα-κτά-ς), which is related to κτεν as γα is to γεν (No. 128), and τα to τεν (No. 230).

- 78) Rt. κτι εὖ-κτί-μενο-ς well built, περι-κτί-ον-ες, ἀμφι-κτί-ονες neighbours, κτίζω settle, found, κτί-σι-ς founding.

Skt. *kshi*, *kshi-j-â-mi* dwell, *kshaj-a-s* residence, *kshi-ti-s* dwelling. — Zd. *khshi* dwell.

Pott W. I 482, where κτί-λο-ς tame is also compared. Benf. II 185. — The fact that κτ corresponds to *ksh* (from *ks*) has been mentioned at No. 77b. Cp. No. 45. — Since *kshi* in Skt. and Zd. compounded with the preposition *â* means *to acquire, to possess*, we should perhaps be right in bringing, with Leo Meyer (Ztschr. VII 288) κτά-ο-μαι I acquire, and κτή-μα and κτή-σι-ς under this head: κτά-ο-μαι is a denominative verb which we must derive from a noun-stem corresponding to the Skt. *kshaja-s*.

- 79) Rt. κυ (κυ-έ-ω) take in, be pregnant κύ-ος, κύ-μα foetus, κύ-αφ, κύ-τ-ος cavity, κοῦ-λο-ς hollow, κοιλ-ία belly, καυ-λό-ς stalk.

Skt. *çvi* (*çvaj-â-mi*) tumere, crescere, part. p. *çûna-s* swollen, *çi-çu-s* the young of animals.

Lat. *in-ci-ens* pregnant, *cu-mu-lu-s*, *cav-u-s*, *cau-li-s*, stalk, *cau-lae* hollows, *cae-lu-m* vault, *cil-iu-m* eye-lid, *super-cilium*.

Goth. *us-hul-ôn* hollow out, *hul-undi* cavity, O.-H.-G. *hol* hollow.

Lith. *káu-la-s* bone, Lett. *kaul-s* bone, stalk.

Bopp Comp. Gram. I 232, where the Lat. *cre-sc-o* which belongs 157 to No. 72 is wrongly compared. — Pott W. I 702. — Grimm Gesch. 399. — Benf. II 166 where much is very doubtful, and II 153. — A very wide-spread root, with which among others *κῦ-μα* wave, (cp. *οἶδ-μα*) *κύ-αθo-ς*, *κύ-λη* and *κύλιξ* goblet, *Κυλλήνη* (hollow hill, Lob. Path. Elem. 354 cp. *mons Caelius*?), *κόοι* (*κοιλώματα* Hesych.) = Lat. subst. *cavi*, *Κῶ-ς* *Κῶ-ς*? *κῶς* (*εἰρητή* Hesych.), are connected. — Hesychius's *κοιο-φόρο-ς ἔγκυος* is noteworthy for the relation of *v* to *œ*. This suggests a form *κοι-φο-ς* i. e. *κοF-ιο-ς*, approaching the Lat. *caru-s*, a form which Pott Ztschr. V 299 supposes for the proper name *Κοῖος*. *κοῖλο-ς* (Ion. *κοί-ιλο-ς*) is derived from this. *κοῖλο-ς* is from *κοF-ιλος*, and then with epenthetic *i* *κοιF-ιλο-ς* (Mimn. 12, 5, *κοιλλη*, Alcaeus fr. 15, 5 B *κοιλαι*). Cp. Dietrich Ztschr. X 442. According to Mor. Schmidt Rh. M. XX 305 *κόιλος* can be read every where in Homer. On *in-ci-ens* which Paul. Epit. p. 97 explains wrongly, see Döderlein Etym. and Synonyme V. 228. — By means of the notion "hollow" we arrive at *καυλός*, *caulis*, and Lith. *káula-s*. *κῆ-κν-ς* strength reminds us of the Skt. *çav-as* of like meaning. *cae-lum* and the old *caelu-s* must certainly be connected, but they are genuine Lat. words, and hence not to be written with *œ*; Pott Ztschr. V 299 takes *Κοῖος* the name of Leto's father in the same way. — Cp. Corssen I² 370, 463, where *super-ciliu-m* (cp. *ἐπι-κύλιο-ν*) is otherwise explained (Rt. *sku* cover).

80) *κῦμβη*, *κῦμβο-ς* cask, goblet, *κῦμβ-αλο-ν* basin.

Skt. *kumbha-s* pot, pitcher. Zd. *khumba* (m.) pot.

Pott I¹ 84. [Fick Spracheinheit p. 284] $\beta = bh$ after μ ; cp. p. 516.

81) Rt. *κυρ*, *κυλ*, *κυρ-τό-ς* bent, *κίρ-κ-ο-ς* ring, *κυλ-λό-ς* bent, *κύ-κλ-ο-ς* circle, *κυλ-ί-ω* (*κυλίνδω*) roll.

Skt. *ka-kr-a-s* (for *ka-kra-s*) wheel, disk, circle.

Lat. *cir-cu-s*, *circ-u-m*, *circa*, *cur-vu-s*.

O.-H.-G. *hring* ring.

Lith. *kreiva-s* crooked, wound, Ch.-Sl. *krivŭ* bent, *kolo* wheel.

O.-Ir. *curu*, acc. pl. *gyros* (Z.² 1048) = Lat. *curvos* (Stokes Ir. Gl. p. 74 n.), *cuirre*, *cuirrither* rounder (Corm. Gl. p. 36 s. v. *prúll*), *cuaírt* circuitus (for *cuaírt Erenn* in circuitu Hiberniae Z.² 264).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 1 174, Schleicher Ksl. 94, 96, — *Κυρήνη*, and *Κέφ-κνφα* may be added. — Lat. *clingere* *cingere* (Fest. 56) which is clearly derived hence, comes nearest to the O.-H.-G. word. — Corssen I² 412 starts from a rt. *kar*, which became *kvar* and from this

kur. From *kvar* he gets to the Lat. *vâr-u-s* for *cvâr-u-s*. — It is true that no rt. *kar* occurs as a verb in any language, but we can by its help explain the Skt. *kā-kra-s* as reduplicated, and again *κέρ-κός* tail, *κέρ-ώνη* (εἶδος στεφάνου Hesych.), Lat. *corona*, *κέρω-ν(δ)-ς* bent, and *κέρω-νό-ς* with crooked horns. λ took the place of ρ and thus arose the rt. *καλ* which is to be seen in *καλ-ινδέω* = *κλι-ινδέω* (cp. Ch.-Sl. *kol-o*). Where an *i* appears it is to be regarded as a weakening of *a*.

- 158 82) *κῦρ-ος* might, *κυρό-ω* strengthen, *κύρ-ιος* mighty, lord.
Skt. *çûra-s* hero, *çûra-tâ* fortitudo, Zd. *çûra* strong, awful.
O.-Ir. *caur*, *cur* hero, gen. *caurad*, *curad*, Nom. pl. *coraid* (L. U.), Cymr. *caur* gigas, pl. *ceuri*, Corn. *caur* gigas, *caur-march* camelus (Z.² 129, 284, 131).

Bopp Gl. — In the face of Pott's fierce attack (II² 375) I hold to the connection of these words, considering *çu* i. e. *kû*, *kvi* (No. 79) with the meaning "grow" as the rt. Hence may have come an adjective *kû-ra-s* strong (cp. Skt. *çav-as* strength), Gk. *κυρό-ς*, related to *τὸ κῦρ-ος* as *αἰσχρό-ς* is to *αἶσχος*. The Zend word sufficiently preserves the palatal *ç* from Pott's suspicion that it arose from a dental (according to him *çûra-s* = *su-vîra-s* εὐήνωρ), and he himself perceives the fact. *κῦρ-έ-ω* (also *κῶρ-ω*), as is probable from *κρούειν* knock, originally denoted a physical contact and has nothing to do with these words. — I am not so clear as to the connection with *κρί-νω-ς*, notwithstanding the near approach in meaning to *κύρ-ος*, because of the difficulty presented by the diphthong. Still even Pott I¹ 242 connects *οἰδ-άω* with the rt. *ud* (No. 300), and I do not see how we are separate *λοιγός* from *λογρός* and *λευγαλός*. — As to *κοῦρος*, *κόρος* which I brought under this root before, I have changed my opinion (cp. note to No. 53), on the Lat. *cûria* cp. Corssen I² 354.

- 83) *κυ-νέ-ω* (Aor. *ἔ-κυ-σα*) kiss, *προς-κυ-νέω*. — Skt. *kus* or *kuç* amplexi (*kus-jâ-mi*).

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 152. — As we have no instance of the use of the Skt. word it is doubtful. — The O.-H.-G. *kusaju*, Goth. *kukja* I kiss must be separated because the letter-change is not according to rule.

- 83b) *κύπη* hole, hut. — Skt. *kûpa-s* pit, hollow.

Pictet II 267. — The Gk. word only occurs in Hesych. with the by-form *γύπη*. Since *kûpa-s* means also an oil-flask, and since other vessels of different kinds are called "hollows", Pott is most likely right in comparing *κύπ-ελλο-ν*, *ἀμφι-κύπελλον*, and the Lat.

cupa cask (cp. Ch.-Sl. *kupa* poculum), also recess for holding a corpse. Corssen I² 546.

83c) *κυσό-ς, κύσ-θο-ς* pudenda muliebria. — Skt. *ḡush-i-s* fissure, hole. — Lat. *cun-nu-s*. — Lith. *kuszý-s*.
Aufrecht Ztschr. IX 232.

84) *κύ-ων* (St. *κυνον* and *κυν*) dog. — Skt. *ḡvā* (St. *ḡvan* Ved. *ḡvan* and *ḡun*). — Lat. *can-i-s* (for *cvan-i-s*). — Goth. *hun-d-s* (with added *d*). — Lith. *szū* (St. *szum*). — O.-Ir. *cú*, Gen. *con*, Dat. *coin* (Z.² 264).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 127, Benf. II 165, according to him belonging to No. 79 — “the animal that bears often and many young”. — Herod. I 110 of *Μῆδοι τὴν κύνα σπάκα καλέουσι*, explained by the Zend *ḡpā* Acc. *ḡpān-em*, with the addition of a paragoric *k*, while the sibilant raised the *v* to *p* by assimilation (cp. p. 79). — The Lydian name *Καν-δαύλη-ς*, explained (cp. Hipponax fr. 1 Bergk) by *συνίλλο-πρίτης* I had already brought under this head in Höfer's Ztschr. I 220. Kunik has since then in his *Kritische Bemerkungen zu den Rafn'schen Antiquités Russes* (Bulletin histor. phil. de l'acad. de St. 159 Petersb. VII p. 367 Note) explained the second part of the word from the Slav. verb *dariti* strangle, the present of which in Ch.-Sl. is *darlja* — the *l* is euphonic — but perhaps the *l* in *-δαύλη-ς* belongs to the suffix.

84b) *κῶνο-ς* peg, cone, top, dim. *κωνί-ο-ν, κωνί-ς*. — Skt. *ḡāna-s* cos, lapis. — Lat. *cūneu-s*. — O.-N. *hein* (f.) whetstone.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *ḡo* and *ḡana*, Grimm Gesch. 400, Pott W. I 492. — The more distantly related words are treated by Aufrecht Ztschr. I 363 ff., 472 ff. — Nearest come Lat. *co-s* (St. *cot*) and *cau-te-s, ca-tu-s* sharp, pointed, Varro L. l. VII 46, whence *Cato*. The meaning of the root then is “to be pointed, sharp”, cf. Rt. *ḡk* (No. 2). — The long vowel in *κῶνος* compared with *cuneus* presents a difficulty, but for which the words would be related to each other as are *cavus* and *cavea*. — *cunei* in the Carmen Saliare are the thunderbolts of Jupiter (Bergk ind. lect. Marb. hib. a. 1847—48 p. XIII), a fact that throws light on the meaning. — O.-N. *hein* points to an original form *kanjá* (Scherer 472 Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Phil. I 16).

85) Rt. *λακ ἔ-λακ-ο-ν, λέ-λᾶκ-α, λά-σκ-ω* crack, resound, *λακ-ε-ρό-ς* resounding, *λακέρυζα* croaking.

Skt. *lap* (*lap-ā-mi*) chatter, whisper, *vi-lap-ā-mi* wail, *lap-a-na-m* mouth.

Lat. *loqu-o-r*, *loqu-ax*, *loqu-ela*, *Ajus Locu-ti-us*.

Ch.-Sl. *rekq* loquor, Lith. *su-rik-ti* cry out, *rėk-iū* scream.

Bopp Gl., Schleicher Ksl. 131. — *k* is the older consonant, Skt. *p* is a disfigurement of it. — No connection whatever with *λέγω* (No. 538). — Otherwise Fick² 14.

86) *λακ λάκ-ος*, *λακ-ί-ς* rag, *λακ-ε-ρό-ς* torn, *λάκ-ο-ς* hole, pool.

Lat. *lac-er*, *lacer-o*, *lac-in-ia*, *lac-u-s*, *lacu-na*, *lā-ma*.

O.-H.-G. *lacha*?

Lith. *lank-à*, *lėnkė* meadow, hollow, Ch.-Sl. *laka* palus.

O.-Ir. *loch* lacus, Gen. *locho* (Z.² 239, cp. Ir. Gl. 781).

Pott W. III 257. Benf. II 16. — The fundamental meaning is 'tear', and so *δάκτος*, which according to Hesych. was *λάκος* with the Cretans, would seem to be related. Since the Aeolians said *βράκος*, the rt. seems to be *βρακ*, *βλακ*, and to be related to the Skt. *crack* scindere, Corssen I² 312. — The local meaning in the sense of the Germ. *Bruch* (marsh) may be seen also in *λάκ-ας φάραγγας* (Hesych., cp. *δακτοί φάραγγες*), with which must be connected *Λάκμων*, *Λακίνιον*, *Λακεδαίμων* (E. Curtius Peloponn. II 309), the latter immediately with *λακεδάμα*, *ἔδωρ ἀλμυρόν* (Hesych.). *Λακεδαίμων* arose evidently from *Λακεδαμ-ιών* by epenthesis. The suffix *-ιών* forms *περικτινιά*, e. g. *Κνακ-ιών*. — From the Latin we may perhaps also compare *lacerna*, which is easily explained to be from *δάκος* (cp. *cav-er-na*).

87) *λεύσσω* look (St. λευκ).

160 Skt. *lók*, *lók-ā-mi*, *lók*, *lók-ā-mi* video, *lók-ana-m* oculus.

Lith. *lūk-i-u* wait, Lett. *lūkó-t* look.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 243, Benf. II 126, 372. — Relationship with *λευκό-ς* Rt. *λυκ* (No. 88) cannot be denied, still the dissimilarity of the corresponding Skt. words shows that the connection is not a direct one (cp. p. 112). — The rt. *λυκ* in its simple form is seen in the proper name *Λύκ-το-ς*, genuine Cretan *Λύτ-το-ς*, *διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι αὐτὴν ἐν μετεώρῳ τόπῳ, τὸ γὰρ ἄνω καὶ ὑψηλὸν λύττον* (rather *λυττόν*; *φασι* (Steph. Byz., Voretzsch de Inscript. Cret. p. 11). *λυττό-ς* however must have meant originally 'visible' (*περὶ σκοπεῖος*). — Cp. No. 548.

88) Rt. *λυκ ἀμφι-λύκ-η* twilight, *λύκ-νο-ς* lamp, *λευκό-ς* white, *λοῦσσο-ν* the white pith of pine-wood.

Skt. *ruk* (*rókē*) appear, shine, *ruk* (f.) light, gleam,

ruk-ma-s gold ornament, *ruç-ant* light-coloured.

— Zd. *ruc* to give out light.

Lat. *lúc-eo*, *luc-s*, *lú-men*, *lúc-idu-s*, *lú-na*, *Leucesius*, *di-lúc-ulu-m*.

Goth. *liuh-ath*, O.-H.-G. *lioht* light, Goth. *laúhmóni* lightening, A.-S. *leó-ma* gleam.

Ch.-Sl. *luča* beam, moon, *lučť* light, *lu-na* moon, Lith. *lauka-s* pale, *lauki-s* an ox with a white brow.

O.-Ir. *lóche* (Gen. *lóchet*) fulmen, *lócharnn* laterna (Z.² 256, 778).

Bopp Gl., Schleicher Ksl. 129. Corssen I 367. — On the stem *λυκ* (*λυκό-φως*, *λυκά-βας*, *Λυκαβηττός*) Welcker Griech. Götterlehre I p. 476 f. The specific meaning seems to be that of "glimmering" whence we easily arrive at *λύγη* twilight which reminds us of the Lat. *lu-scu-s* (for *luc-scu-s*) dim-sighted, one-eyed, and the Croatian *luča* umbra given by Miklosich Lex. 345. — Cp. No. 112. The *χ* in *λύχο-s* comes from the influence of the *ν*. — *lúna* for *luc-na*, *lúmen* for *luc-men*, *Leucesie* in the Carmen Saliare acc. to Bergk Ind. lect. hib. Marb. a. 1847—48 p. XII as an epithet of Jupiter. *in-lus-tri-s* too doubtless belongs here, derived from a form with added *s* like the O.-N. *ljós* light, clear, *lýsa* give light mentioned by Lottner Ztschr. VII 186 (cp. also Zd. *raoksh-na* giving light, A.-S. *liox-an* *liz-an* give light Fick² 394). Corssen's attempt to explain the word from *lustru-m* (Beitr. 411, I² 362) involves a very far-fetched account of its meaning. — The Lith. *lauka-s* corresponds in form completely with the Gk. *λευκό-s*, but is used only of cattle and horses (Nesselmann). The same adjective is to be seen in the Ir. *luach-té* "whitehot" (Stokes).

89) *λύχο-s*. — Skt. *vrka-s*. — Lat. *lupu-s*, Sabine *irpu-s*.

— Goth. *vulf-s*. — Ch.-Sl. *vlük-ŭ*, Lith. *vũlka-s* wolf.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 150, II² 356, cp. W. I 1283. 1291. — Benf. II 26, Grimm Gesch. 332, Förstemann Ztschr. I 494, Schleicher Beitr. I 6, where *vraka-s* is rightly given as the primitive form (cp. Zend *rahrka*), from which came by metathesis *vraka-s*, *vlaka-s*, *vluko-s*, with loss of *ν* *λύχο-s* for *Fluko-s*. — Spiegel Ztschr. XIII 366, Stier XI 143, where traces in Albanian of the initial *v* are noticed. — The similarity of sound then with No. 88 is only apparent. — Schleicher denies rightly that *vulpe-s* — on which Spiegel ut sup. gives a con- 161
jecture — can possibly belong here, but *lupu-s* cannot be separated

from *λύκο-ς*. *p* appears also in the Sabine *irpu-s* (Corssen I² 116) or *hirpu-s* (Paul. Epit. 106), and we have a clear instance of Lat. *p* for Indogerm. *k* in *saepio*, *praesaepo* by the side of Gk. *σηκό-ς*. Cp. No. 566 and p. 457. On *v* as the representative of a primitive *a* see p. 704. The rt. is generally sought for in the Skt. *vraçk* lacerare, which would be favoured by Hesychius's ἀπελύκησεν· ἀπέτεμεν: Pictet I 431 goes to the rt. *vark vrak* draw, drag which may be assumed for *ἐλκω* (No. 22), in which case *λύκο-ς* would mean robber.

90) Rt. *μακ μάκ-αρ* beatus, *μᾶκ-ρό-ς* long, *μῆκ-ο-ς* length, *μᾶκεδνό-ς* thin, *Μᾶκεδόνες*.

Skt. *makara-s* "a sea-animal, perhaps dolphin". —

Zd. *μαç-αὐή* size, *μαç-ita* large.

Lat. *mac-to* I make large, *mac-te* blessed.

Mith. *makari-s* large staff (?), *mók-u* I can.

The physical meaning of *μάκας* is still to be seen in the word for 'rich' derived from it *Α* 68 ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν. Hence *μάκαρες* as an epithet of the gods, like *ἱερό-ς* which in *ἱερός ἰχθύς* *II* 407 still means great, mighty. Sonne Ztschr. X 130, Fick² 144. Cp. No. 462, 473.

91) *μήκ-ων*, Dor. *μάκ-ων* poppy. — O.-H.-G. *māgo* (St. *māgan*), L.-G. *mān*. [Germ. *Mohn*.] — Ch.-Sl. *mak* papaver.

Pott I¹ 113, Müllenhoff Glossar zum Quickborn. — Perhaps so-called from the length of the stalk and so related to No. 90.

92) Rt. *μυκ ἀπο-μύσσω* blow one's nose, *μυκ-τήρ* nose, *μύξα* phlegm, *Μυκάλη?*, *Μυκήνη?*

Skt. *muḥ muñk-ā-mi* let loose, let go.

Lat. *mung-o mūc-u-s* phlegm, *múcère* to be musty, *múcor* mould, *múcédo* phlegm.

Ch.-Sl. *mok-na-ti* madefieri, *močiti* madefacere, *močĩ* urina.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 575. — Also *μύξιμος* blenny, Lat. *mugil* (?) are related. Hehn (p. 446) adds from the vegetable kingdom the Lacon. *μύκηρος*, *μούκηρος* almond, nut, as being a mucilaginous fruit. — It is noteworthy with respect to the meaning of the Skt. word that acc. to the PW. it generally has *çakrṇ-mūtram*, i. e. stercus et urinam as its object, and that also the substantives *mók-ana-m*, *móksh-ana-m* (from the lengthened form *muksh* = Gk. *μυξ*) are often used of liquids. *ἀμύσσεται ἀμυκτήρ* in Hesych. are remarkable. — Is it not possible that the promontary *Μυκάλη* (cp. *Μυκαλησσός*) meant 'little snout', like the Norse names in *-naes*? — *mungo*: *muk* = *pingo*: *pūt* (No. 101).

- 93) *véx-v-s* corpse, *véxv-i-a* funeral offering, *vex-ρó-s* dead.

Skt. rt. *naç naç-á-mi* and *naç-já-mi* disappear, perish, *nâç-a-já-mi* destroy, lose, *nâç-a-s* disappearance, fall, *nâsh-trâ* danger, destruction. — Zd. *naçu* (m. f.) corpse, *naç-ista* very pernicious.

Lat. *nex*, *nēc-o*.

Goth. *nau-s*, *navi-s* *vexρós*.

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Ch.-Sl. *navŭ* mortuus.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 540. Diefenbach Vergl. Wörterb. II 103. Grimm 'üb. Diphthonge nach weggefallenen Consonanten' p. 9 explains *nau-s* to be from *nag-u-s*. — That *nocere*, *noxa* are related (Bopp Comp. Gr. I 273), is established by the now more thoroughly proved use of the rt. in Skt. and Zend. *νόσο-s* *νοῦσο-s* we should perhaps refer with Schweizer to *νοξο-s* (Ztschr. XI 79), in which case it would have to be directly associated with *noxa* and in meaning with *pernic-ies* (Corssen Beitr. 266). Cp. *σύν* for *ξύν*. Still the Hom. form in *ov* is a difficulty.

- 94) *νύξ* (st. *νυκτ*) night, *νύκτ-ωρ*, *νύκτερο-s*, *νυκτερ-ινό-s*, *νύκτιο-s* nightly, *νυκτερί-s* night-bird.

Skt. *nak*, *nak-ti-s* night, *nak-ta-m* noctu, *niç*, *niç-á* night. — Zd. *nakhturu* or *nakhtru* nightly.

Lat. *nox* (St. *nocti*), *noctu*, *nocturnu-s*, *noctua*.

Goth. *naht-s* O.-H.-G. *naht*.

Lith. *nak-ti-s*, Ch.-Sl. *noš-ŭ* night.

O.-Ir. *in-noct*, *in-nocht* hac nocte (Z.² 609).

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 57, Schleich. Ksl. 125. — Acc. to Linker Jahn's Jahrb. 89, 714 the full form of the nom. *nocti-s* is probably preserved in Enn. Ann. v. 92 V., the stem-form which may be assumed to account for *νυκτ*, in compounds like *νυκτί-πλαγκτο-s* (Roediger de comp. p. 53). The Skt. *niç* is (in spite of Pott W. I 550, who is emphatically opposed by Ascoli Fonolog. 39) weakened from *nak*. — *νύκτωρ* is as little a compound as *nocturnus* and *νύκτερο-s*, though Pott l¹ 123 supposes it to be so. The rt. is clearly No. 93, since night is "no man's friend".

- 95) *οἶκο-s* (*φοῖκο-s*) house, *οἰκί-α*, *οἰκέ-τη-s* house-fellow, *οἰκέ-ω* dwell.

Skt. *vêça-s*, *vêç-man* house, *viç* (f.) dwelling-place, house, pl. *viç-aš* men, subjects, *viç-pati-s* lord of

the house or community — Zd. *viç* house, village, clan, *viç-paiti* chief of the clan.

Lat. *vicu-s* (*veicu-s*), *vic-inu-s*.

Goth. *veihs* κώμη, ἀγρός, O.-H.-G. *wich* dwelling-place, borough.

Ch.-Sl. *višť* praedium, O.-Pr. *wais-pattin* housewife, Lith. *vėsz-pat-s* lord.

O.-Ir. *fich* municipium, pagus (Z.² 21), Corn. *gwic* village, Cymr. *gwig* (Lex. Cornu-Brit. p. 199).

Bopp Gl., Pott II 2, 581, Schleich. Ksl. 48, 98, Pictet II 238, 384, Corssen I² 380. — *Ἰ* Boeotian in *Ἰνία* (Ahr. d. aeol. 170), a trace of it may be seen in *ἄ-οικο-ς*. — Lith. *vėsz-pat-s* lord 'only used of God and the king' (Schleicher). The rt. is No. 24c. Acc. to Justi p. 281 *viç* in Zend means a community of 15 men and women. *οἶκο-ς* then is the house in the sense of the place and the sum of the people who come to live there (cp. Skt. *ga-ja-s* house, household fm. rt. *ga*, *gam*, *go*), *δόμο-ς* (No. 265) is the building.

- 163 96) ὀκτώ eight, ὀγδοο-ς the eighth. — Skt. *ash'áu*, *ash'tan* eight, *ash'a-ma-s* the eighth. Zd. *astan* (N. *asta*) eight, *astema* the eighth. — Lat. *octo*, *octāru-s*. — Goth. *ahtau*. — Lith. *asztūnì*, Ch.-Sl. *osmŕ*. — O.-Ir. *oct*, *ocht* (Z.² 304).

Bopp Gl., Comp. Gr. II 75, Pott Zählmethode 165. — The dual form in Skt. Gk. and Lat. is striking; also the weakening of the favourite *κτ* in the Gk. *ὀγδοο-ς* (cp. p. 525), which seems to occur also in *ὀγδόδιον* θναία παρὰ Ἀθηναίους τελουμένη Θησεϊ (Hesych.). Cp. M. Schmidt on this passage. — The Skt. *sh* is here evidently weakened from *k*. — We may just refer here to Ascoli's investigations as to the original final letter of this and other numerals (di un gruppo di desinenze, Instit. Lomb. 1868), (Corssen II² 483).

- 97) Rt. πεκ πέκ-ω, πείκ-ω, πεκ-τέ-ω, πέκ-τω comb, shear. πέκ-ος, πόκο-ς fleece, wool. — Lat. *pec-t-o*, *pect-en*. — O.-H.-G. *fahs* crinis. — Lith. *pėsz-ti* pluck, pull hair (?).

Grimm Gesch. I 396. — Grassmann's assertion (Ztschr. XI 41) that the *τ* belongs to the "thema", is refuted by several of the above words. — Pott W. III 179.

- 98) πέλεκυ-ς, πέλεκ-ρα (Hesych.) axe, πελεκυά-ω hew, πελεκ-ίζω cut off, πέλεκκο-ν, πέλεκκο-ς axe-handle,

πελεκ-ᾶς wood pecker. — Skt. *paraṇu-s*, *parṇu-s* hatchet, battle-axe.

Bopp Gl. — Pott W. I 500. The rt. is *πελ* for older *par* (cp. Ch.-Sl. *pra-ti* ferire), lengthened to *πελεκ*, cp. *πλακ*, *πλεγ* No. 367. The double *κ* is apparently for *κF*, as in *γλύκκα γλυκύτης* (Hes.) i. e. *γλυκφα*. On the vowel that has been developed after the *λ* see p. 719.

99) *πεύκ-η* pine, *πενκ-ών* pine-grove, *Πενκ-έτιοι*.

O.-H.-G. *fuh-ta*. [Germ. *Fichte*.]

Lith. *puszī-s* pine, *puszyna-s* pine-wood.

Pott II¹ 246, 285, Benf. II 76. — Fick Or. u. Occ. III 115 shows that *πί-τυ-ς* pine, which I formerly with Benfey put here, is clearly analogous to the Skt. *pitu-dāru-s*, the name of an Indian pine with the various forms *pītu-dāru-s*, *pūta-dāru-s* (*dāru* tree cp. No. 275) and conjectures that the rt. in Skt. is *pinv*, *piv* (*πί-ων* No. 363) with the meaning 'trickle down' (of the resin), properly 'overflow'. *pī-nu-s* will then be only another nominal-form of the same; also *πίσσα* together with *πί-κ* and the Lith. *piki-s*, Ch.-Sl. *pik-lŭ* pitch must have come from the same root. The relation of the Skt. *pīkṣhā* (for *pīkṣa*?) 'slime', 'gum' to these words has not yet been sufficiently explained. It appears then that the *k* that appears in *pīk* and can be inferred from *πίσσα* for *πι-κ-ια* is derivative.

100) Rt. *πικ* *πικ-ρό-ς*, *πενκ-εδανό-ς*, *πενκ-άλιμος* bitter, sharp, *ἐχε-πενκῆς* (βέλος) pointed.

Skt. *piṣ-una-s*, Adj. slanderous, treacherous, Subst. traitor (?).

O.-H.-G. *fēh-jan* hate, *fēh-ida* feud. [Eng. *foe*.]

Lith. *pik-ta-s* bad, *pŷk-ti* to be angry, *peik-ti* despise, scold.

Pott II¹ 600, W. III 182, Benf. II 79, Diefenbach I 379 — Con-164 nection with No. 99 is probable. On *v* and *ι* cp. what is said at No. 82. If the fundamental meaning is 'prick' as Corssen also supposes (I² 538), we shall hardly be inclined to connect the Lat. *peccare*, which is more probably related to *pējor*, and which certainly has not the notion of malice in it. — The etymology of the Skt. word is uncertain (Schweizer Ztschr. XV 315).

101) Rt. *πικ* *ποικ-ίλο-ς* party-coloured, *ποικίλλ-ω* make gay.

Skt. *piṣ* *piṣ-ā-mi* adorn, fashion, form, *piṣ* ornament, *pēṣ-as* form, image, *pēṣala-s* artistically shaped, beautiful.

Lat. *ping-o*, *pic-tor*, *pic-tura*.

Goth. *filu-faih-s* πολυ-ποιικλος, O.-H.-G. *fēh* variegatus.

Ch.-Sl. *pīstrū* variegatus, *pīs-ati* write, Lith. *piss-nu-s* magnificent (?).

Grimm Gesch. 396, Schleicher Ksl. 120, Pott W. II 2, 563. — Acc. to the Ptsb. Wtb. the real meaning of the Skt. rt. seems to be 'work with a sharp tool', hence it is also used of the carving and cutting up of meat. And since the Romans as well use *pingere* with and without *acu* in the sense of embroider, connection with Nos. 100 and 99 is probable. I give then *prick* as the fundamental meaning, whence all the other meanings may be easily derived. [Cp. A.-S. *fāh* foe, and *fāh* varius, and Grimm Dict. s. v. *fehde*.] The Skt. *pēcas* is used of gay stuff, *pēcas-kārī* of a webster or embroideress. In Zend too there occurs *piça*, *paesanih* in the sense of form, ornament. This word then tells us the fact in the history of Art that *scratching* was prior to *colouring* with the Indogermans; the application of the word to writing in the old Persian *nī-pis* (Schweizer Ztschr. XV 315) and in the Slavonic has its analogy in γράφ-ω (No. 138). In Gk. too an inscribed law tablet was acc. to Pittakos (Diog. La. I 77) ποιικλον ξύλον (καὶ ὑπὸ Κροίσου (ἐρωτηθεὶς), τίς ἀρχὴ μεγίστη, ἡ τοῦ ποιικλον, ἔφη, ξύλον, σημαίνων τὸν νόμον). There is a good deal of doubt about the unattested Skt. *piñg*, which along with other meanings has also that of *pingere*. *pingo*: *pic* = *mungo* (No. 92): *muk*. — Kuhn however (Ztschr. IV 9) is wrong in connecting the Lat. *pingere*, which must be placed elsewhere on account of its *f* (No. 145). Lobeck Proleg. 113 annot. 1.

102) St. *πλακ*, *πλάξ* flat surface, *πλάκ-ινο-ς* made of planks, *πλακοῦς* flat, (flat) cake.

Lat. *planc-a* plate, slab, *planc-u-s* flat-footed, *plā-nu-s* flat, level.

O.-H.-G. *flah*.

Lith. *plasz-ta-kā* flat hand, *plókszcza-s* (for *ploksetja-s*) flat.

Pott W. III 186, Grimm Gesch. 397, Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 75. — The rt. seems to be the same as that of *πλήσσω*, cp. Ind. lect. Kil. aest. a. 1857 p. VI and No. 367b. — *plā-nu-s* for *plac-nu-s*. Pott compares also *lanx* (St. *lanc*), which I with Leo Meyer, Vergl. Gr. I 97 connect with λέκ-ος, λεκί-ς, λεκάνη (in the κοινή, λακάνη) key.

103) Rt. *πλεκ* *πλέκ-ω* plait, *πλέγ-μα*, *πλοκ-ή* a plait, *πλόκ-αμο-ς* lock (of hair).

Skt. rt. *park*, *pr-na-k-mi* mix, mingle, connect, *prk-ti-s* contact, *â-prk* mixedly, *praç-na-s* plait, basket.

Lat. *plec-t-o*, *am-plec-t-or*, *plic-o*, *du-plex*. Umbr. *tri-165* *bricu* triplicity.

Goth. *flah-t-ôm*, dat. pl. *πλέγμασι*, *fal-th-a* πτύσσω, O.-H.-G. *flih-tu*, *flahs* flax.

Ch.-Sl. *ple-t-a* plait.

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 97, Fick² 376, Pott W. III 190. — The use for describing exclusively plaiting and folding is confined to the European languages, while the Skt. words have a more general meaning. — Schleicher Ksl. 120. — Perhaps *πόρκο-s* net belongs here too, with older *q* for *l* with which Walter Ztschr. XII 378 connects *Parca* as spinner of the thread of fate. Ebel Ztschr. VI 217 compares *πόρ-κη-s* a ring, with the O.-H.-G. *felga*. In the Ch.-Sl. *plet-a* and the Goth. *faltha* alike the guttural is forced out. — I fail to see any connection with *πλάσσεισθαι* stride, *πλίσας* interfeminium, *πλίξ* βῆμα. — On *tri-bricu* Aufr. and Kirchh. Umbr. Sprachdenkm. I 72, 89. — Walter Ztschr. XII 420 connects also *pläg-a* net, snare, carpet, Corssen I² 35 *com-pe-sco* for *com-per-sco*.

104) *πόρκο-s* pig. — Lat. *porcu-s*, Umbr. *purka*, *porca*.

— O.-H.-G. *farah*. [A.-S. *fearh*, Eng. *farrow*.] —

Lith. *pàrsza-s* pig, sucklingpig, Ch.-Sl. *prase*. —

O.-Ir. *orc* pig (O' Dav. Gl. p. 109).

Kuhn in Web. Ind. Stud. I 342, Grimm Gesch. 37, Schleicher Ksl. 121. — *πόρκο-s* is attested to be a Gk. word by Varro l. l. V § 97 Müll. — Pictet II 82 compares the O.-H.-G. *furh* furrow with the Lat. *porca* in the sense of field-bed, ridge between two furrows, going to the notion of rooting up for the connection between the two, a notion which however has no connection with the Skt. *park* (No. 103). — On the disappearance of the initial *p* in the Irish cp. Ebel Beitr. I 307 ff.

105) *σκαίο-s* left, *σκαίο-τη-s*, *σκαιο-σύνη* left-handedness.

— Skt. *savja-s* left. — Lat. *scaevu-s*, *scaevi-ta-s*,

Scaevola, *scaeva* (Fest. p. 325). — Ch.-Sl. *šuj* left.

Bopp Gl., Benf, I 619, Schleicher Ksl. 138, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 22. Grimm Gesch. 993, where the low German *scheef*, the high German *scheib*, *scheb* (obliquus) and the Slov. *sevi po-sevi* slanting are compared. The original initial letter is *sk*, the primitive form *skavja-s*, relationship to *σκαῦρο-s* (with projecting ankles) and the Lat. *scauru-s* is probable. About the last-mentioned word Corssen I² 350 has a different view.

- 106) St. *καλπ*, *σκάλοψ*, *σπάλαξ*, *ἀσπάλαξ* mole.

Lat. *scalp-o* scratch, engrave, *scalp-ru-m*, *talp-a* mole.

O.-H.-G. *sceliva* scraphia, siliqua.

Lith. *sklemp-iu* cut into?

Pott I¹ 140. — On the prothetic *α* see Lob. Elem. I 15, who is right in comparing *σκάλλω*. *σκαλπ*: *σκαλ* = *φελπ* (*ἐλπιομαι*): *φελ*, *βολ*. — *talp-a* must be for *stalp-a*. Cp. p. 689 and No. 521. Pictet I 453 holds the word to be Keltic. — Fick² 205 puts *κολάπτω* (*κόλαφος*, with aspirated *π*) with *scalpo*. Cp. Corssen I² 547.

- 166 107) *σκάνδ-αλο-ν*, *σκανδάλη-θρο-ν* rack.

Skt. rt. *skand skand-ā-mi* scando, *pra-skand* prosilire.

Lat. *scand-o*, *de-scend-o*.

O.-Ir. *ro-sescaind* prosiluit (Z.² 449).

Pott I¹ 249, Bopp Gl. — Since the Skt. *skand* also means *cadere*, *elabi*, *effluere* and the root seems to have as its primitive meaning that of swift, darting movement, the Lith. *skėnd-u* sink down may possibly belong here. But with *σκάζω* (No. 573) there is no connection. — Ascoli Fonol. 31.

- 108) Rt. *καπ σκήπ-τ-ω* support, Dor. *σκά-πος*, *σκήπ-τρο-ν*, *σκήπ-ων* staff, *σκηπ-τό-ς* flash of lightening.

Lat. *scāp-u-s* shaft, *scīp-io* staff, *scōp-ae* twigs, *scōp-u-s* stalk, *scop-io* stalk, *scam-nu-m* bench.

O.-N. *skap-t*, O.-H.-G. *scaf-t* hostile.

Ch.-Sl. *kop-tje* hasta.

Pott I¹ 260, Benf. I 655, who compare the Skt. *skabh*, *skambh* fulcra in infringement of the phonetic laws. I cannot agree with Benfey and Kuhn's extensive combinations (Ztschr. I 139, IV 32), acc. to which *σκ* stands for *στ*. — A weaker form of the rt. is *καπ*, *καμπ*, whence *σκήμπ-τ-ω*, *σκήμπ-ων*, to which *scīp-io* comes near. — Corssen I² 401, 128.

- 109) Rt. *καπ*, *σκάπ-τ-ω* dig, *σκαπ-άνη* spade, *σκάπ-ε-το-ς*, *κάπετο-ς* ditch.

Ch.-Sl. *kop-a-ti* fodere, Lith. *kāp-a-s* grave-mound,

O.-Ir. *enkop-t-s* buried.

Pott I¹ 141, Schleicher Ksl. 95, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 13, Benf. I 192. — On the initial letter Lob. El. I 125. The *φ* in *ἐσκαφα*, *ἐσκάφη*, *σκάφη*, *σκαφώρη* or *καφώρη* (fox) is an after-formation, the meanings dig and hollow out are united in *σκάφος*, which means in Hes. "Egy. 570 'digging', but usually like *σκάφη* a hollow. — Benf. Ztschr. VII 52 connects with this root not only *σκέπ-αρ-νο-ν* carpenter's

axe (No. 68b), but also the Lat. *scabo* (*scab-er*, *scab-ies*) with weakening of *p* to *b*. Since Corssen I² 128 actually mentions the form *scapres*, and the meaning 'torn, rough, scratched', might well arise from the original idea of the root, this combination may be correct. — On an other side is suggested the comparison of the Teutonic words *Schaff* (O.-S. *skap*), Goth. *skip* πλοῖον (cp. σκάφ-ος) with the common idea of something hollowed out (cp. κοῖλαι νῆες). Cp. No. 56. They specially remind us of σκαφ-λό-ν, σκάφ-η fan. Jurmann Ztschr. XI 389 connects with them even the Goth. *ga-skap-jan* (Germ. *schaffen*, make), O.-H.-G. *sceffan* (scoop out) and M.-H.-G. *schuofe*, Germ. *schaufel* shovel. *Schaffen* accordingly would mean to prepare by hollowing out. Cp. Pictet II 85. — Grassmann XII 107 explains the Goth. *p* for Gk. *π* or *φ*, acc. to his view mentioned at p. 84 from an original *ph*.

- 110) St. σκαρτ σκώρ Gen. σκατ-ός, σκωρ-ία dross. — Skt. *çakrt* (for *sakart*) stercus. — Lat. *sterc-us*, *sterquiliniu-m*. — A.-S. *skearn* dung. — Ch.-Sl. *skvrŭ-na* ¹⁶⁷ inquinamentum, *skar-ęd-ovati se* βδελύττεσθαι.

Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ztschr. II 145 ff. — The stem-form is σκαρτ, whence came σκατ like ἤπατ from ἤπαρτ, in the nom. and acc. lengthening occurred on account of its being a monosyllable. In the Skt. *ç* stands for older *s* and *a* is an auxiliary vowel, "since *sk* is not a favourite combination" (Kuhn). — The change into *sterc* is after the pattern of the Gk. στεργ-άνο-ς κοπρών Hesych., where *κ* is softened to *γ*. The meaning of σκωρ-ία is to be seen also in the Lat. *stercus ferri*. The rt. *skar* depart, separate (No. 76) appears in the Skt. *ava-skara-s* dung. — This assumption of relationship has been recently attacked from two quarters, by Walter Ztschr. XII 384, who refers the Skt. *çakrt* to the rt. *kak* (No. 28) while he however entirely overlooks the A.-S. and Ch.-Sl. which clearly point to an initial *sk*, and by Corssen Beitr. 87, Ausspr. I² 178, who is for separating the words beginning with *st* from the rest, regards only the Lat. *muscer-da*, *su-cer-du* as connected with the rt. *skar*. But we shall see directly in No. 111 an unmistakable example of an interchange of organ similar to that which we here suppose to have taken place between the stems *skart* and *stark*, and the comparison of *sterc-us* with the O.-H.-G. *drec* of doubtful origin which Corssen prefers involves an infringement of the laws of the change of sound, i. e. is equally irregular. Cp. pp. 28 and 686.

- 111) Rt. σκεπ σκέπ-το-μαι spy, σκοπ-ή, σκοπ-ία look-out, σκόπ-ελο-ς rock?, σκοπ-ός a spy, aim, σκώψ owl. Skt. *spaç*, *paç-jâ-mi* look, *spaç*, *spaça-s* spy. — Zd. *çpaç* look at, guard, *çpaç* spy.

Lat. *spec spec-i-o* (*spic-i-o*), *con-spic-i-o*, *spec-ula*, *speculu-m*, *spec-to*.

O.-H.-G. *spēh-ō-m*, *spāh-i* prudens, callidus.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *paç*, Pott W. II 2, 543, Benf. I 236, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 11. — The metathesis of the organ is unmistakable, the fundamental meaning is 'spy'. On Homer's *σκόπελος* (*προβλήτι σκοπέλω*) which did not yet mean cliff, see Doederlein Gl. 2358. — *σκάψ* so-called from its sharp sight, *σκάπ-τ-ω* perhaps from a mocking glance (Fick² 202 otherwise). Athen. XIV, 629 f. is important for the connection of *σκάψ* with the rt *σκεπ* — *σκάψ*, *σκάπτεινμα*. ἦν δὲ ὁ *σκάψ* τῶν ἀποσκοπούντων τὸ σχῆμα, ἄκραν τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μετώπου κεκυρτωκότων. — Corssen I² 379 brings here the Lat. *pic-us*, *pic-a* along with other names of birds. — A. Weber (Ztschr. VI 319) supposes that *specu-s* cave, the relation of which to *σπέος* is not explained even by Göbel Ztschr. XII 239 nor by Sonne either (XIII 431) belongs here. See also pp. 98, 103, 106.

112) *σκι-ά* shade, *σκια-ρό-ς* shady, *σκιά-ω* overshadow, *σκιά-ς* (for *σκιad*) awning.

Skt. *kḥājā* for *skājā* shade, glimmering.

O.-S. *ski-mo*, M.-H.-G. *schime*, *sche-me* shade, O.-S. *scio*, O.-N. *ský* the overshadowing clouds (cp. O.-H.-G. *scū-wo* shade).

Ch.-Sl. *stěni* shade, Lith. *sze-szė-li-s* shade, shadow.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 243, Benf. I 610, Miklosich L. — Hesych. has 168 the forms *σκιὰ σκοτεινὰ*, *σκιόν σύσκιον*, *σκιόδιον σκιάδιον* whence we may infer a lost form *σκα* which came from *skājā σκα*. I once thought the rt. to be *ski*, but Walter Ztschr. XII 385 points out that we could arrive from *ska* as well at *σκι-ά* (cp. Rt. π by the side of πo No. 371, *κρίνω* No. 76) and even at *σκιλο-ν* umbrella, *σκι-ρο-ς* country covered with vegetation (Boeckh note to C. I. Gr. III p. 706). Consequently I now refer with him and Leo Meyer Vergl. Gr. I 340 both these words and *σκηνή* tent (cp. Lith. *szė-tra* tent), *σκό-ρος* darkness (cp. *κύ-ρος*) and with determinative *d* the Skt. *kḥad* cover, *kḥat-tra-m* umbrella, O.-Ir. *scáth* (Z.² 16), Goth. *skad-u-s* *σκιά*, with formative *p* *σκέ-π-ας* protection with its related words (p. 657) all to the rt. *ska*. Corssen (and also Benfey Or. u. Occ. II 569) is no doubt right in connecting the Lat. *ca-sa* (for *scad-ta*), *cas-sis* helmet and *cas-tru-m* (Umbr. *castru-o* Osc. *castro-us* Aufr. and Kirchh. II 159) with the secondary rt. *skad* in the sense of 'means of defence' (Beitr. 449). — With the presumable *skājā* we may perhaps connect *cae-cu-s* — Goth. *haih-s* (cp. p. 42), as it were, *σκο-ι-νό-ς* shady, dark, while *co-cle(t)-s* may be regarded as derived from the diminutive

scu-cu-lu-s (cp. *Redi-culu-s* and Spiegel Beitr. II 264, otherwise Pott II² 446). Cp. Corssen Nachtr. 263.

- 113) Rt. *σκυ-ή* clothing, *σκεῦ-ος* furniture, *σκενά-ξ-ω* prepare, equip — *σκῦ-τ-ο-ς*, *κῦ-τ-ο-ς* skin, *ἐπι-σκῦ-νο-ν* the skin of the brow.

Skt. *sku sku-nô-mi* tego.

Lat. *ob-scû-ru-s*, *scû-tu-m*, *cû-ti-s*.

A.-S. *scû-a*, *scû-va* umbra, caligo, O.-H.-G. *skin-ra* receptaculum, A.-S. *hûd* hide.

Lith. *sku-rà* skin, leather, Ch.-Sl. *šti-tŭ àspis*.

Pott W. I 1354, Benf. I 611, Pictet II 224. — The rt. *sku* is attested by Westerg. by quotations. — Cp. Roth Krit. Erläuter. VI 22. — The connection with *σκῦ-τ-ο-ς*, *κῦ-τ-ο-ς* (*ἐγκυτ*), *cû-ti-s* is unmistakable (cp. No. 573); on the *τ* see Ztschr. IV 215. *κῦ-τ-ος* a hollow belongs to 79. — *σκῦλο-ν* skin presents difficulties: it is distinct from *σκῦλο-ν* hide and can no more be separated from *spoliu-m* than from *σολά-ω* (cp. *σκολεύω*) while *σκολό-ω* cover again resembles our rt. in sound. Cp. Kuhn IV 85, Corssen I² 525, who regards the liquids in these words as radical, and accordingly gives *skur*, *σουλ* as the rt. — O.-Ir. *sciath* from **scaitā*) Z.² 18, 97 deviates in its vowel. Cp. No. 112.

- 114) Rt. *κυλ σκύλλω* pull off, flay, *σῦλ-μα* a pulling off, *κο-σουλ-μάτια* leather-parings.

Lat. *qui-squil-iae*.

Pott W. II 1, 699, Benf. I 200. Cp. No. 113 and Rt. *καλ* (under No. 106), *κυλ* too appears as the rt. with related meanings: *σολύ-ν-θος* 'lopped', 'poor', again without *σ* *κόλο-ς* mutilated (cp. *in-colu-mi-s*), *κολού-ω*, and with formative *π* *σκολύπ-τ-ω* lop *σκόλου* stake (?). Corssen Beitr. 450, I² 524, Walter Ztschr. XII 380. — *κοσουλμάτια* acc. to Hesych. *τὰ τῶν βυρσῶν περικουμάτια*, *quisquiliae* acc. to Fest. p. 257 "*dici putantur quidquid ex arboribus minutis surculorum foliorumve cadit*".

- 115) *φάλη-ης* rib of a ship, *ἐμ-φαλκό-ω* bind up, clasp 169 round, *φολκό-ς* bow-legged.

Lat. *falx* (st. *fale*), *flec-t-o*, *falc-o* (?).

Buttm. Lexil. I 245 where the traditional meaning of *φολκό-ς* (only occ. B 217) springing from an absurd etymology is satisfactorily refuted. — *φάλη-ης* acc. to Pollux I 85 *τὸ τῇ στείρᾳ προσηλούμενον* i. e. the curved timbers nailed to the keel-beams, which form the rounded hold of the ship. — *ἐμφαλκούμενοις*, acc. to Suid. (ed. Bernh. II 222) *περικεπλεγμένοις*, bound round with twined cords, so that *φολκό-ς* must mean bow-legged. — The Lat. *falcones* rests on the

same footing as it is explained by Paul. 88 — “*dicuntur quorum digiti pollices in pedibus intra sunt curvati, a similitudine falcis*” — also *falx*. — We are reminded also of the O.-H.-G. *balco* beam, but the *c* is not according to rule. [See Grimm Dict. II 1089.] — Cp. Döderlein Gloss. 2476. Pictet I 467 connects also the O.-H.-G. *falch-o* falcon, ‘à cause de la forme des ailes étendues’, comparing *δρεπάρης* martin, supposed to be called from *δρέπανον*.

I'

Greek *γ* corresponds to Indogermanic *g*. In Sanskrit it is represented by *g* and *g*, in Zend by *g*, *gh*, *j*, *z*, *zh*, in Latin by *g*, in Gothic by *k*, in Church-Slavonic by *g*, *z*, *ž*, in Lithuanian by *g*, *ž*, in Old Irish by *g* (later between vowels by *gh*, and incorrectly by *dh* as the result of false pronunciation), seldom by *b*.

- 116) *ἄγ-ος* guilt, object of awe, *ἐν-αγ-ής* accursed, *ἄ-γιος* *μαρός*, *ἄγ-ής* cursed.

Skt. *ág-as* vexation, offence.

Benf. I 149, Bopp Gl. — At both these places the entirely different *ahas* is wrongly compared (Rt. *áh* No. 166). — The spiritus lenis of *ἄγος* is not merely Ionic, but is now read in Thucydides and in other authors; that *ἄγιος* with the meaning *μαρός* has the smooth breathing is expressly stated in the E. M. s. v. In *ἄγής* in Hipponax fr. 11 Bergk³ *ὧς* of *μὲν ἄγέτ' Βονπάλω κατηρῶντο* the spir. asp. is of doubtful authority. — With the rt. *άγ* = Skt. *jaḡ* (No. 118) there is no relationship. — Delbrück calls my attention to the fact that as in Thuc. I 126 we have *ἄγος τῆς θεοῦ* so in Skt. we have *dévānām ágas* i. e. *τῶν θεῶν ἄγος*.

- 117) Rt. *άγ* *ἄγ-ω*, *ἄγ-ινέ-ω*, drive, lead, *ἄγ-ός*, *ἄχ-τωρ* leader, *ἄγ-ων* contest, *ἄγ-υιά* street, *ὄγ-μο-ς* line, swath, *ἄγ-ρα* the chase.

Skt. *ag* *ag-ā-mi*, go, drive, swing, *aga-s* driver, *ag-man* train, *ag-ma-s* way, train, *ag-i-s* race. —

Zd. *az* lead, drive, *az-ra* the chase.

Lat. *ag-o*, *ag-men*, *ag-ili-s*, *ac-tor*, *ac-tu-s*, *ac-ti-o*.

O.-N. *ak-a* vehere, vehi.

O.-Ir. *ato-m-aig*, *atto-t-áig*, *ato-b-aig* adigit me, te, vos
(Z.² 430).

Bopp Gl., Grimm Gesch. 408, Pictet II 6, Pott W. III 364. — The Skt. rt. *áj* has been since supported by a large number of words in the PW., so that all other attempts at explaining it have been relinquished (Benf. I 65). The agreement in the development of the meaning is in fact surprising. Cp. especially *ág-i-s* and *áj-ών*, Skt. *ág-i-m* *ág-ámi* I run a race, like the Gk. *ἐορτήν, θυσίαν ἄγω*, Lat. *díem festum, pacem ago*, and again the Lat. *agon-ia* beast for sacrifice, *agon-iu-m* festival, the Marsian *agine Jovias* festival of Jovia acc. to Corssen Ztschr. IX 147. Again *ἄγρα*, with *ἀγρεύω, ἀγρέω, ζω-γρέ-ω* = Zd. *azra*. In meaning of the Homeric *ἄγρει* = *ἄγε* appears the relationship to the stem-verb, while this verb itself when used as in Soph. Ant. 344 *φύλον ὀρνίθων ἀμφιβαλὼν ἄγει*, and in the phrase *ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν*, and in the poetical use of *agere* comes very near the meaning 'hunt'. It is often but without sufficient reason asserted that *ἀγρέω* is connected with *αἰρέω*. It is only the somewhat general meaning in *αὐτ-άγρε-το-ς, παλιν-άγρε-το-ς* (cp. *ἀγρε-μών* *θηρευτής* Hes.), *πρε-άγρα, πυρ-άγρα* that gives countenance to this view. — Lottner Ztschr. V 240 is quite wrong in maintaining *ἡγεῖσθαι* to be of entirely different origin and to be connected with the Lat. *síg-io*. A consideration of such words as *στρατ-ηγό-ς, ἀρχ-ηγό-ς*, and of the use of *ἡγεῖσθαι, ἡγεμών*, especially in Homer will prevent us from separating this word from the rt. *áj*. On the spir. asp. see p. 677. The post-Homeric meaning of *ἡγεῖσθαι* "consider, think" is shared by the Lat. *ducere* and by *ἄγω* itself. It arrives at it through the notion of 'poising', 'weighing', whence the Lat. *agina* 'scapus trutinae', *ex-ig-ere, ex-ú(g)-men*, also *ex-ig-uu-s*, which thus means properly 'exact', and this use is quite common: *ἡγε τριακοσίους δαφεικούς* and metaphorically in Soph. El. 119 *μούνῃ γὰρ ἄγειν οὐκέτι σωκῶ λύπης ἀντιρροπον ἄχθος*. We may add *ἄξιο-ς*, so that *μνᾶς ἄξιος* properly = *μνᾶν ἄγων* having the weight of a mina. There was no need at all for the Skt. *sa* which Pott (II² 335) conjured up, as he might have seen from *ἀντ-άξιο-ς*. — The *c* in the Osc. inf. *ac-um* which is explained to be *agere* by the side of *ang-et, ang-it* (Mommson Unterit. D. p. 250) is remarkable. — *ἄγα-ν* very, literally 'drawing', with the stem-form *ἄγ-α* preserved in *ἄγ-ήνωρ* (cp. Roediger Comp. p. 4) must certainly belong to the same root.

118) Rt. *áj-ἄξ-ο-μαι* reverence, *ἄγ-ιο-ς* holy, *ἀγ-νό-ς* pure, *ἀγίζω, ἐναγίζω* consecrate, offer up. — *ἄγ-ος* consecration, sacrifice.

Skt. *jaḡ* (*jaḡ-á-mi*) reverence, consecrate, sacrifice,

jaḡ-us, *jaḡ-a-s*, *jaḡ-ñā-m* sacrifice, *jaḡ-ja-s* venerable. — Zd. *yaz* to worship, sacrifice, *yaz-u* lofty, sublime.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 575. — *βάγιος μέγας* in Hesych. has nothing to do with this rt: nor do I with Benfey I 434 ff. consider the Skt. *jaḡ* and *bhaḡ* to be the same rt. Still less has the Lat. *sacer*, *sancio* any thing to do with *ἄγιος*. — I write *ἄγ-ος* (Hesych. *ἄγναια θυσίας*) as distinguished from *ἄγος* curse (No. 116) with Hermann ad Aesch. Choeph. 149; so too Soph. Antig. 775 *ὡς ἄγος*.

119) *ἄγρός* field. — Skt. *āgra-s* surface, floor. — Lat. *ager* (St. *agro*). — Goth. *akr-s* field (acre).

171 Grimm Gesch. 408, PW., where connection with the rt. *ag* is conjectured. The Skt. word stands in the Vedas generally for the plain as opposed to the mountains. So that perhaps Kuhn Ztschr. III 334 and Pictet II 79 are right in thinking that *ἄγρός* is so named 'a pecore agendo', like the German *Trift* pasturage from *treiben* to drive. In any case the distinction of meaning maintained by Th. Mommsen Hist. of Rome I² 16 between *ἄγρός* and *āgras* is unfounded ("āgras with the Indian races is always floor"). The general meaning of 'country', 'plain', is often to be seen in *ἄγρός* too, as also in its derivative *ἄγριος* with its meaning of wild, which, occurring as early as Homer is a striking evidence of the Greek's insight into nature.

120) *αιῖς* (*aiy*) goat, *aiy-l-s* goatskin, *aiy-ών* goat-stall, *aiy-αγγο-s* chamois.

Skt. *ajā-s* he-goat, *ajā* she-goat, *ajākā*, *ajākā* dimin.

Lith. *ožý-s* he-goat, *ož-kà* she-goat.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 136, Schleicher Ksl. 98, Kuhn Ztschr. III 433, who will not hold the above words connected "until the *ai* is explained". I explain it by epenthesis, starting from a stem *āy* which we may give as a feminine by the side of the Skt. *ajā* i. e. *aga* (cp. p. 631). So Benf. Ztschr. VIII 75, Pott IX 175. The nom. *αιῖς* may be derived straight from *aiy-s* with loss of *i*; the stem *aiy* is apparently preserved in *aiyí-βροτο-s* (Roediger Comp. 55). It is not so very surprising that *αιῖς* should then be used as a masculine as well, after the consciousness of its origin had disappeared. The Ch.-Sl. *koza* does not belong here, but to the Skt. *kṛhagá* i. e. *skaga*, still less the O.-H.-G. *zigá*. — The old derivation from *áissē* (St. *áix*) is false, the probable one is that from the rt. *ay*, cp. Skt. *ag-ira-s* = *ag-ili-s* (PW.). — Meineke's and M. Schmidt's emendation of Hesych. *βαῖναν· αἶα* (Ztschr. XII 216) has therefore no foundation. — It should be noticed with regard to the use of *aiyís* that the Skt. *agína-m* always means skin (Fick³ 3).

- 121) Rt. ἀργ ἀργ-ός-ς, ἀργ-ί-ς (St. ἀργητ), ἀργ-εννό-ς, ἀργ-ινό-εις, ἄργυ-φο-ς bright, white, ἄργυ-ρο-ς silver, ἄργ-ίλο-ς white clay.

Skt. *arḡ-una-s* bright, *rag-ata-s* white, *ragata-m* silver, Rt. *rāḡ rāḡ-ā-mi* shine.

Lat. *argu-o* I make clear, *argūtu-s* clear, plain, *arg-entu-m*, Osc. *arag-eto-m* silver, *arg-illa* white clay.

O.-Ir. *arget* argentum (Z.² 804), Gen. *argit*, *argdide* made of silver (F. A. 225).

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 104, Pott W. III 582, where ἄργυφο-ς with ἀργύφε-ο-ς is rightly referred to the rt. φα = Skt. *bhā* shine. The position of the vowel in Skt. fluctuates, and it is doubled in the Osc. *arag-eto-m* and in the Zend *erezata* of similar meaning. — Nitzsch ad β 11 recognized that κύνες πόδας ἀργοί (ἀργίποδες) or ἀργοί simply in the sense of swift-footed is connected with the idea of whiteness by means of that of 'gleaming' (μαρμαρυγαί ποδῶν). So *pedibus argutarier* (Titin. v. 28 Ribbeck) is used of the feet of a man walking. — Sonne Ztschr. X 338. — Cp. No. 154.

- 122) Rt. γαῦ, γαF, γαῦ-ρο-ς proud, γα-ί-ω rejoice, γέ-γη-θ-α, 172 γη-θέ-ω, γῆ-θ-ος, γηθ-οσύνη joy, γηθόσυννο-ς glad, γά-νν-μαι rejoice, γάν-ος gayness, splendour.

Lat. *gau* (Enn. Annal. 451), *gau-d-eo*, *gavī-su-s*, *gaud-iu-m*.

O.-N. *kā-t-r* laetus.

Pott W. I 741, Benf. II 114, Grimm Gesch. 399. — The connection of these words is denied by Dietrich Jahn's Jarb. 81, 88, and Hugo Weber Etymol. Untersuch. 93. Both assume a rt. γα with a secondary rt. γαυ like φαυ from φα (No. 407), and for the other words γαν. Since however we find in the related languages no support for these supposed roots, and are able to support by analogies all the changes of sound, I hold to my own view. γαF-ι-ω becomes γα-ί-ω as καF-ι-ω becomes κα-ί-ω (No. 44), γαF-νν-μαι γά-νν-μαι as κλοF-νι-ς κλό-νι-ς (No. 61). γάνος (with γανάω shine) can have been formed by the suffix -νος like ἔθ-νος, ἱχ-νος. — It is not improbable that ἀ-γαν-ός-ς, ἀγανρό-ς proud, ἀ-γα-ίω-μαι and ἄγα-μαι with ἄγη astonishment are related, and from these again ἀγάλλω, ἀγανό-ς &c. seem not far removed, though I grant they admit of other explanations (H. Weber p. 49).

- 123) St. γαλακτ (nom. γάλα) milk, Homeric γάλαγος, γαλα-θη-νό-ς suckling milk, γαλήνη a calm (?).

Lat. St. *lact*, nom. *lac*, old Lat. *lacte*.

These words are among those which in spite of their incontestable connection offer great obstacles to analysis. As to their origin there are four suppositions of the most opposite character. — 1) Bopp Comp. Gram. I 254 regards *γα-λακτ* as a compound from the Skt. stem *gav* (= Gk. βoF No. 644), but can give no satisfactory explanation of the second half of the word. This line is taken up by Max Müller Ztschr. XII 27, Pictet II 29, who go on each in a different way, M. M. to explain it by the Skt. *raḡas*, which usually means cloud and water and is by some compared with the Gk. ἱεβος, Pictet by *λάζω* a by-form of *λαμβάνω*, though he does not give a *γ* as part of the rt. There is moreover this additional objection that the stem *gav* has always in the two classical languages a *b* and that the contraction of *gav* to *ga*, to *g*, and finally to nothing at all is an assumption which is all the bolder that the two words do not mean cow's milk exclusively. — 2) Pott II¹ 204, 311, Beitr. II 54, W. I 759 (Grimm Gesch. 326) tries to arrive at the root by means of *ἀμῆλγ-ω* (No. 150); making *mlag* become *blag* (cp. Ir. *blicht*), and this *glag* (*γλάγ-ος*) arriving thus at an agreement with the Goth. *miluk-s* (Ch.-Sl. *mlěko* borrowed thence?). But there is no complete analogy for such transition of sound, and the primitive form *γάλα* when there was nothing to prevent the pronunciation *μαλα*, would remain unexplained. — 3) Walter Ztschr. XI 436 gives *βδέλλειν* suck, milk, as the source of the word and refers it to a rt. *gal*. But this rt. with such a meaning is nowhere to be seen. — 4) Hugo Weber in his Et. Forsch. discusses thoroughly all the connected forms and gives as the rt. *γαλ* 173 meaning to be clear, to shine. (Cp. No. 133b). Since *γαλ-ήνη* (meaning also plumbago), *γελ-άω*, *γελ-εῖν* (*λάμπειν ἀνθεῖν* Hesych.), Lat. *gel-u*, perhaps even the Skt. *gala-m* water, with a train of other words, can without violence be explained from such a root, this explanation is not improbable. From the rt. *γαλ* accordingly came the the rare form *γαλ-ατ* like *άλ-ατ* from the rt. *άλ* (No. 657), from the lengthened stem *γαλκ* (cp. *glac-ie-s*) *γαλκ-ῶντες* (*μεστοὶ γάλακτος* Hes.), *γαλκκό-ν* (*γαλαθηνόν* ib.), with softening of the final *κ* to *γ γλάγ-ος*. *γαλακτ-* (for *γαλκτ* cp. *γαλκτ-ο-φάγοι*) may be referred like *lact* (for *glact*) to *glac-ti* (cp. Lat. *re-ti* nom. *re-te*). — *γαλα θηνός* is compounded with the rt. *θε* (No. 309). — Brunnhofer, in his "Γάλα, lac the Graeco-Italian name for milk". Aaran 1871 plausibly refers the word to the rt. *gar* swallow, drink (No. 643), to which, he says, *γάρο-ς* pap belongs.

124) Hom. *γαλώ-ς γάλως γαλοώνη* (Suid.) husband's sister. — Lat. *glós*. — O.-Bohem. *zelva mariti soror*.

Pott I¹ 131, Kuhn in Weber's Ind. Studien I 328. — The Gk. Lat. and Slav. forms bespeak the primitiveness of the *g*, as does the

Phrygian form γέλαρος (ἀδελφοῦ γυνή Hesych.) mentioned by Nauck (Aristoph. Byz. 136). — γάλως acc. to Pollux III 32 ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφὴ τῇ ἐκείνου γυναικί. *glos* acc. to Paul. Epit. 98 and Charisius p. 42, 10 K. only *virī soror*, but acc. to Nonius p. 557 M. also *fratris uxor*. For the Gk. word *galva-s* may be given as the primitive form, the Lat. *glōs* gen. *gloris* has a suffix in *s* like *flōs*, *rōs*. — Max Müller, Oxford Essays 1856 p. 21, explains the skt. *śjāla-s* or *śjāla-s* uxorī frater, which has been held to be connected, quite independently, and compares ἄ-έλιοι (cp. ἐλλίονες) — σύγγαμβροι or ἀδελφὰς γήμαντες — with *śjāla-s*, and accordingly treats the form with the dental *s* as the primitive one. The ἄ is then to be regarded as copulative as in ἄ-λογο-s, but ἐλλ-ίον-ες (for ἐέλ-ιον-ες) as having lost the spir. asp and taken a new derivative suffix. Although there are difficulties still remaining this view seems juster than that which would compare words agreeing neither in sound nor sense with those above. — Ascoli Ztschr. XII 319, and Pictet II 375 are for identifying the rt. of these words, probably γαλ (cp. No. 123) in the meaning of *be bright, serene* by a comparison of other flattering appellations given to relations by marriage (*belle soeur*). Cp. No. 257. Brunnhofer's objections (l. c. 26) are of no weight.

125) γαμφ-ή, γαμφ-ηλή jaw, jaws, γόμπο-s tooth, plug, γομφ-ίο-s cheek-tooth.

Skt. *gambha-s* tooth, mouth, jaws, *gambhja-s* incisor (tooth), *gabh gabh-ê* or *gambh-ê* snap at.

Ch.-Sl. *zab-ŭ* tooth, Lith. *gėmbė* hook in the wall.

Schleicher Ksl. 110. — Kuhn Ztschr. I 123 ff., where a good many other words are discussed, especially from the Teutonic languages, which may with more or less probability be brought under this head. I will only mention the comparison of the old Saxon *camþ* comb and of the Gk. γέφυρα, which has clearly dam as its first meaning. The names of the towns Γόμποι and the Lat. *Gabii* also suggest them selves. — Benf. II 116. — Cp. No. 423.

126) γαστήρ (St. γαστερ) belly, γάστρα belly of a jug or cask. — Skt. *gashara-s* belly. — Lat. *venter* (for *gventer*)? — Goth. *quithu-s* belly, stomach, womb, *laus-quithr-s* sober.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 106, II 554, Kuhn Ztschr. III 435, where the 174 Skt. *gas* swallow is taken as the rt., though the Ptsb. W. knows nothing of such a word. — Corssen Beitr. 57. — *v* through *gv* from *g* as in *ven-io* (No. 634), *vor-o* = Skt. *gar* (No. 643). St. γα-σ-τερ at all events comes from a rt. in *s*, and agrees in this with the Teutonic *wans-t*, while *venter* on the other hand shows no trace of an *s*.

Heyschius's gloss *γέντερ ἡ κοίλα* looks as if the Lat. *renter* were referred to. — The Skt. *ph* seems to stand for *st*. Leo Meyer Vgl. Gr. I 37.

- 127) *γανλό-ς* pail, pitcher, *γαῦλο-ς* merchant-ship. — Skt. *gôla-s* ball, *gólâ*, *gôla-m* water-jug in the shape of a ball.

Benf. II 292, where all sorts of other words are given. The origin is doubtful, perhaps it is related to *γογ-γύλο-ς* round and the Skt. *gulâ*, ball, pill. Since *ô* = *au*, there is nothing in the sounds against this connection, but the relation of the meanings is not yet quite clear. — Fick² 65.

- 127 a) *γέλυ-ς* head of garlic. — Skt. *grñg-ana-s* a kind of garlic.

Pictet I 299, where is given the Erse *gaig-ean* of the same meaning. The identity of *γελγ* and *grñg* i. e. *garng* can hardly be denied: the suffix varies; in Gk. it is sometimes *ι* (gen. *γέλυας*), sometimes *ιθ* (*γέλυιθος*), sometimes *ιδ* (*γέλυιδος*).

- 127 b) Rt. *γεμ γέμ-ω* am full, *γεμίζ-ω* fill, *ρόμο-ς* freight, *ρομό-ω* lade.

Lat. *gem-o* sigh, *gem-i-tu-s*, *in-gem-i-sc-o*.

Pott W. II, 2, 167. — As to the course of the meaning cp. p. 112. — Döderlein Synonyms and Etymol. V 245. Perhaps the meaning fulness has been preserved in *gumia* a glutton (Pott II¹ 279), that of teeming fulness in *gemma* (cp. p. 112, otherwise Pott II¹ 29), while *gemursa* (*sub minimo digito pedis tuberculum* Paul Epit. 95) seems to mean a tumour.

- 128) Rt. *γεν, γα, ἐ-γεν-ό-μην, γί-γν-ο-μαι* become, *γείν-ο-μαι* am born, *γέν-ος* race, *γεν-ε-τήρ* begetter, fem. *γεν-ε-τειρα*, *γέν-ε-σι-ς* origin, *γυν-ή* woman. — *γνή-σιο-ς* genuine.

Skt. *ġan*, *ġan-â-mi* and *ġa-ġan-mi* beget, *ġâ-j-ê* nascor. *ġan-as* being, *ġan-us* race, *ġan-i-tâ* (St. *ġanitar*) genitor, *ġan-i-tri* genitrix, *ġâ-ti-s* birth, stem, Ved. *gnâ* later *ġan-i* woman. — Zd. *zan* beget, *ghena* woman.

Lat. *gen gi-gn-o*, *gen-ui*, *gen-us*, *gen-i-tor*, *gen-i-tri-x*. *gen(t)-s*, *gna-sc-o-r*, *gen-er* — *gen-iu-s*, *nâ-tûra*.

Goth. *kein-an* (also *kijan*) sprout, *kun-i* race, *quin-ô*, *quên-s* (St. *quênî*) *θῆλυ-ς*, O.-H.-G. *chind* proles, *chnuat* natura.

O.-Prus. *gamma*, Ch.-Sl. *žena* wife, Lith. *gem-ù* nascor, *gim-inė* origin, *gam-inti* beget, *gim-ti-s* race, *genti-s* relation, *gentė* (St. *genter*) husband's brother's wife.

O.-Ir. *ro-gén-air* natus est (Pf. Dep. Z.² 451), *nad* 175 *genetar* non nati sunt (Amra p. 34), *gein* child (Ir. Gl. 104), *geine* genus (Ir. Gl. 812), *genemain* birth (Amra p. 34 cp. Skt. *gāniman*); *ben* γυνή.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 17, Benf. II, 116 f. 201, Schleicher Ksl. 110 f., Ebel Beitr. II 161. — The forms γεν and γα (γεγάως, γεγάασι, γέ-γα(ντ)-ς) stand side by side like the Skt. *gān* and *gā*. *By metathesis there arose αατ-γνῆτο-ς, γνῆ-σιο-ς (cp. Skt. *gāt-ja-s* noble, genuine, Fick² 57) also the Lat. *gna-sc-o-r*, but γέ-γνο-μαι and *gi-gn-o*, by reduplication and expulsion of the ε, while γέλν-ο-μαι stands for γεν-jo-μαι and corresponds to the Skt. *gā-j-é*. Boeckh Monatsber. d. Akademie Nov. 1857 notices a singular present form γίλν-μαι from the dialect of Aegosthena. γίλν-μαι: γέλν-ο-μαι = κτείν-νυ-μι: κτείν-αι. — On the forms which mean woman (i. e. bearer), see Kuhn Ztschr. I 129. — Boeot. βανά, βανῆκος acc. to Ahr. aeol. 172 for γFανα with addition of the labial sound, which has also established itself in Gothic; hence too by abbreviation γυνή. On the inflexion γυνά-ιχ-ός with the accession of the suffix *kí* cp. Ztschr. IV 216 and below p. 667. — On γάμο-ς, γαμβρό-ς below p. 536. — On *natura* see Classen zur Geschichte des Wortes Natur. Frankf. a. M. 1862. — On the Irish *ben* and its irregular declension (gen. *mná*, dat. *mnai* &c.) cp. Z.² 241 ff. Ebel Beitr. I 160, Stokes Ir. Gl. 1053, Beitr. V 446.

129) γέq-ανο-ς crane (both the bird and the machine),
γεράν-ιο-ν, Γεράν-εια.

Lat. *gr-ū-s*, *gru-e-re*.

O.-H.-G. *ch-ran-uh*, A.-S. *cr-an*.

Lith. *gér-vė*, dim. *ger-v-ėle*, Ch.-Sl. *žer-avi* crane.

Corn. *garan* crane (Lex. Cornu-Brit. 161), O.-Ir.

(*grén?*) gen. *gríuin* (L. U. s. Journ. 1871, p. 430).

Pott I¹ 227, Grimm Gesch. 399, Schleicher Ksl. 111, Förstem. Ztschr. III 48. It is remarkable that in all languages the word serves to denote a machine as well. The rt. is acc. to Pictet I 492 *gar*, to be old, "because cranes live to be over fifty years old". The bird is mentioned Γ 3 for its cry, and it seems more simple to assign the word to the rt. *gar* call No. 133. — Kuhn's assumption (Beitr. I 358), that the *u* of the Lat. *grú-s* arose from the *avo* of γέq-ανο-ς is rendered especially improbable by the fact that we find *v* in the

Lithuanian word along with the suffix *-ini-s*. In this as in other cases I prefer a partial agreement of which we can be sure to a complete one which cannot be accurately proved. So Sonne Ztschr. XII 294.

- 130) γέρων (St. γερωντ) old man, γραῦς old woman, γῆρ-ας old age, γερα-ιό-ς, γηραλέο-ς old.

Skt. *gar-an* (st. *garant*) old man, *gar-ana-s* tottering, old, *gar-as*, *gar-â* old age. — Zd. *zaur-va* (for *zar-va*) old age.

O.-H.-G. *grâ*, *grâw-êr*, M.-H.-G. *gr-is* (?).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 253, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 41. — The rt. is *gar*, Skt. *gar-â-mi*, intrans. become infirm, trans. to rub away, de- 176 stroy. To this rt. belongs also *gar-gara-s* decrepit, tattered, cracked, with which goes γερ-γέρ-ι-μο-ς fallen (of over-ripe fruit). γερᾶν-δεν-ο-ν old tree suggests the Skt. *gara-na-s* (cp. *garana-druma-s* the name of a tree). Cp. *σάκκος γέρον* γ 184. Here we must add γερήνιο-ς the epithet of Nestor if we are to accept Duntzer's view XII 9 that it means nothing more or less than γέρων. For γερα-ιός we must assume a primitive form nearer to the Skt. *garas* or *garâ*. γῆρας shares with the Skt. *garâju-s* the peculiar application to the cast off skin of the serpent. From its wrinkles no doubt the skim on milk is called γραῦς. γραῦς (in Homer also as a dissyllable γερῆ-ῦ-ς) is thoroughly discussed by Legerlotz Ztschr. X 375. It is for γερ-α-*F-i-s*, fem. for γερ-α-*F-o-s* (cp. *ταλ-αό-ς*, *ταν-αό-ς*) hence in Callim. γραῦ-ι-ς, the vowel-lengthening after the ρ as in *τμη-σι-ς* by *ταμείχεως*, *Fi* contracted to *v* like *F-o* to *v* in *-via* = *For-ia*. Also γραῖα. In the PW. the Skt. *givri-s* decrepit is derived by metathesis from a supposed form *gar-vi-s*, which would be identical with our form γερ-*Fi-s*. — The Γραι-κοί too must belong here. — We see perhaps a trace of the physical primitive meaning (cp. above p. 113) in γραῖα *κάρδοπος* (Hesych.), inasmuch as it is a grinding machine, a mortar: the Lat. *grâ-nu-m* = Goth. *kaúr-n*, Lith. *gir-na*, Ch.-Sl. *zrŭ-no* and the Gk. γῦρι-ς fine meal (cp. Skt. *gur* = *gar*) has been long ago placed in this list (cp. above p. 97). Otherwise Hehn p. 403. — The Teutonic words are doubtful, as the sound-change is not according to rule. Otherwise Fick³ 70, Corssen I² 360. who suggests the Lat. *rav-u-s* bluish-gray. — On γέρας see at No. 638.

- 131) St. γευ (for γευε) γεύ-ω I give to taste, γεύ-ο-μαι taste, γεῦ-σι-ς taste, γεῦ-μα taste, food.

Skt. *gush* (*gush-ê*) to relish, be pleased, *gush-ti-s* favour, gratification, *gôsha-s* contentment, satisfaction.

Lat. *de-gu(s)-n-e-re* (*degustare* Paul. Epit.), *gus-tu-s*, *gust-are*.

Goth. *kius-a* δοκιμάζω [Eng. *choose*], *kus-tu-s* δοκιμή, *kaus-jan* γένεσθαι, O.-N. *kost-r* choice, condition, state.

O.-Ir. *to-gu* eligo (Z.² 429, for **to-gusu*), *do-ro-i-gu* elegit (Z.² 449, for **do-ro-gegu-s*), *tuicse* electus (Z.² 801, for **to-gus-te*).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 376, Grimm Gesch. 399. — The somewhat surprising variety of meaning can be no obstacle to the comparison of the Gk. and Indian words, as we see the ideas choose, prove, and taste exchanged in the Teutonic languages. In Homer too the metaphorical use predominates: γένεσθαι ἀλλήλων. The physical meaning only occurs q 413 (I. Bekker Monatsber. 1864 p. 12).

132) γῆ, γα-τ-α land earth, γύ-α sown-field, γῆ-ί-τη-ς countryman, γεί-ων neighbour, γῆ-ι-νο-ς earthly, earthen.

Skt. *gāu-s* (St. *gā*) earth.

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 144. — γύ-α contracted possibly from γφα-α like γυνή from γφανα (No. 128); on αἶα see p. 474. — γῆ from γεα. — γεί-ων (cp. E. M. p. 229, 226) comes very near to γῆ-ι-τη-ς, with attenuation of ῆι to ει (cp. μεσό-γεια, λειτουργός and λήϊτον); for the meaning cp. *vicinus* from *vicus*, *popularis* in the sense of 'one's countryman', *tribulis*, *οἰκίτης* &c., in all of which cases the addition of 'from the same' is naturally made (Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 91). *ων* is an individualizing suffix (Ztschr. IV 215). — Bopp compares also the Goth. *gavi* (for *gavja*) 'land', 'country'; J. Grimm *Ueb. Diphthonge* p. 43 rejects the comparison because the sound change is not according to rule, while Leo Meyer again Ztschr. VII 16 tries to establish it. — The meaning 'earth' in the case of the Skt. word is, acc. to the PW., a metaphorical one, derived from the usual meaning of the word, which is 'cow' (St. *gav* = βοϝ), the earth being regarded as "the milch-cow of the kings". The meaning 'earth' is however well attested and of early occurrence. — The rt. seems to be either *ga go* (No. 634) (cp. πέδον No. 291, οὐδας No. 281), or No. 128, as the Skt. *bhū* belongs to No. 417.

133) γῆ-ων-ς speech, γῆ-ού-ω speak, sound, Γῆ-ου-ών.

Skt. rt. *gar gi-nā-mi* call, extol, *gir* repute, speech, *gir-ā* speak. — Zd. *gar* sing, extol.

Lät. *garrio* chatter, *garrulu-s* talkative.

O.-H.-G. *kirru* creak, *quiru* gemo, *gurrio*.

Lith. *garsa-s* voice, *garsù-s* loud, *gyr-à* fame.

O.-Ir. *gair* repute, voice (Ir. Gl. 115), *forcon-gur* praecipio (Z.² 428, for *-garu*), *fris-gair* contradict, *to-garthith* gen. *to-garthado* vocativus (Z.² 235).

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 129, who hazards several bold speculations. — *garrío* like the Lith. *gars-as* must be from a rt. with added *s*, and so for *garsio*. — On *kirru* see Müllenhof *Gloss. zum Quickborn* s. v. *knirr*. — γέρας No. 129 must also belong here. — It is probable though that we ought also to connect some words with *l*, e. g. *gal-lu-s* (cp. O.-H.-G. *hano* and Lat. *can-o*), O.-N. *kalla* Eng. *call* (Lottner Ztschr. XI 165), though we must not compare the O.-H.-G. *nahti-gal-a* (cp. M.-H.-G. *gellen* personare, *gal-m* strepitus) because the substitution of sound is not regular; also the Ch.-Sl. *glasù* = Lith. *garsa-s* voice, *gl-a-gol-a-ti* speak (Miklosich Radices s. v.). Cp. Pott II² 598, W. II 1, 228. — On Γηρυών 'Bellow' see Pott Ztschr. VII 94, IX 187.

133 b) γλαυ-κό-ς bright, glistening, γλαυκ-ᾠπι-ς bright-eyed, γλαυξ owl, γλαύσσ-ω shine, γλαυνό-ν (Hes. λαμπρόν). — Goth. *glaggu-s*, A.-S. *gleáv* splendidus, sagax.

Benf. II 124, Leo Meyer Ztschr. VII 15, Lottner XI 197, Hugo Weber Et. Unters. 91, Pott W. I 770. — With γλαυξ cp. σκῶψ No. 111. — On the meaning of the Gk. words Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I 1280 διαγλαύσσουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτίζουσι ἢ διαλάμπουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ γλαυκῶπις, καὶ γλήνη ἡ κόρη τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, παρὰ τὸ γλαύσειν, ὃ ἐστὶ λαμπρεῖν. καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης ἐχρήσατο γλαυκ-ᾠπὶς τε στέφεται μῆνη. — γλαύσσω for γλαυκ-ῶ, so also γλαυσό-ν for γλαυκ-ῶ-ν. — γλῆ-νος 'something to look at', 'trinket', and γλή-νη pupil of the eye must be from the rt. γαλ mentioned at No. 123. Cp. Bugge Stud. IV 326.

134) Rt. γλαφ γλάφ-ω hollow out, γλάφ-υ a hollow, γλαφ-υρό-ς hollow, smooth. — Lat. *glaber* (St. *glab-ro*) bald, smooth, *Glabbrio*, *glabresco*, *glabrare*.

Pott I¹ 140, Benf. I 209. — γλάφ-ω: scalp-o = γλύφ-ω: sculp-o. Cp. No. 138.

178 134 b) Rt. γλυφ γλύφω hollow out, engrave, γλύφ-ανο-ς carving-tool, γλύπ-τη-ς carver. — Lat. *glúb-o* peel, *glú-ma* hulm, pod.

Pott I¹ 140, who compares also the Lith. *lūba-s* rihd (Nesselm.).

and the Lat. *liber* (St. *libro*) bark. — Walter Ztschr. XII 381 compares *γλύφ-ω* with the Lat. *sculp-o* in which case the φ would have arisen from π, so also Leo Meyer Vgl. Gr. I 41, Corssen Nachtr. 178; Walter compares *glüb-o* with the Gk. *κλύφη*, *κλύφος* shell.

135) Rt. *γνῶ-ν*, *γι-γνώ-σκ-ω* perceive, *γνῶ-σι-ς* perception, *γνώ-μη* opinion, *γνῶ-σ-τό-ς*, *γνῶ-τό-ς* known, *γνώρ-ῥ-ω* make known.

Skt. rt. *gñā gānā-mi* know, *gñā-na-m* information, knowledge, *gñā-s*, *gñā-ti-s* acquaintance, relation.

Lat. *gno-sc-o*, *nō-ti-o*, *nō-tu-s*, *gnā-ru-s*, *i-gnōr-o*, O.-Lat. *gnār-igare*, *narrare*.

O.-H.-G. *knā-u* cognosco, Goth. *kanu* *γιννώσκω*, *kunth-s* *γνώστος*, *kunthi* *γνώσις*.

Ch.-Sl. *zna-ti* *γιννώσκειν*, *zna-men-ije* *σημεῖον*, Lith. *žina-ú* know, part. *žino-ma-s* known.

O.-Ir. *ad-gén-sa* perf. cognovi, *ad-géin* cognovit, *ad-genemmar* novimus (Z.² 448).

Bopp Gl., Comp. Gr. I 230, Pott W. I 38, Benf. II 143, Schleich. Ksl. 110, Ebel Beitr. II 162. — *γνώσκω κατὰ Ἑπειρώτας* (Et. Orionis p. 42, 17) = Lat. *gnosco*. — *ἄγνο-έ-ω* and *ἄγνο-ια* suggest an adjective stem *γνοfo*, while *γνώρῥω* points to an adj. similar to the Lat. *gnāru-s*, to which perhaps *νάρω συνήμη*, *νάρειν ζήτειν* (Hesych. Lobeck Rhem. 132) belongs. Lat. *norma*, equivalent in meaning to *γνώμων*, is explained by Benf., rightly, I think, by *gnorima*, but it has the look of a borrowed word. If we want to connect *νόο-ς* and *νοέ-ω* with the rt. *γνῶ* it must be through the the above-mentioned *γνοfo*. This form is supported by the well attested Aeolic *γνοέω* and the Attic *ἀμφι-γνοέ-ω* and also by the form *Πολυνόφας* (gen. fem.) on an old Corcyraean inscription mentioned by Wachsmuth Rhein. Mus. XVIII 578. — We must however by no means with Bopp and others bring *δαῖναι* in here (cp. Zd. *dā* know and No. 255c), though *δομα* (No. 446) we may. — There is an unmistakable relationship between this rt. and the rt. *γεν* (No. 128). Sonne Ztschr. X 184 considers the notion of 'sprouting' as a connecting link between the notions of producing and perceiving. while C. Pauli "Ueber die deutschen verba praeterito-praesentia" Stettin 1863 p. 2 (similarly Classen 'Natura' p. 7) falls back on the notion of 'coming' that is contained in the rt. *ga*, *gam*. The latter explanation seems to me the most satisfactory. In any case though the separation of the physical from the metaphysical meaning must be placed before the separation of the languages, since every language keeps the two

more or less consistently distinct. This separation has been most completely insured in the Graeco-Italian languages, which make use 179 of vowel variation for the purpose, the Greeks more thoroughly than the Romans — cp. *γῶ-πίξω* and *γῶ-ῥυ-s*. — Corssen I² 83 doubts whether the Lat. *gnā-vu-s* belongs here on account of the meaning. We could only trace 'active' to the rt. *gna* by supposing that in Latin as in German *kennen* (to know) became *können* (to be able) just as "knowledge is power" (Whitney Lect. 111). The assumption of Corssen (I² 436) that *gnā-vu-s* is — perhaps in the sense of *γενναῖος*? — connected with the rt. *gen* presents still greater difficulty to my mind.

136) *γογ-γύξ-ω* (for *γογ-γυγ-γ-ω*) murmur, *γογ-γυσ-μός-s* murmuring.

Skt. rt. *guñj*, *guñj-ā-mi* murmur, *guñjīla-m* humming,

Ch.-Sl. *gag-na-nije* *γογγυσμός-s*, *gag-nivŭ* *γογγύξων*.

Benf. II 62, Schleich. Ksl. 103. — The Gk. form is reduplicated. The *γ* changed before *j* into *δ*, hence *γογ-γύξ-ω* and consequently *γογ-γυσ-μός-s*.

137) *γόνυ* knee, *γουνό-ο-μαι*, *γουνά-ξ-ομαι* kneel, *γνύ-ξ*, *πρό-χνυ* with the knees, *ἰ-γνύ-α* hollow of the knee.

Skt. *gānu* knee, *abhi-gñu* as far as the knee. — Zd. *znu* plur. *zanva*.

Lat. *genu*, dim. *geni-culu-m*, *geniculatu-s* knotty, *con-genu-cl-a-t* Non. p. 89 *Genucius*.

Goth. *kniu*.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 88, II¹ 59, Benf. II 119. — Kuhn Ztschr. I 129, Beitr. III 465, where the relationship of the three primitive forms *ganu*, *gānu*, and *gnu* is discussed. *γουν-ατ* for *γόνυ ατ* with a freshly added suffix, cp. *ὄνειρ ατα* with *ὄνερο-s*. Cp. *γνύ-πειτοι*, *γυνπετεῖν* Hes. — An aspirate is here unmistakably added before the *ν*, cp. *λύχνο-s* No. 88. — *ἰ-γνύ-α* must be for *ἔγ-γνύ-α* cp. Hesych. *ἔγ-πεο-s*, *ἔγ-κέφαλο-s*. Ought not *γωνία* corner to be regarded as a simple derivative from *γόνυ*? — Döderlein Hom. gloss. 1011 compares *γουνό-s* hill, and *Γόννοι*, *Γοννοῦσσα* = *Genua*.

138) Rt. *γραφ* *γράφ-ω* scratch, write, *γραφ-ή* writing, *γραφ-ίς* graver, style, *γραμ-μή* line, *γράμ-μα* letter.

Goth. *grab-a* *σκάπτω*, *grōba* pit. (Germ. *Grube*.)

Ch.-Sl. *po-greb-a* sepelio, *grobu* grave, Lith. *grába-s* coffin, *grábė* ditch.

Pott I' 140 Grimm Gesch. 408, Benf. I 118, Schleich. Ksl. 102.

— The difference of the meanings which strikes us at first sight (cp. note to No. 329) is analogous to that in the case of *γλάφω*, *γλύφω* (No. 134): they are reconciled with one another by *γεομφᾶς ὅς πα-λαία* Hesych., seeing the sow clearly gets the name from digging and wallowing (cp. *scrofa* and *scrobis*). *γρόφω* for *γράφω* C. I. No. 1126, 8 Keil Philol. Suppltb. II 565. — On its original initial letter and relation to *scribo* see p. 693.

139) St. *ἐγερ ἐγο-ήγορ-α* am awake, *ἐγο-ε-το* he awoke, *ἐγείρ-ω* waken, *ἐγερ-τί* adv. awake, alert.

Skt. rt. *gar gâ-gar-mi* am awake, Ao. *a-ġi-gar* I woke (trans.), *ġágar-ti-s* wakefulness, being awake, *ġágr-vi-s* awake — Zd. rt. *gar* to be awake.

Bopp Gl., whose comparison of *vigil* and the O.-H.-G. *wachan* seems to me as to Pott W. II 1, 240 to be doubtful, because in both 180 words the rt. that is at the bottom of *vigere*, *vegetus* may well be present. — Benf. II 128. — The *ġ* must be a compensation for the reduplication syllable *ga* Skt. *gâ*, so that *gar* is the simple rt. It is against connection with No. 133 that the intransitive meaning is plainly the older and prominent one in this stem. On Pott's view, that the *ġ* here arose from *ġx*, like *á* in *ἀγείρω* from *sa* with, cp. above p. 35.

140) *ἐπ-είρ-ω* press, drive, *αἶγ-ί-ς* storm-wind, *κατ-αιγίζ-ω* storm down, *αἶγ-ες* waves, *αἶγι-αλό-ς* shore, *αἶγ-ειρο-ς* poplar (?).

Skt. *ing ing-â-mi* rouse myself, *ing-a-s* movable, *ġġ-â-mi* tremble.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *inga*, Benf. I 343. Pott W. III 439. — *αἶγες πύματα Δωριεῖς* Hesych. (cp. Schmidt's note). On the common occurrence of the stem *αἶγ* in names of places E. Curtius 'Ionier' p. 18, 50. *ἱπείρω* like the Skt. *ġġâmi* is used of wind and waves, the latter also of an earthquake. *αἶγειρος* for *αἶγεῖρο-ς* trembling poplar cp. *ρό-πυλ-u-s* and *πάλλω* (?). May not the Lat. *aeg-er* belong here and be connected with the Skt. *ġġ-âmi*, *ġġ-a-thu-s* a shaking, *ġġat-ka-s* trembling? Trembling is certainly one of the commonest symptoms of illness. Cp. note to No. 409.

141) Rt. *ἔργ-α*, *ἔρδ-ω*, *ῥέξ-ω* do, *ἔργο-ν*, *ἐργάζ-ομαι* work, *Ἄργαδεῖς*, *ῥοργανο-ν* instrument, *ῥογιο-ν* sacred act.

Skt. *vraj-â-mi* go straight at a thing (?). — Zd. *varez* effect, do, *vareza* (masc.) operation, *verez* (fem.) work.

Goth. *vaurk-jan* ἐργάζεσθαι, O.-H.-G. *uērah*, *uērk*.

Grimm Gesch. 296, Benf. Gött. Anz. 1852 p. 1970, where the attempt is made to connect this rt. with No. 142, Pott W. III 1043. — On the *ῥ* see Hoffmann Quaestt. Hom. II 23 sq., Ahrens d. aeol. 32, 226, d. dor. 46 *ῥέργον*, Elic *ῥάργον*. Lacon. *γαβεργός*; it has left traces in *ῥ-οργ-α*, *ἐλγάζομεν*, *ἀεργός*, *δημοεργός* (Tempora und Modi 141). — *ῥεῖδω* arose from *ῥεργ-ῖω*, *ῥέξω* from *ῥεγ-ῖω*. Both correspond exactly to the Zend *verez-yâ-mi*. Cp. No. 573.

142) Rt. *ῥεργ-εἶργ-νυμι*, *εἶργ-ω* shut in, keep off, *εἶργ-μός* a shutting up, *εἶργ-τί* prison, *Λυκό-οργος*.

Skt. *varḡ* (*varḡ-â-mi*, *vr-ṇ-a-ḡ-mi*) turn away, *vraja-s* hurdle, hedge, *vrḡ-ana-m* inclosure, farm, *vrḡ-ina-s* malicious, false.

Lat. *urg-e-o*, *ex-urg-e-o*.

Goth. *vrík-a* διώκω, O.-H.-G. *reccheo* a persecuted man, Goth. *vruggô* snare, A.-S. *vring-an* stringere.

Lith. *verž-iù* to tie tight, press, Ch.-Sl. *vrüz-q* ligo, *vrag-ŭ* inimicus.

Pott W. III 652, Benf. Gött. Anz. 1852 p. 1970, Kuhn Ztschr. II 133, Diefenbach Vgl. Wörterb. I 236 f. Fick² 183. — Traces of the *ῥ* in the Homeric *ῥεργω* &c. The distinction made in Attic between *εἶργ-ω* shut in, and *εἴργ-ω* shut out (cp. Krüger on Thuc. I 34, Lobeck ad Ajac. v. 753) must be set down as of late origin. From the primitive meaning of *press* we arrive at the double meaning *press in*, shut in, and *press out* shut out; under the head of the latter branch comes the ethical force in Skt., Goth., and Ch.-Sl. Ludwig Ztschr. X 450 argues that *Ἐκ-ῥεργος* means keeping at a distance and belongs here, so too Ameis on *ᾠ* 323, only L. applies the word to the special bolts of Apollo. — Cp. No. 152. — There is a contrast of long standing between this rt. and No. 153, which survives in the English *right* and *wrong*.

143) St. *ἐρυγ ἥρυγ-ο-ν* I bellowed, *ἐρύγ-μηλο-s* bellowing, *ἐρυγ-γάν-ω*, *ἐρεύγ-ω* spit out, belch, *ἐρυγ-ῖ* vomiting.

Lat. *ruc-t-are* belch, *ruc-tu-s* a belching, *é-rūg-e-n* spit out, *rūmin-are* to chew over again.

O.-H.-G. *it-ruch-an* to ruminate, A.-S. *roccettan* eructare.

Ch.-Sl. *ryg-a-ti* ἐρεύεσθαι, Lith. *riáu-g-mi* belch.

Pott W. III 602, Benf. II 15, Schleich. Ksl. 130, Müllenhoff Gloss. z. Quickborn s. v. *edderkauen* Pictet Ztschr. V 350. — *érugere* Enn. Ann. 546 Vahl. “*contempsit fontes quibus sésé érúgit aquae vis*” Paul. Epit. 83; *é-rúg-it* with *ú* as lengthening of the present-stem = Gk. *εῦ*, cp. *dúco*, *dico*, Bopp Comp. Gr. I 206 — The *ε* in the Gk. words is prothetic, cp. No. 306 and p. 713.

143) Rt. *Ζυγ ἐξύγ-ην ξεύγ-νν-μι* yoke, bind together, *ξεύγ-μα*, *ξεύγ-ος* team, *ὁμό-ζυξ*, *σύ-ζυξ* yoked together, *ζυγ-ό-ς*, *ζυγ-ό-ν* yoke.

Skt. *jug jú na-g-mi* bind together, harness, *juk* (St. *jug*) conjunctus, *jug-a-m* par, *jug-ja-m* jumentum.

Lat. *ju-n-go*, *jú-mentu-m*, *con-jux*, *jug-u-m*, *júg-eru-m*, *juxta*.

Goth. *juk*, *ga-juk-ô* *ξεύγος*, *jukuzi* *ζυγός*, *ga-juko* *σύζυγος*, O.-H.-G. *joh*, *joch*.

Ch.-Sl. *ig-o* jugum, Lith. *jùnga-s* yoke, *jung-iù* yoke (verb).

Cymr. *iou*; Corn. *ieu* jugum (Z.² 126, 127), N.-Ir. *ughaim* harness (O'R. Dict.).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1245, Grimm Gesch. 408. — On the superlative form *juxta* see Corssen Ztschr. III 285, II² 549. — Pictet II 95. — Corssen I² 639.

145) Rt. *Θιγ ἐ-θιγ-ο-ν*, *θιγγάν-ω* touch, *θίγ-μα* touch (subst.).

Skt. *dih déh-mi* besmear, *déh-i* mound, rampart. —

Zd. *diz* throw up, heap up.

Lat. *fi-n-g-o*, *fig-ulu-s*, *fig-úra*, *fic-tor*, *opus fic-tile*.

Goth. *deig-a* πλάσσω, *dig-an-s* ὑστρακινός, *daig-s* φύραμα (O.-H.-G. *teig*), *ga-dig-is* πλάσμα.

Ztschr. II 398, where words which were formerly supposed, against the laws of sound-change, to be connected, are shown to be distinct. There too on the Lat. *f* = *dh* Gk. *θ*. — Grassmann Ztschr. XII 124. — The primitive form seems to be *dhigh*, the second aspirate is represented in Gk. by the media. The primitive meaning is touch, feel, knead, hence with the gen *θιγεῖν τινος*, feel anything, touch it, with the acc. *figere aliquid* in feeling it to shape it, used alike in the Skt., Lat. and Teutonic languages of soft substances.

Hence *fictores* Varro l. l. VII 44 *a fingendis libis* (Enn. Annal. 124) 182 and again acc. to Isidore '*fictor qui capillos mulierum linit et pertracat et ungit et nitidat*', most often of the potter's work. The connection of *θιγγάνω* and *fingo*, which Corssen formerly denied and now I² 150 allows, is explained by *χραίνω* in its relation to *χράω*, *χραύω*, *χρώς*, *χρώζω*. That *fingere* by no means 'to make fast', but denotes a grazing, touching action is proved to demonstration by Sophus Bugge Tidskr. f. Philol. 1866 p. 26 on *fingere manus*, *fingere humum* and *effingere spongiis sanguinem* (Cic. pro Sest. 35) i. e. wipe off and out. It is worth remarking that *θιγγάνω* is post-Homeric. Perhaps Grassmann is right in deriving *τείχος* rampart, wall, and *τοιχο-* with the aspirate in the second place instead of the first, and also (Ztschr. XIX 309) the Osc. *feihüss* acc. pl. from the rt. *dhigh*; both the meaning and the sounds fit in here very well. In that case *τοιχο-* would be completely equivalent to the Germ. *Deich* (dike), which acc. to Grimm's Wtb. has preserved its Low-German initial letter. Cp. Fick² 104. — No connection can possibly be admitted with *pingo* (No. 101) and *figo* (No. 157).

146) Rt. λαγ *λαγ-αρό-*s slack, thin, *λάγ-νο-*s luxurious, *λαγνεύω*.

Skt. *lanḡ-ā* scortum (?).

Lat. *langu-e-o*, *langu-i-du-s*, *langu-or*, *laxu-s*, *laxa-re*, *lac-tes* the small intestine, entrails.

Pott W. III 629. * *λαγ-όν-ες* the loins may also be put here, — compared by Fick² 17 with the Skt. *alga-s* groin, loins PW. vol. V Nachtr.), — perhaps also *λαγώ-*s hare, connected by Grassmann XII 92 and others with the Skt. *lanigh* salire; we might perhaps be right in joining *λήγ-ω* which finds no equivalent in any other language, cp. Hesych. *λαγάσσαι ἀφείναι*, *λαγγεύει φεύγει*. Otherwise Bugge Stud. IV 173.

147) *λαγγάζω*, *λογγάζω* linger.

Lat. *longu-s*, *longi-tudo*, *longinquu-s*.

Goth. *lagg-s*, *lagg-ei*.

Hesych. explains *λαγγάζω* by *ὀκνέω* and acc. to Pollux IX 136 it occurred in this meaning in Aeschylus (fr. 107 Nauck). Since acc. to Bekk. Anecd. 106 *λαγγάζει* means also *ἐνδίδωσι*, connection with No. 146 is probable. We find in the Gk. word, it is true, only the notion of extension in time, which acc. to Diefenb. II 121 exclusively belongs to the Goth. *lagg-s*. Still I with Corssen Beitr. 148 prefer this word to the oft-tried *δολιχός* (No. 167) as a relation of *longus*, as the two words seem inseparable phonetically whereas to connect *δολιχός* with *longus* we should have to do violence to Gk. laws of sound.

- 148) Rt. λυγ λυγ-ρό-ς mournful, horrible, λενγ-αλέο-ς, λοιγ-ό-ς ruin, λοίγ-ιο-ς ruinous.

Skt. *ruḡ* (*ruḡ-ā-mi*) vomit, cause pains, *ruḡ*, *ruḡ-ā* illness.

Lat. *lūg-eo*, *lūg-u-bri-s*, *luc-tu-s*.

Lith. *lūš-ti* break (intrans.).

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 16, Pott W. I 1289. The latter is most likely right in regarding *rug* as a lengthening of *ru*, like *jug* from *ju*, and this helps us to see the relationship of several words of kindred meaning — e. g. Skt. *lup*, Lat. *rup*, Gk. λυπ (No. 341). — The notion of bodily and mental suffering appears also in the Lithuanian use of the word (Nesselmann Wörterb. p. 376 f.). — It may be doubted whether the Lat. *lu-e-s* with the undoubtedly connected λοι-μó-ς belongs to this rt. or to the rt. *lu* (No. 546); if to the former, *lu-e-s* would stand for *lugu-e-s*, cp. *fru-or* for *frugu-o-r*.

- 149) St. λυγ λύγ-ο-ς vimen, λυγ-ό-ω, λυγίξω bend, knot, λυγισμός-ς a turning, swinging. — Lat. *lig-are*, *lic-tor*. — Lith. *lug-na-s* flexible (Nesselm.).

Pott I¹ 232 (cp. W. III 261), who compares also among other words *luxu-s* dislocation, *luc-ta* intertwining of the arms in wrestling, for which the Gk. words too are used. But *luxus* can hardly be separated from λοξός and the words assembled with it under No. 540. Perhaps we ought to suppose two related roots *lig* and *lug*, to which Pictet Ztschr. V 33 adds the Skt. rt. *lag* to attach oneself to. Cp. Corssen I² 444, where especially *lex* (Osc. abl. *lig-uā*) from the rt. *lag*, *lig* is brought here in the sense of "the binding ordinance". On *lic-tor* see I² 493. — Bugge Ztschr. XX 3 makes other combinations.

- 150) Rt. μελγ ἀμέλγ-ω milk, ἄμελε-ς milking, ἀμολγεύ-ς milk-pail, ἀμολγατο-ς to be milked.

Skt. *marḡ* (*mārḡ-mi*, *mārḡ-ā-mi*) rub away, wipe away, strip off. — Zd. *marez* wipe.

Lat. *mulg-e-o*, *mulc-tu-s*, *mulc-tra*, *mulc-tru-m*.

O.-H.-G. *mīlch-u*, O.-N. *mylk-ja*.

Ch.-Sl. *mīlž-a* mulgeo, Lith. *mēlš-u* stroke, milk.

O.-Ir. *do-o-malgg* mulsi (Z.² 61), *mēlg* milk, *bo-milacht* cow and milk, *arindi mblegar* quia mulgetur, *blicht* milk (Corm. Gl. 7, 28, 17).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 563, Benf. I, 484, Schleich. Kal. 110. — Pictet II 27 points out the remarkable fact that this rt. is found in

the sense of milking only among the European peoples. It is identical in origin with No. 151. The softening of *r* into *l* is connected with the change of meaning. The words for milk, among which only the German words certainly belong here, are noticed under No. 123. — The hopeless *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ*, on which cp. especially Pott II¹ 128, Schenkel "Werth der Sprachvergleichung" p. 12 and Fick² 837, has certainly nothing to do with *ἀμέλω*. For the latest attempt at establishing such connection see Pictet II 53.

- 151) Rt. *μερῖ ἀμέρω-ω* pluck off, *ἀμοργό-ς* squeezing out, *ἀμόργη* dregs, *ὀμόργ-νυ-μι* wipe away, *ὄμοργ-μα* spot.

Skt. *marg* (No. 150).

Lat. *merg-ae*, *merg-e(t)s*.

mergae "*furculae quibus acervi frugum fiunt*" Paul. Epit. 124 closely connected with *merge(t)-s* sheaf. Cp. also *ἄμοργ-μα σύλλημα ἄρνυμα* Hesych. and *ἀμοργ-ίς* flax, *ἀμόργυνο-ς* of fine linen and the 184 name of the island *Ἀμοργός* distinguished for its linen. The Lat. *amurca* = *ἀμόργη* is a borrowed word (Corssen II² 162). — Cp. No. 150. The preservation of the rt. with *r* by the side of the one with *l* with a different meaning is peculiar to the Graeco-Italians.

- 152) *ὀργή* impulse, passion, *ὀργά-ω* swell, be puffed up, *ὀργά-(δ)-ς* meadow, park.

Skt. *úrj*, *úrjá*, *úrjas* fulness of power, sap, energy, *úrja-jâ-mi* nourish, strengthen, *úrj-ita-s* strong, *úrjas-vat* swelling.

PW. under *úrj*. — We must consider the root-form to be *varj*, whence we can also get to *virg-a* and *virg-a(n)*, grown girls being called *ὀργάδες* from their full shape. So Corssen II² 521. Cp. No. 142. — The meaning anger for *ὀργή* is its latest.

- 153) *ὀρέγ-ω*, *ὀρέγ-νυ-μι* stretch out, *ὀριγ-νά-ο-μαι* stretch myself, extend, reach, *ὄρεγ-μα*, *ὄρεξι-ς* a stretching, *ὀργυιᾶ*, *ὀρόγυια* fathom.

Skt. *ar-g* *arj-â-mi* attain to, *r-ñ-g-ê* stretch myself, *rj-u-s* straight, right, righteous, *râgi-s* row, line, *rj-ra-s* guide. — Zd. *erezu* straight, right, true, as subst. finger.

Lat. *reg-o*, *ê-rig-o*, *por-rig-o*, *rog-us*, *rec-tu-s*, *rex*.

Goth. *rak-ja* (*uf-rak-ja* stretch out), *raih-t-s* right, straight, M.-H.-G. *reichen* (?).

O.-Ir. *reraig* perf. direxit (Stokes, Beitr. VII 11),
rí, acc. pl. *ríga*, rex (Z.² 229), *ríge* imperium
 (Goid. p. 73, 43).

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 65, PW., Pott W. III 424. — The Skt. *argāna-m* acquiring, collecting, agrees well with the Goth. *rik-a saqréwa* which has been likewise compared and which seems to go with *rogu-s* fagot-heap. Walter (Quaest. etymol. Freienwalde 1864 p. 4) is for completely separating these words, with which goes the Sicilian-Greek *ζογός* corn-store (C. I. 5574, 102), together with the Skt. *arg-ā-mi* from *ṛqéyā*, giving collect as their fundamental notion. But a single glance at the meaning given in the PW. for *arg-ā-mi* and *r-n-jé* and especially at their compounds, shows at once that they are not to be separated. The first verb is related to the second exactly as the Germ. *erlangen* (attain) is to *langen* (reach). W.'s conjecture as to the relationship of *rogare*, seems to me, like Corssen's remarks on the same point (Nachtr. 170), unsound. But I agree with the view expressed Ztschr. XII 420 that *rēg-io* as "direction, tract", belongs here. The primary meaning has preserved still greater vitality in the expression *e regione* over against (cp. the Germ. *im Bereich*, within the reach of). But *ῥεγμα* which W. connects has not this meaning. Here we may mention Unger's suggestion (Philol. XXI 8) that the often recurring proper name *Ῥεγος* properly means nothing but 'tract'. We might adduce the Zd. *raji* (*j* from *g*) kingdom in support of this. — It is true that *rēx* suggests the Skt. *rājan*, Goth. *reik-s* king, but this is hardly enough to make us separate it from *reg-ere* and put it down to the rt. *rāj* shine (No. 121) which is given for the Skt. word. The Skt. *i-rāj-ja-ti* he arranges, guides, rules, distinguished by a pröthetic *i* is completely equivalent in meaning to *regere*. *rak-sh* too, custodire, regere, is from the same rt. Perhaps therefore Corssen (I² 451) is right in referring the Skt. *rāj-an* to 185 this rt. But *Ῥηγλαος* serves the less to attest a Gk. st. *ῥηγ* ruler, inasmuch as this proper name (that occurs first in Suidas) admits of other etymologies — e. g. from *Ῥήγιον* (cp. *Ῥωπός-λαος*). — Corssen (as above) gives conjectures on *erga* and *ergo* which together with *corgo* he considers to be compounds with *e* and *con*.

154) Rt. *ρεγ* *ῥέξ-ω* dye, *ῥαγ-εύ-ς*, *ῥηγ-εύ-ς* dyer, *ῥέγ-ος*,
ῥέγ-μα βάμμα.

Skt. *rañg* (*rağ-ā-mi*, *rağ-jā-mi*) colour oneself, redden,
rağa-jā-mi dye, redden, *rak-ta-s* dyed, red, *rāga-s*
 colour, ruddiness, *rağ-aka-s* washer.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 582. — *ῥέξ-ω* is exactly equivalent to
 the Skt. *rağ-jā-mi*, i. e. *rag-jā-mi*. On the Gk. words cp. E. M. p. 703,

28 (ed. Gaisford); there occur besides *ῥαγεύς*, *ῥεγεύς* and *ῥηγεύς*. Since *ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα* are brilliant carpets, *ῥήγ-ος* must certainly be put here and not with *ῥάκος* rag, as Döderlein Gloss. 1053 again assumes, and Lobeck, Rhemat. 79, who identifies our words with *ῥέζειν facere*, mentioning *inficere*. But a comparison of languages demonstrates the difference of the roots *ῥεγ* and *ῥεγ*, *ῥεγ* (No. 141), to which view, as M. Schmidt ad Hésych. s. v. *χευσοραγής χευσοβαφής* remarks, this compound with single *ρ* adds fresh weight. Moreover *ῥέζω* never occurs in the sense of 'work at'. — Bopp is wrong in bringing *ῥεγή* to this rt.; its meaning marks it as distinct (No. 152). — No. 121 is related.

- 155) Rt. *στεγ* *στέγ-ω* cover, *στέγ-η*, *τέγη*, *στέγ-ος*, *τέγ-ος* roof, *στεγ-ανός* covered, *στεγ-νός* thick:

Skt. *sthaḡ sthaḡ-ā-mi* tego, oculo.

Lat. *teg-o*, *tec-tu-m*, *teg-i-men*, *teg-ula*, *tug-urium*.

O.-N. *thak* roof [*thatch*, Germ. *Dach*], O.-H.-G. *dek-ju* I cover.

Lith. *stēg-iu* I cover, *stōga-s* roof.

O.-Ir. *teg*, *tech*, gen. *tige*, dat. *taig*, *tig*, acc. *tech* domus (Z.² 270); *con-ro-taig* perf. extruxit, *con-id-ro-tig* aedificavit eam (Z.² 449).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 448, Benf. I 641, who compares *Τεγία* as well. — Kuhn Ztschr. III 322. On the initial see Lob. Elem. I 130. We can see with peculiar clearness in the case of this rt. the loss of the initial *s*. It is still preserved in the Lat. *stega* covering with the later form *i-stega* (Corssen I² 453). — The Ir. *teg tech* can not be allowed here unless *ch* is the representative of the modified *g* (Z.² 63, Stokes Ir. Gl. 569, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 157, Ebel Beitr. II 165). If it is not, the Irish words must be put under No. 235.

- 156) *σπάραγο-ς* noise, *σπαραγέ-ω* make a noise, hiss.

Skt. *sphurḡ sphurḡ-ā-mi* tono, *vi-sphurḡ* strepere.

Lith. *sprag-ù* crackle.

Pott W. II 1, 428, Benf. I 587. — Pott's comparison of the O.-H.-G. *sprehhan* is adopted and worked out by Leo Meyer Ztschr. VI 151. — The relation of the Gk. word to *ἀσπάραγος* wind-pipe, 186 and *φάρυγξ* gullet, wind-pipe (No. 408b) presents a difficulty. The subst. *σπάραγος* occurs as such only in the Grammarians, but it is to be seen in another form in compounds like *βαρυ-σπάραγο-ς* deep thundering, *ἑρι-σπάραγο-ς* epithet of Poseidon and Zeus. — Cp. Lobeck Proleg. 303.

- 157) *σφίγγ-ω* bind, compress, *σφιγν-τός* tied up, *σφίγ-μα*,

σφιγ-μό-ς, φῑ-μό-ς fastening, φιμό-ω fasten, strap up.

Lat. *fig-o*, *fixu-s*.

Benf. I 557, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 9 challenges the connexion on the score of the meaning, which is however almost identical. At Aesch. Prom. 58 σφίγγε could almost be rendered by *fige*. Cp. *figere tabulas*, *clarum*, in *crucem*. The meaning pierce is only a derived one. φῑ-μο-ς was already in the E. M. p. 795, 21 connected with σφιγ-μό-ς. Perhaps also *fi-lu-m* string for, *fig-lu-m* and Σφίγγ St. Σφιγγ Boeotian Φῑξ St. Φικ "binder, strangler" belongs here; though the last could not unless the media in this stem arose from a tenuis, for the *κ* in the Boeotian Φῑξ is also established by Φῑκ-ιον ὄρος. φακιδίζειν παιδεραστειν (Suid.) by the side of σφίγγεται οἱ κίναδοι καὶ ἀπαλοί (Hes.) speaks for the passing of *κ* into *γ*. The Skt. *spaç* am-plecti compared by Fick² 215 would agree well with these words but there is no authority for the verb, and the Zend words connected with it seem to have their meanings anything but fixed.

158) St. ὕγ ὕγ-ρό-ς moist, liquid, ὕγρό-της moistness, ὕγρ-αίνω wet.

Skt. *uksh-ā-mi* sprinkle, besprinkle, *uksh-an* steer, bull.

Lat. *uv-eo*, *uv-or*, *um-or*, *umecto*.

Goth. *auhs-a*, O.-H.-G. *ohso* ox.

Ir. oss deer (Corm. Gl. p. 41 *ség*), Cymr. *ych* pl. *ychen* Corn. *ohan* bos (Z.² 293).

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 438, II 357. — I regard the Skt. *uksh* as a secondary form for the primary *ug*. *uv-e-o* is from *ugv-e-o* like *fru-o-r* from *frugv-o-r* with added *v*. *umor*, *umidus*, *umecto* point to a lost adjective-stem *u-mo* nom. *umu-s*, whence *umor* like *albor* from *albus*, *umidu-s* like *ividus* from *vivu-s*. The *h* is here in all cases a late intrusion. — The O.-N. *vök-r* moist belongs to a rt. *vag* of similar meaning (Fick Ztschr. XX 167).

159) ὕγι-ής (St. ὕγιες), ὕγιη-ρό-ς healthy, ὕγιε-ια health, ὕγιαίν-ω am healthy, ὕγιαῖ-ω make healthy.

Skt. *ug-ra-s* powerful. *óg-as* strength, vitality, *óg-as-vant* strong, *ógijas* stronger. — Zd. *vaz* strengthen, *vaz-y-añt* quick, swift, *vaz-d-vare* increase.

Lat. *veg-e-o* excite, *vig-e-o*, *veg-e-tu-s*, *vig-or*, *vig-il*, *aug-e-o*, *aug-men-tu-m*.

Goth. *auk-a* increase (trans.).

Lith. *úg-i-s*, *úg-i-s*, growth, sucker, *i'g-a* berry,
áug-u grow, *aug-miú* (st. *aug-men*) shoot, growth.
 O.-Ir. *óg* integer (Z.² 33), *óge*, integritas, virginitas,
 (Z.² 247).

- 187 Bopp Gl. § v. *ógas*, one or two points discussed by Pott I 205, Kuhn Ztschr. III 336. — The above words are to be referred to three primary forms: 1) *vag*, retained in the Skt. *vag*, apparently ire, *va-gari*, whence *vag-ra s* thunderbolt, lightning (Zd. *vaz-ra* club), *vág-a-s* strength, (strengthening) food, race, *vágín* quick, lively, *vág-a-já-mi* run a race, hurry, incite. Also the Lat. *veg-eo* (Enn. Ann. 477, Com. 2), *veg-e-tu-s*, *vig-e-o*, *vig-or*, *vig-íl* along with the O.-H.-G. *wach-ar* alacer and — from the notion of growing — A.-S. *vócor* proles, fenus (cp. *τόκος*, *fénus*). 2) *ug*, related to *vag* as the Skt. *sup* (Gk. *ῥα*) to *scap* (No. 391). This the shortest form is the base of the Gk. words, though there is an *ι* added which I do not understand (*ὑγεία* late, Lob. El. I 279). From *ug* moreover we get the Skt. *ug-ra-s*, the Irish and the three Lithuanian forms; the Lith. *úg-a* reminds us forcibly of the Lat. *ú-va*, which may be for *ug-va*, though Corssen I² 545 expresses a different view. 3) An increase of sound raises *ug* to *aug*, i. e. Skt. *óg*, *óg*; this form is preserved pure in the Lat. *aug-co*, *augus-tu-s* (cp. Skt. *ógas-rant*), in the Goth. *auk-a*, and the Lith. *áug-u*. This stem with added *s* is treated separately at No. 583. — The meanings develop themselves easily in all cases from the primary meaning "to be active".

160) *φηγός* oak, *φηγών* oak-grove, *φηγινέος*, *φήγινος* oaken.

Lat. *fágu-s* beech, *fag-ineu-s*, *fag-inu-s*, *fagútali-s*.

O.-H.-G. *buohha*, A.-S. *bóce*.

Pott W. III 504, Grimm Gesch. 398, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 84. — The Bohemian *buk* red-beech, and the Ch.-Sl. *buk-y* *fagus*, littera. liber (Miklos. Lex. 48) are proved by their *k* to be borrowed from the German. — The tree is not the same in the three families of speech; Kuhn conjectures the word to have been originally the name of a tree with *edible* fruit, and accepts the etymology from *φαγεῖν* (No. 408). — So too Pictet I 213 who reminds us of *aes-culu-s*, but the connection of this word with the rt. *ed* eat (No. 279) cannot be allowed to be established on account of the diphthong. But *ἄκ-υλο-s* acorn suggests the Skt. *ac* eat. The Skt. *bhag* means distribute, so that here we get the primary meaning. (Cp. above p. 113.)

161) Rt. *φλεγ φλέγ-ω*, *φλεγ-έ-θ-ω* burn, shine, *φλέγ-μα*, *φλεγ-μονή* conflagration, *φλεγ-υρό-s* burning, *φλόξ* (St. *φλογ*) flame.

Skt. *bhrág bhrág-ê* glow, gleam, *bhrág* (f.), *bharg-as* brightness.

Lat. *fulg-e-o*, *fulg-ur*, *ful-men*, *ful-vu-s*, *flag-ra-re*, *flam-ma*, *flā-men* priest.

Goth. *bairh-t-s* δῆλος, *at-bairht-ja* ἐπιφαίνω, O.-H.-G. *blichu* splendo.

Lith. *blizg-ù* glimmer, shine, Ch.-Sl. *brèzg-ù* diluculum.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 544, Benf. I 106, II 340. — The ideas shine and burn run into one another as they do in many other instances. The *g* is in several instances driven out of the Lat. word. *flā-men* is by Varro l. l. V 84 Müll. derived from *filum* "*quo caput cinctum habebant*". Mommsen Hist. of Rome I² p. 155 regards the word, as we do, as meaning "the kindler". *ful-vu-s* seems to me to belong here on account of the similarity of its use with that of αἰθων αἰθων, both being epithets of lions and eagles, but not *flā-vu-s* which denotes a lighter colour and belongs to No. 197. It may be replied to Corssen's objection I² 146, that the Gk. words αἰθων, αἰθων prove that the colour yellow *could* have been denoted by a rt. meaning burn, shine. The connection of *serv-eo* with our rt. so often maintained, and among others by Grassmann Ztschr. XI 88, seems to be very doubtful if only on account of the meaning. — In the Lith. *blizg-ù* the *z* is acc. to Schleicher Lit. Gr. 72 added, perhaps the *r* has been retained in the Lith. *brėkszta* it is twilight, where the *k* before *sz* may have arisen from *g*. Lottner Ztschr. VII 20.

162) Rt. φρυγ φρύγ-ω parch, φρύγ-ανο-ν dry wood, φρύγ-ε-τρο-ν grate, φρυκ-τό-ς roasted, a fire signal.

Skt. *bharág*, *bhragg* (*bhrág-ā-mi*) parch, roast.

Lat. *frig-o* roast, bake.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 543, Benf. II 13. — There is probably some connection with No. 161, but the words separated when the Greeks and Italians were still one nation. — On the *i* of *frig-ere* see Walter Ztschr. XII 413.

163) Rt. φυγ φεύγ-ω flee, φυγ-ή flight, φύξα fright, φυγ-άς runaway, φύξι-ς flight, φύξι-μο-ς runaway, ready to flee.

Skt. *bhug* *bhug-ā-mi* bend, *bhug-na-s* bent, *bhuga-s* arm, *bhōga-s* coil of a snake.

Lat. *fug-i-o*, *fug-a*, *fug-ax*, *fugitivu-s*, *fugare*.

Goth. *biug-a* κάμπτω, N.-H.-G. *biege*, O.-H.-G. *elinbogo*, (*elbow*).

Ch.-Sl. *bēg-a-ti* fugere, *bēg-l-ŷ-c-t* transfuga, Lith. *bēg-u* flee, run, *būg-ti* to be afraid, *baug-ù-s* timid, frightful.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 530, Benf. II 20, Schleich. Ksl. 123. — The meaning of the Teutonic words and the vowel of the Slavo-Lithuanian makes us hesitate, still the idea of flight may well have developed itself from the notion bend out, bend round, turn oneself (cp. τροπή, τροπαιοῦν). The Lith. words with *u* and *au* are remarkable. — φύξα is for φνδ-ια from φνγ-ια. The *g* in the Teutonic words is explained by Grassmann XII 121 by an aspirate which he says was once at the end of the rt., so that it was once *dhugh*.

164) φάγ-ω, φάξ-ω roast, bake, φάγ-ανο-ν grate, φωκ-τό-ς roasted.

O.-H.-G. *bahh-u* bake.

Benf. II 13, who refers these words to No. 162, Pott W. III 511. The Skt. words which used to be added here are to be kept quite distinct. For the Skt. *bhak-ta-s* means acc. to the PW. not "cooked" but only "distributed" and *bhāg-ana-m* cask, vessel. No rt. *bhāg* meaning to cook, or at all events "to warm, to be hot", such as Corssen assumes in order to find a derivation for *favilla*, *fovere*, *favere* (I² 142 f. cp. II² 1004) can for a moment hold its ground in Sanskrit. And it is a long way, it seems to me, from φάγω = 189 *bahhu* to *fovere* and *favere*. — On the other hand it is probable that φοξί-χειλο-ς, φοξό-ς pointed, properly burnt out of shape (of earthen vessels), the latter used of the Thersites's pointed head (Hes. ὄξυ-κέφαλος) B 219 (Buttm. Lexil. I 242), are connected with φάγειν. Pott, who (II² 322) says this explanation is "dictated only by despair", pays no attention to the word φοξίχειλος which is well attested from Simonides in Athen. XII 480, and proposes himself still more desperate explanations.

X

Greek *χ* corresponds to Indo-Germanic *gh*. This letter is represented in Sanskrit by *gh*, or *h*, in Zend by *g*, *gh*. *j*, *z*, *zh*, in Latin by *h*, in the middle of a word by *g*, in Gothic by *g*, in Church-Slavonic by *g*, *z*, *ž*, in Lithuanian by *g*, *ž*, in Old Irish by *g*.

- 165) Rt. ἀρχ ἄρχ-ω am the first, ἀρχ-ό-ς leader, ἀρχ-ή beginning, rule, ἄρχ-ων (st. ἀρχοντ) ruler, ὄρχ-αμο-ς leader.

Skt. *arh arh-ā-mi* am worth, am able, *arh-a-s* worthy, *arh-an* (st. *arhant*) able, worth, *argh-a-m* value, gift of honour, *argh-ja-s* valuable. — Zd. *arej* deserve, be worth, *arej-anh* (from *argh-as*) value.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 740 though doubtfully, Benf. I 112, where many incorrect assertions are made about the use of the Gk. words. — When the agreement in sound is so complete it is impossible to doubt the identity of the two roots. The fundamental notion common to the two is that of worth, it may be that of splendour: ἄρχειν λάμπειν (Hes.), though M. Schmidt questions the gloss. As regards the further development we must remark that *arh-ā-mi* is like ἄρχ-ω used as a kind of auxiliary with the infinitive, the former in so colourless a meaning as I can, I may; again that the word is constantly used of religious services and ceremonies, as in ἀπαρχομαι, ἀπαρχή, ἄρχματα (Hesych.) = ἄργματα § 446 primitiae, κατάρχομαι, προσάρχομαι (L. Herbst on Cobet's emendations in Thucydides p. 9). We are reminded in ἐπάρχειν "to be at hand" of the meaning "to have the power to". The somewhat different use of ἄρχεσθαι for "to begin", as distinguished from the carrying out of the affair, does not occur frequently till the Odyssey though it certainly cannot but be recognized in the Homeric ἀρχή, ἐξ ἀρχῆς. — ὄρχ-αμο-ς is rightly regarded by Benf. I 114 as a superlative form (cp. Pott II¹ 461), ο by the side of α as in ὄγκο-ς (No. 1) cp. Lobeck Proleg. 296. — Besides *argh* there is also adduced a Skt. rt. *rāgh* of similar meaning. Ought we not to regard this as the connecting link with the Goth *ragin* δόγμα, *raginōn* ἡγεμονεύειν, *fidur-ragineis* τετραρχῶν with the words which Diefenb. II 155 adds from the other Teutonic languages? A still bolder step would it be to connect, with Jac. Grimm, who is there quoted, the Germ. *ragen* (project), and even *regen* (stir), however well the former would serve for the primary meaning of 190 the root. The Goth. verb finds considerable resemblance in the Lith. *rag-in-ti* compel, summon. We may perhaps be said to have succeeded in this way in having rescued ἀρχ and *arh* from their remarkable isolation. — This rt. is thoughtfully discussed, especially with reference to its meanings, by Autenrieth in the Münchner Gymnasial-zeitschr. 1868 p. 256, where ἄρχω is set down as a duplicate of ἔρχομαι (below p. 691). But the difficulty of explaining the change of meaning seems even greater than if our account of the words is accepted.

- 166) Rt. ἀχ ἀγγ ἄγγ-ω tie tight, strangle, ἀγγ-όνη hang-

ing, ἄγγι-ι, ἄγγι-οῦ near, ἄγγι-νν-μαι, ἄγγι-ο-μαι, ἄγγι-εῖω am in grief, am troubled, ἄγγι-ος anguish, affliction, ἄγγι-θ-ος burden, ἄγγι-θ-ο-μαι am burdened, troubled.

Skt. *āh-u-s* narrow, pressure, *āh-as*, *āh-a-ti-s* anguish, *agh-a-m* evil, sin. — Zd. *agh-a-na* (n.) contraction, cord, *āz-anh* straits, anguish, sin.

Lat. *ang-o*, *ang-us-tu-s*, *ang-or*, *ang-ina*, quinsy, *Angitia* (Ital. goddess), *anxiu-s*.

Goth. *aggu-ja*, *ga-aggu-ja* contract, *aggu-u-s* narrow, O.-H.-G. *angu-st* anguish. — Goth. *ôg* am frightened, *ag-is* fright.

Ch.-Sl. *az-a* δεσμός, *az-ŭ-kŭ* àngustus, Lith. *ànksztas* narrow.

O.-Ir. *ocht* angustia (Z.² 1006). — *águr* I fear, cp.

Lat. *angor* (Beitr. VI 470), *ag-athar* timet (Z.² 438), *aich-thi* metuenda (Z.² 480), *co-aig-thide* fearfully (F. A. 172).

The physical meaning 'squeeze' is clearest in ἄγγω, *ango*; hence come the adjectives with the meaning narrow, near (*ἄσσω* = Skt. *āhija(n)s*), from which ἔγγυς must not be separated (Kuhn Ztschr. II 270). Pott I² 234 compares the Fr. *près* from *presse*, and is no doubt right in tracing the *s* to the -θι in ἔγγυ-θι (cp. δό-ς = δό-θι). The comp. *ἄσσω* = ἄγγι-ων together with the Homeric *ἄσσορέω* helps us to the Homeric *ἐπ-ασσῶ-τεροι* (v Aeol. = o). ἄγγι- as far as, may also be related. The transition into the region of mind is seen in the Lat. *angor* "*animi vel corporis cruciatus*" (Paul. Epit. p. 8), etymologically equivalent to the *angus* that is at the bottom of *angus-tu-s* and distinguished from ἄγγος, Goth. *agis* only by the added nasal. ἄγγι-θ-ος with added θ, which Pott W. III 1052 connects with the Skt. *sah* (No. 170), seems to me rather to be "that which cramps one". If these words are related Mommsen's conjecture as to the connection of *ang-i* and *ag-ere* (Unterital. Dial. 250) cannot stand. — Besides these there occur the rarer words ἄγγιν (Theocr.) needy, ἄγγιν-ία (χορημάτων, lack Aesch. Choeph. 298 Herm.), ἡγγήνες πτωχοί Hesych., which seem to come near to the Lat. *eg-e-o*, *ind-ig-e-o*, *eg-ēnu-s*. — Grimm Wörterb. s. v. *Angst*, Schweizer Ztschr. I 152, Aufrecht I 355, Kuhn III 64, Schleicher Ksl. 42, Pauli Praeterito-praesentia 19, Ebel Beitr. II 159.

166b) βρέχ-ω I wet, βροχ-ή, βροχ-ερός a wetting. —

Lat. *rig-a-re*, *in-rig-uu-s*. — Goth. *rign* βροχή, *rignjan* βρέχειν, O.-H.-G. *rëgan* rain, *rëganôn* to rain. — Ch.-Sl. *vlag-a* humor, *vlaž-iti* humefacere.

Benf. I 329, who with others connects the word with the Skt. 191 *varsh* (Ξρση No. 497). In that case *varsh* would stand for *vark-sh* and this would have arisen from *vargh-s* with suffixed *s*. We can be sure of nothing beyond the rt. *vragh*, the *v* of which has turned to *β* in Gk. and has fallen away in Lat. and the Teutonic languages. Corssen Beitr. 505.

167) δολιχός-ς long, δόλιχο-ς long racecourse, ἐν-δελεχής lasting, ἐν-δελέχεια continuance, ἐν-δελεχέ-ω continue. — Δουλίχιο-ν the Long land.

Skt. *dirgha-s* Comp. *drāgh-ījas* long, *drāgh-man*, *drāgh-i-man* length. — Zend *dareghô* long.

Ch.-Sl. *dlüg-ŭ*, Lith. *ilga-s* long.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 859, Schleich. Ksl. 105. — The rt. *darh* grow which used to be assumed is not to be found in Skt. — On the other hand Leo Meyer Ztschr. VI 223 and more especially Grassmann XII 127 suggest connection with the Goth. *drag-a* slow. Gr. is quite right in giving *dhragh* as the rt., of which we can actually discover a trace in the Skt. (*dhrāgh* by the side of *drāgh*). The Lat. *trah-o* must be rejected on account of its *t* (cp. Corssen Nachtr. 107). But the Ch.-Sl. *drŭi-ati* tenere comes very near to the Goth. *drag-an*, and can in its turn hardly be separated from the Skt. *darh* Zd. *darez* make fast, hold fast. In another direction we are met also by the Skt. *dhrāḡ*, skim, sweep, pass (of birds), to which belongs *dhrāḡi-s* train. Are we to think that *dhar-gh* is a form that has grown out of *dhar* hold (No. 316), and that all the meanings are developed from the notion of holding out, holding on? Miklosich as well (Lex.) suggests the connection of *dargh* and *drŭi-ati* with *dhar*. — The comparison of the Lat. *indulg-e-o* seems to me very doubtful, as the meaning is much more general than 'to be long-suffering, patient' and as we may divide the word *ind-ulg-e-o* just as well as *in-dulg-e-o*. — *longu-s* and the Goth. *lagg-s* belong to No. 147, though Walter Ztschr. XI 434 again puts them here.

168) ἐλαχύ-ς small, ἐλάσσων, ἐλάχιστο-ς.

Skt. *laghu-s* (also *ragh-u-s*) quick, small, *laghija(n)s*, *laghishṭa-s*.

Lat. *lĕv-i-s*, *levi-ta-s*, *levare*.

O.-H.-G. *lih-ti*.

Ch.-Sl. *lĭg-ŭ-kŭ* levis, Lith. *lėngu-a-s* facilis, lenis.

O.-Ir. *laig-in* minor (Z.² 275), *lug-em* minimus (Z.¹ 278), *lag-aít* parvitas (Z.² 805).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 713, Benf. II 26, Schleich. Ch.-Sl. 106. — The positive is only used in the fem. but it is preserved in the Pindaric compound *ἐλαχυ-πτερυξ*. But *ἐλάχεια* is now written by I. Bekker with Zenodot. at ι 116, κ 509; so too Baumeister hymn. in Apoll. Pyth. 19. Otherwise Döderl. Gl. 2062. There is no ground for the interpretation 'rough' that is given of *λάχεια* by Nitzsch on ι 116, and approved of by Lobeck Path. Proleg. 177. The relationship of *ἐλέγχι-ω* 'I disgrace', *ἐλεγχο-ς* probum, *ἐλεγχέ-εις* 'cowardly' to these words is very doubtful; they are compared in the PW. I 1040 and by Fick² 16 rather with the Zend *cregh-añi* 'bad' and the Germ. *arg* 'bad'. — The Lat. *leigr-i-s* has an added 192 i as the Lith. *lengė-a-s* an added *a*, the *ē* in Gk. is prothetic. — Schweizer Ztschr. XV 316 connects the O.-H.-G. *ringi* (which in Switzerland still means 'light'), to which the Germ. *gering* 'small' belongs. — The rt. is doubtless to be found in the Skt. *rah* 'flow', 'run'. PW. Fick² 164.

169) Rt. *ἐχ*, *Feχ* *ὄχ-o-s* carriage, *ὄχέ-o-μαι* drive, ride, *ὄχεύ-ω* leap, cover (of horses and other animals), *ὄχη-μα* vehicle, *ὄχ-λο-s* crowd, *ὄχλέ-ω* I trouble, *ὄχ-ετό-s* gutter, canal.

Skt. *vah* (*vah-ā-mi*) lead, ride in a carriage, *vāha-s* draught-animal, *vāhana-m* draught-animal, carriage, *vāhini* train, army.

Lat. *veh-o*, *vehi-culu-m*, *vehe-s* vehicle, *vectura*, *ria*. *vezo*, *velu-m*.

Goth. *ga-vig-an* *σαλεύειν*, *ga-vag-ja* move, *vég-s* movement, *végós* (plur.) waves, *vig-s* via, O.-H.-G. *wag-an* currus, *wāga* libra.

Ch.-Sl. *vez-a* veho, *voz-ŭ* currus, Lith. *vez-ù* lead, ride in carriage, *vez-ima-s* carriage, *věže* cart-rut.

O.-Ir. *fén* plaustrum (Z.² 766).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 1023, II² 639, Benf. I 351, Schleich. Ksl. 109, Grimm Gesch. 104. — See specially Savelsberg 'Quaestiones lexicales de radicibus graecis' (Berol. 1841), where the whole of *ἐχ* is referred to this rt. I cannot agree with him though for two reasons, firstly because it is not made out that the *σ* in *ἐ-σχ-o-s*, *ἐχέ-ω* &c. could arise from *χ*, secondly because the meaning 'hold to', 'hold fast', which is prominent in *ἐχ*ω does not suit. I assume an

intermingling of the roots *vagh* and *sagh*, and only give here the words which undoubtedly belong to *vagh*. The several languages mutually explain each other by their different applications of the fundamental notion 'move' (trans.) 1) to riding in a carriage or boat, 2) to the surging of water, 3) to metaphysical relations (*ὄζλῆ-ω*, *vezo*). Under the first head comes the Lat. *via* (form *vea* Corssen Ausspr. I² 98) (cp. Paul. Ep. 368 *veia apud Oscos dicebatur plaustrum*), which occurs again in the Osc. *viū* (Mommsen U. Dial. p. 260) and finds a direct analogy in the Lith. *vėžė* (*ė* = *ia*), under the second perhaps *ὄζλο-ς* and the Skt. *vāhini* as a surging mass. Corssen indeed (Beitr. 60, Ausspr. I² 459, 1018) steadfastly denies that *vēlu-m* is connected with our present *rt*. But Corssen does not say how *ve-xillu-m* arose, which is obviously a diminutive from *vēlum* (Schwabe Demin. p. 96). The guttural which we have here bodily before our eyes could not help disappearing from the primary word, and seeing that *hl* is a conjunction of sounds unheard of in Latin, the supposition of the rise of *vēlu-m* from *veh-lu-m* or (cp. *vec-ti-s*) *veg-lu-m* presents no difficulty. Goetze however 'Studien' I, 2, 170 prefers the derivation from *vex-lu-m*, but he does not give any other instance of this *vex* as a lengthened form of *veh*. The fact that in *vēlare* only the derived meaning of *vēlu-m*, that of 'curtain' is traceable, can be no reason for rejecting the old etymology of *vēlu-m* a *vehendo*. It would on the other hand have been strange if sailors had called their sail a 'blind' or 'curtain'. As *pi-lu-m* is 'that which pounds' (*rt. pis*), so *vē-lu-m* is 'that which moves'. The fact the Romans and the Slavonians agreed in the word for the two chief motive powers of ships is remarkable. — *ὄζλῆ-ς* lever suggests *vecti-s* of similar meaning and the Norwegian *vag* (f.) lever (Bugge Ztschr. XX 24) and clearly shows the fundamental meaning of the *rt.*, which is also visible, transferred to motions of the mind, in the Homeric *ὄζθήσας* 'excited', 'roused' (Buttm. Lexil I 123); this has nothing to do with *ἡζθετο* (No. 166), but suggests rather the Lat. *vehe-mens*, though this is explained in a completely different way by Ascoli Ztschr. XVII 268. Traces of the *f* are visible in *συνεζομό-ς* 'joint' (Iliad), *ἐεζμένη συνεζομένη* Hesych. — The Ir. *fén* stands for **fegn*, and finds an analogy in the borrowed word *Benén* = *Benignus* (Journ. 1871 pp. 374, 408), and is not more mutilated than the English *wain*.

- 170) *Rt.* ἐχ, ceχ *ἐχ-ω* have, hold, *ἐχ-ο-μαι* hold myself, cling to, *ἐ-σχ-ο-ν*, *σχῆ-σω*, *ἐ-σχη-να*, *σχέ-σι-ς*, *σχῆ-μα* form, *σχο-λή* stoppage (holding up), *ἐξείης* holding on to each other, *σχε-δόν* near, *ίσχ-ω* hold on, have, *ίσχανά-ω* hold, *ἐχ-υρό-ς*, *ὀχ-υρό-ς* firm.

Skt. *sah sah-ê* sustineo, perfero, *sah-as* vis, robur, *sah-uri-s* forcible, *sah-ana-s* powerful.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 751, Giese Aeol. Dial. 245, Aufrecht Ztschr. I 355, where the A.-S. *sig-or* (st. *sig-ora*) and the Goth. *sig-is* victory are also compared and explained by the similar use of the Skt. *sah* with the acc. 'hostes sustinere, vincere'. Cp. No. 169. — Those words are more especially given here which particularly compel us to keep them separate from the rt. $\text{F}\epsilon\chi$, from which e. g. $\sigma\chi\epsilon\text{-}\delta\acute{o}\nu$ cannot easily be derived, which is exactly the opposite of the notion of 'away' which we hold to belong to that rt., nor $\sigma\chi\omicron\text{-}\lambda\acute{\eta}$ nor its opposite $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\alpha\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\iota\nu$ to be impatient. — $\text{I}\text{-}\sigma\chi\text{-}\omega$ is of course reduplicated = $\sigma\iota\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omega$ like $\mu\acute{\iota}\text{-}\mu\nu\text{-}\omega$ = $\mu\iota\text{-}\mu\epsilon\text{-}\nu\omega$. — $\text{I}\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\varsigma$ strength seems to lie very near, but it has traces of an initial digamma. Cp. Ahr. d. Dor. p. 47 and No. 592.

171) $\epsilon\chi\text{-}\iota\nu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ urchin. — O.-H.-G. *ig-il* urchin (Germ. *Igel*). — Ch.-Sl. *jež-ŷ*, Lith. *ež-ý-s* (?).

Pott W. III 99, Schleich. Ksl. 111, Förstemann Ztschr. I 498. — The suffixes are different, but the stem is unmistakably the same. On the suffix *ivo* cp. Ztschr. VI 87. Pictet Ztschr. VI 186 and No. 40.

172) $\epsilon\chi\iota\text{-}\varsigma$ (m. and f.), $\epsilon\chi\iota\text{-}\delta\nu\alpha$ adder, $\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\lambda\nu\text{-}\varsigma$ eel. — *Ἐχίων*.

Skt. *ahi-s* (m.). — Zd. *azhi* (m.) snake.

Lat. *angui-s* (m. and f.), *anguilla*.

O.-H.-G. *unc* adder, O.-N. *ög-li-r* coluber, O.-H.-G. *äl* eel (Germ. *Aal*) (?).

Lith. *ang-is* snake, *ung-urý-s* eel, Ch.-Sl. *ag-ori-štŭ* eel.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 99, Förstem. Ztschr. III 46, Kuhn III 64, where some objections are successfully disposed of. The Lithuanian word throws the clearest light upon the Lat. form, which, like the Gk. $\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\lambda\nu\text{-}\varsigma$, is nasalized. The latter is, like *anguilla* a diminutive. Kuhn moreover compares with the Indic *Ahi-s* the Norse sea-god *Agi-r*. — Pictet Ztschr. VI 187. — The rt. is $\acute{\alpha}\chi$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi$ squeeze, strangle (No. 166), the snake is accordingly called 'constrictor'. — Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma$ is quite a distinct word. (Cp. p. 457).

173) Rt. $\lambda\epsilon\chi$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$ bed, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\tau\rho\omicron\text{-}\nu$ couch, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ (f.) bed-fellow, $\lambda\epsilon\chi\text{-}\acute{\omega}$ a woman in child-bed, $\lambda\omicron\chi\text{-}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ *birth, $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\chi\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ insidiae, $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\chi\text{-}\mu\eta$ thicket.

Lat. *lec-tu-s*, *lect-íca*.

Goth. *lig-a* κείμαι, *lag-ja* τίθημι, *ligr-s* couch, 194

O.-H.-G. *lāga* insidiae.

Ch.-Sl. *lež-a-ti* κείσθαι, *leg-a* decumbo, *lož-e* lectus.

O.-Ir. *lige* bed (Amra p. 30, Ir.-Gl. 812).

Pott W. III 606, Grimm Gesch. 410, Buttmann Lexil. II 90, where *λέx-το* 'laid himself down', *λέξεται* 'will lay himself down' are rightly regarded as unconnected with the rt. λεγ. Hesychius's *λαγρόν ἢ λαγρός κραιβάτιον* is remarkable; it comes doubtless from some dialect that abolished the aspirates (perhaps Macedonian), and bears only a chance resemblance to the Germ *Lager* (O.-H.-G. *legar*) 'couch'; again *καλέχες* (Meineke *καλέχεο*, Bergk *καλέχεσο*) *κατέκεισο* Πάφιοι from the same source, certainly belongs here, and must have arisen from *κατ-λεχ* . . , and is apparently therefore an example of this rt. in the present-stem that has elsewhere disappeared (Bergk de titulo Arcad. p. IX).

174) Rt. *λιχ* λείχ-ω, *λιχ-μά-ω*, *λιχ-μά-ξ-ω* lick, lick over, *λιχ-ανό-ς* the forefinger, *λίχ-νο-ς* greedy.

Skt. *lih* and *rih* lick, lick over.

Lat. *li-n-g-o*, *lig-uri-o*.

Goth. *bi-laigó-n* ἐπιλείχειν, O.-H.-G. *lēcchôn*.

Ch.-Sl. *liz-a-ti* λείχειν, Lith. *lež-ù* lick, *liž-u-s* forefinger.

O.-Ir. *lígim* lingo (Z.² 429).

Bopp GL, Pott W. III 1011, Grimm Gesch. 410. — The Lat. *lingua* however near it may seem at first sight to be (cp. Lith. *lež-ici-s* tongue), must not be compared as it had an older form *dingua* = Goth. *tuggô*, which comes from the Indo-Germ. *dang-vá* or *dangh-vá*. — The coincidence in the meaning of *λιχανό-ς* and the Lith. *liž-u-s* is striking (Benf. II 28):

175) Rt. *μιχ* ὀ-μιχ-έ-ω (ᾧμιξα) mingo, ὄ-μιχ-μα urina, ὀμίχ-λη, δμίχλη mist, μοιχ-ό-ς adulterer.

Skt. *mih* (*méh-ā-mi*) mingere, semen effundere, *méh-a-s* urina, *mih* (f.) sediment, mist, *mégħa-s* cloudy weather, cloud, *méh-ana-m* membrum virile.

Lat. *mi-n-g-o*, *měj-o*, *mic-tu-s*.

A.-S. *mīg-e*, Goth. *maihstu-s* mist, O.-N. *mist-r* caligo aeris.

Lith. *myž-ù* mingo, Ch.-Sl. *mīg-la*, Lith. *mig-là* cloud.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 1003, Grimm Ueber Diphthonge p. 57, Benf. II 43. — The Lat. *mē-j-o* is no doubt rightly explained by Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 135 to be from *meig-jo*. — Lottner Ztschr. XI 164 is no doubt right in connecting the Goth. *mih-ma* cloud, which is often compared with the above words (Diefenbach G. Wörterb. II 71), with the Ch.-Sl. *mrak-ŭ āχλύ-ς*. — There can be no mistake about the prothetic *o*.

176) *πῆχv-ς* forearm, elbow. — Skt. *bāhu-s*, *bāha-s*, Zend *bāzu* arm. — O.-N. *bóg-r*, O.-H.-G. *buoc* bend (in the arm or leg).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 109, Ebel Ztschr. VII 79, VIII 241. — Grassmann XII 121, after whose investigations we must give a stem with initial and final aspirates, *bhāghu*, from which all the compared words can easily be derived.

195 176b) Rt. *σπερχ σπέρχ-ο-μαι* I hurry, *σπέρχ-ω* I urge, *σπερχ-νό-ς* hurried, hasty, *σπέργ-δην ἐρρωμένως* (Hesych.), *ἀ-σπερχ-ές* hastily, eagerly.

Skt. *sparh sprh-ajá-mi* (with dat. or gen.) appeterere, invidere, *sprh-â* desiderium. — Zd. *sparez* strive.

In spite of some difference of meaning we may connect these words. The fundamental notion of hasty movement is preserved more intact in the Gk., while in Skt. that of a striving after an object, towards an object, is prominent. The transition in the former language by which it is used to denote 'anger' is significant: Pind. Nem. I 40 *θεῶν βασιλέα σπερχθεῖσα θυμῷ*, Herod. V 33 *ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ, σπέρεξομαι ὀργισθήσομαι* (Hesych.), so in the latter language is the idea of 'desire'; and these two uses of the word are related to each other as the Skt. *kup-já-mi* 'am angry' is to the Lat. *cup-io*. The meaning 'invidere' as in *ἐηλοῶν*. — Cp. also the proper names *Σπέρχης*, *Σπέρχων*, *Σπερχύλος*, *Σπερχείος*. — Perhaps *spargh* is a lengthened form of *spar* (cp. No. 389). — *ἀ-σπερχ-ές* must be for *ἀν-σπερχ-ές*, cp. *ἀ-τεν-ής*.

177) Rt. *στιχ στείχ-ω* go, *στίχο-ς*, *στοίχο-ς* row, *στιχά-ο-μαι* march in rank.

Skt. *stigh* (does not occur) ascendere.

Goth. *steig-a ἀναβαίνω*, *staig-a* path (Germ. *Steig*).
O.-H.-G. *stīg-a* ascensus, semita, M.-H.-G. *steig-el* steep (Germ. *steil*).

Ch.-Sl. *stīg-na-ti* venire, *stīz-a* semita, Lith. *staig-ù-s* hasty, *staig-ini-s* steep (Nesselm.).

O.-Ir. *im-fiagam* = ἀμφιστείχομεν, gl. ambulamus (Z.² 432), *tiasu* = στείξω (Z.² 466).

Bopp Gl., Schleich. Ksl. 110, Benf. I 648 f., Pott W. III 721, Stokes Beitr. VII 44. — *στοιχεῖον* is to be derived from *στοιχο-ς* (Pott II² 191 and Max Müller II 78) in the sense of 'member of a row', whence κατὰ *στοιχεῖον* 'in alphabetical arrangement' (cp. *στοιχηδόν*, *στοιχεῖν*, *στοιχίζειν*). *ve-stig-iu-m* could be satisfactorily explained to be from this rt. if with Ascoli Ztschr. XVII 268 we connected the *vē* with the Skt. *rāhi-s* 'outside', 'out'; it would then mean 'that which has gone out, stepped out', and *ve-sti-bu-lu-m* would likewise be 'the place into which one steps out'. But in the PW. the Skt. adverb is written *bahis* and this must be reckoned the authenticated spelling of the word.

178) Rt. *τρέχ τρέχ-ω* (fut. *θρέξω*) run, *τρόχο-ς* a course, *τροχό-ς* wheel, *τρόχ-ι-ς* a runner.

Goth. *thrag-ja* *τρέχω*, A.-S. *thrah* decursus temporis.

O.-Ir. *traig* acc. pl. *traigid* pes (st. **traget*, Z.² 255, 258).

Pott II¹ 123, W. III 821, Bopp Gl. s. v. *tyksh*. Since this rt. in the sense *ire, se movere* (with the same meaning also *tyksh*) is not supported by quotations, it has not been given here. Max Müller Rigveda-Sanhita I 205 compares more aptly the Skt. *dhraḡ* (*dhraḡāmi*) 'glide', 'move' (of the wind). Difficulties are however presented by the relation of the consonants. — Grimm Gesch. 404, Benf. I 673, whom I do not follow in his connection of *ταχ-ύ-ς*, though the loss of a *q* is not unknown. Grassmann Ztschr. XII 104 has since recognized the identity of *ταχύ-ς* with the Skt. *taku-s* 'hurrying' (p. 498). 196 — Perhaps *τράχ-ηλο-ς* throat, neck may be referred to this rt. in consideration of its moveableness, and also *tergu-m* which can hardly be separated from *τράχηλος*. (Pauli 'Körpertheile' 13, Studien I, 1, 257).

179) Rt. *χα, χαν χάλν-ω, χά-σx-ω* gape, yawn, *χά-σμα, χά-ος* cleft, abyss, *χαῦ-vo-ς* gaping, loose, *χε-ιά* cleft, hole, *χῆ-μη* gaping, *χάν-vη* hiatula (name of a fish).

Lat. *hi-sc-o, hi-o, hia-tu-s*.

O.-N. *gín* gape, O.-H.-G. *gi-ê-m, gin-ê-m, gein-ô-m*.

Ch.-Sl. *zi-ja-ti, zê-ja-ti, zi-na-ti* hiare, Lith. *žió-j-u* open the mouth wide, *žió-ti-s* cleft, hole.

O.-Ir. *gin* dat. *giun* os (Z.² 994).

Pott W. I 67, 74, Schleich. Ksl. 110. — Other connected words, occasionally doubtful, are given by Pott and Benf. II 188, Ztschr. VII 58, VIII 187, where the second part of the Skt. compound *ri-hájas* air is identified with *χα-ος*. I doubt however with Pott II² 339 the change of *v* to *j* supposed by Benfey. For while *χα-ος* was certainly *χaf-ος* originally, it was by a lengthening of *χα* that *χaf* was arrived at (p. 68), since *χαῦ-vo-ς* supposes the same secondary form of the root. The change of *α* to *ε* is testified to by *χεῖα* i. e. *χε-ια*, and from this it is but a step to the Lat. *hi-sc-o* for *he-sc-o* with the *i* that appears in the Teutonic and Slavonic languages. *hi* becomes *hia* as in the German weak verbs, perhaps with the help of an intermediate noun-form answering to *χεῖα*. — Grassmann Ztschr. XII 132 has a different view with regard to these sound-changes. We may however join with him and others in regarding the Skt. rt. *há*, *gñ-há-mi* relinquo, *gi-há-mi* eo as related. Both meanings spring from the primary notion of 'yawning', 'separation'. Cp. No. 192. — The Ir. *gin* is connected with these words by Stokes, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 88, while Glück (Kelt. Nam. 106) connects it with *γένος* (No. 423).

180) Rt. *χαδ χανδ-άν-ω* (ἐ-χαδ-ον, κέ-χανδ-α, χείσομαι) grasp, hold.

Lat. *pre-hend-o*, *hed-era* (?).

Goth. *bi-git-an* find, A.-S. *gitan*, Eng. *get*.

Pott I¹ 142, Benf. II 108, with whom we may safely suppose connection with the Skt. *has-ta-s* hand, perhaps also with the Lat. *has-ta*, but, on account of faulty sound-change, not with the Goth. *hinthan* 'take prisoner'. *pre-hend-o* for *prae-hend-o*, *praeda* must be for *prae-hid-a* from the unnasalized root. *Praedium* belongs here, or like *prae(d)-s* to No. 301. — Kühn in his 'Metathesis' discusses thoroughly the notion of our *get*. But there is no need whatever of his etymological assumption of metathesis from *tak*. The German compounds of *fassen* 'grasp' (e. g. *umfassen* 'embrace, comprehend', *erfassen* 'take, seize') illustrate completely the different meanings. — Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 73 regards the Lith. *pa-si-gend-ù* 'yearn for', *goda-s* 'covetousness', and the Ch.-Sl. *žed-a-ti* 'desire' as connected. [On *hedera* = *κισσό-ς* see Windisch Studien VII 184.]

181) *χάλαξ-α* (for *χαλαδ-ja*) hail, *χαλαζάν* to hail.

Skt. *hrád-uni* storm, *hrád-ini* lightning. — Zd. *srúd* to rattle.

Lat. *grand-o* (st. *grand-en*), *grandinat* it hails, *sug-grund-a* the eaves.

Ch.-Sl. *grad-ù* *χάλαξα*.

197 Schleicher Ksl. 105, cp. Pott II¹ 199. -- The derivation from

the Skt. rt. *hrád*, i. e. *ghrád* 'sonare' is probable. *χάλαξα* has certainly nothing to do with *χαλάω* 'to let loose' (Lob. Proleg. 359). — The first *α* in the Gk. word is an auxiliary vowel. Since the Skt. *hrád*, as is shown by *hrad-a-s* 'sea' and *hrad-ini* 'stream', is used of the noise of water, we may also compare *κα-χλάξω* (rt. *χλαδ*) 'plash'. Grassmann Ztschr. XII 134 joins also the Goth. *grēt-an* *slaiten* [Skt. *greet*] to this rt.

182) *χαλ-νό-ς* bronze. — Skt. *hri-ku-s*, *hli-ku-s* tin, lacker.

— Ch.-Sl. *žel-ě-zo*, Lith. *gel-e-žl-s* iron.

Benf. II 198, Schleich. Ksl. 111. — In spite of the difference between the metals and between the derivative syllables the connection between these words may be regarded as proved, and the relationship to *χάλ-νψ* (st. *χαλ-νψ*) as probable: the latter word finds a remarkable analogy in the Lith. *pa-zleb-ėtyju* I steel (Nesselm., Pott I¹ 142). — Max Müller (II 231) denies the connection between *χαλ-νό-ς* and the Skt. words. But if we take as the rt. the Skt. *ghar* 'shine', the same from which the words for gold (No. 202) get their name, the relationship appears probable. The names of the metals and of the colours seem to have been determined by special convention within the boundaries of the several languages from roots of a most general meaning. Sonne Ztschr. X 98.

183) *χαμα-ί* on the ground, *χαμα̃-ξε*, *χαμά-δης* to the ground, *χαμα̃-θεν* from the ground, *χαμ-ηλό-ς*, *χθαμ-αλό-ς* low, *Χαμύνη* epithet of Demeter.

Zd. *zem* (Nom. *záo*) earth.

Lat. *humu-s*, *humī*, *humu-m*, *humo*, *hum-ili-s*.

Ch.-Sl. *zem-l-ja* (*zem-ja*), Bohem. *zem-ě*, Lith. *žém-ė* land, ground, *žéma-s* low, *Žemýna* the Earth Goddess.

Pott I¹ 142, Schleich. Ksl. 109, Beitr. I 397. — The Skt. *bhūmi* earth (rt. *bhū* = *φν*) has nothing to do with these words, since the short *u* of the Lat. *humu-s* is clearly of Italian growth. An etymological connection with the Goth. *gavi* is more likely (J. Grimm üb. Diphthonge p. 43, cp. Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 173); it may be formed from the same rt. and so be related to *χά-ρα*. In any case we must take *ghamā* as the Indo-Germ. form, whence comes the Gk. *χαμα̃* with its regular locative *χαμαί* = Lith. *žemai*. — As *χθαμ-αλό-ς* shows clearly an accessory *θ*, we may connect *χθών* as well, which may then be compared directly with the Zd. st. *zem* and be derived from *χθουμ*; on the connection of the sound-group *χθ* with the *ksh* of the Skt. *ksham*, *kshmā* earth see Grassmann Ztschr. XII 95. The *l* in the Ch.-Sl. word is a purely phonetic adjunct. No. 179 might be sug-

gested as the rt., since all these words represent the earth as 'that which is deep' (cp. θεοὶ χθόνιοι), cp. τότε μοι χάνοι εὐφρέια χθών Δ 182. — From the noun stem are derived the names of man — the Lat. *homo* (old pl. *hem-ón-es*), the Lith. *žmũ*, st. *žmun*, with the plur. form *žm-ón-es*, the Goth. *gum-a* (st. *guman*), the O.-H.-G. *gom-o* (cp. the Germ. Bräuti-*gam* 'bridegroom'). In the Lat. at all events the oldest form favours the supposition of its origin from the noun (cp. *petr-ónes* 'rustici a petris' Fest.). Corssen Beitr. 244. The same
 198 view is evident in ἐπιχθόνιοι, ἐπὶ χθονὶ σῖτον ἔδοντες. — The attempt made by Hovelacque (Revue de linguist. I 4) to derive *homo* from the rt. *ghu* (Gk. χν No. 203) is foiled by the *e* in *hemónes* and the *a* in *-gam*. Moreover the word is nowhere found denoting *man* as opposed to *woman*, which, acc. to H.'s explanation of it as 'adspersgens' would be its only suitable use. Cp. Corssen II² 4.

184) χαμός-ς καμπύλος (Hesych.). — Lat. *hāmu-s* hook.

Pott I¹ 142, Benf. II 321, where a good deal of irrelevant matter is introduced. — The Gk. word cannot be relied on with security, as χάβος, and χαῖος are given with the same meaning. No substantive χαμός seems to have occurred.

185) Rt. χαρ χαίρ-ω rejoice, χαρ-ά, χάρ-μα joy, χάρ-ι-s favour, χαρίζομαι I favour, χαρί-εις graceful.

Skt. *har-jā-mi* amo, desidero.

Lat. *grā-tu-s*, *grāt-ia*, Osc. *her-est*, Umbr. *heriest* volet, Osc. *Herentati-s* (Venus).

Goth. *faihu-gair-n-s* greedy of money, O.-H.-G. *gēr*, *giri* cupidus, *gëri*, *giri* aviditas, *gërôn* to desire (Germ. *begehren*).

Lith. *gor-ũ-ti* to be desirous, *gor* to desire. —

Ch.-Sl. *žel-ě-ti*, *žel-a-ti* cupere.

The words here placed together have found a place in etymological combinations of the most different character. Bopp's connection of χαίρω with the Skt. *harsh horrere*, *gaudere* (Gl.), that reoccurs in Pott W. I 566 (cp. II 1, 216) accompanied by 'perhaps' (cp. Benf. II 111), is met by the objection on phonetic grounds that there is not a trace of the sibilant to be found in the Gk., while in respect of meaning the difference between χάρι-ς and 'horror' is an irreconcilable one. The attempt to obtain a support for this combination from Hesychius's gloss χαρά' ὀργή, ὀργῆλος is an unfortunate one, since, as M. Schmidt holds, we have here an explanation of the Hebrew word *charan*. — Corssen I² 468 arranges many of these words under the rt. *har* 'grasp', 'take' (No. 189), to which the Osc. *her-i-ia*d

'capiat' may possibly belong, but 'to take' is by no means the same thing as 'to desire', 'to wish', so that it seems safer to treat the Osc. *herest* 'volet' as a completely distinct word. — Sonne Ztschr. X 107 (cp. Fick² 68) and Max Müller (II 371) take the Skt. *ghar* 'shine' to be the rt. of *χαίρω* and *χαρίς*. This view is strongly supported by *χαρ-οπό-ς* 'sparkling', 'twinkling', — used by poets from Homer (l 611) downward as an epithet of the lion (cp. *αἰθων*), of the sea (Soph. fr.), of the moon, by prose-writers as the name of a darkish colour, especially in the eye, — and also by the poetic word *χάρων* of essentially the same meaning. Cp. also Fulda 'Untersuchungen' p. 194. Accordingly it seems best to assume that the rt. *ghar* resolved itself early into two main directions: 1) 'to shine', 'to be merry'. Here belong *χαίρω*, *χαρά*, *χάρμα*, *χάρι-ς* and its derivatives, *grá-tu-s*, *grá-te-s*, *grá-tia*, which I cannot think, are to be separated, as is laid down in the PW., from *χάρι-ς* and to be placed along with the Skt. *gúr-ta-s* 'welcome' (rt. *gur*). From *ghar* comes *ghra* by metathesis; and since *hr* is a combination of sounds which is prohibited in Latin, *ghr* could not do otherwise than become *gr*. — 2) 'to glow', 'to desire enthusiastically' (cp. *ardere*), and under this head will come *χάρμη* which properly was 'glow', then 'strife' (cp. *δαί* No. 258), and certainly the Skt. *har-já-mi* along with the 199 Ocean, Umbrian, Teutonic, Lithuanian and Slavonic words.

- 186) Rt. *χεδ* *χέξ-ω* (*κέ-χοδ-α*, *χε-σοῦ-μαι* ease oneself, *χεσείω*, *χόδ-ανο-ς* buttocks. — Skt. *had had-é*, Zd. *zad caco*. — A.-S. *s-cit-e*, O.-H.G. *sciz-u*.

Pott I¹ 249, Benf. II 193. — We must suppose the Gk. and Skt. words to have lost an initial *s*. Cp. *σχαζω* let loose. — Fick² 67.

- 187) *χεῖλ-δ-ών* (st. *χεῖλ-δον*) swallow. — Lat. *hirund-o* (st. *hirundon*).

Pott I¹ 143, Benf. II 135, Ahrens Ztschr. III 108 on the suffix, which sometimes drops its *v*. -- In spite of the different vowels in the middle of the words the identity of the two words can hardly be doubted. We must start from a Graeco-Italic *χερενδον*. *ε* from *e* after the suppression of a consonant, as in *χίλιοι* by the side of the Aeol. *χέλλιοι*, Lat. *u* for *e* before *n* as in the gerund. If we started with *χερενδον* we should find it hard to explain the *u* of the Lat. form. — I do not see how to connect the Lith. *kregždė* swallow. For attempts see Grimm Gesch. 204. — The combinations of Förstemann Ztschr. III 48 and the doubts of Hugo Weber X 247 (cp. above p. 81) cannot be allowed. — Doubtful conjectures as to the rt. are to be found in Corssen Beitr. 129, Fick² 69.

- 188) *χέλν-ς*, *χελ-ών*, *χελ-ώνη* (Aeol. *χελύνη*) tortoise,

χέλν-ο-ν tortoise-shell. — Skt. *har-mu-ṭa-s* testudo. — žėlŋvī, žėlvī testudo, limax.

Pott W. I 85, Benf. II 280, Schleich. Ksl. 111. — The suffix varies; we may perhaps with Hugo Weber Ztschr. X 256 regard the Skt. *ghar* as the rt.; it appears in *ghar-ghar-a-s* 'a cracking', 'rattling', also 'owl', and in *ghar-gharā* 'lute', 'bell', in which case the animal would have got its name from the squeaking noise which it utters. Since there is no objection on phonetic grounds to the connection of the above words, and since they denote the same object, there is no reason for separating them as H. W. proposes.

189) Rt. χερ χείρ hand, εὐ-χερ-ής easy to handle (δυσ-χερ-ής), χείρ-ης subject (adj.), in hand (cp. χείρ-είων, χείρων).

Skt. rt. *har har-ā-mi* rapio, adipiscor, *har-ana-m* hand. — Zd. *zar* to seize.

O.-Lat. *hir* manus. Lat. *heru-s*, *hera*, *hēr-ē(d)-s*, *hēr-ēd-i-ta(t)-s*, *hir-ūdo*.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 205, Benf. II, 108, Corssen I² 468. — The meaning 'take', 'grasp' appears clearly in the Skt. χείρ has preserved its old form χεῖρ- χεῖρ- in compounds (Roediger Comp. 58). On the obsolete Lat *hir* (or *ir*), that appears to have been a neuter noun with the meaning of the Gk. θήναρ, cp. Corssen I² 472. χείρης (ἀνδρὶ χείρη A 80, cp. χείριος = ὑποχείριος 'subject' and the Lat. *man-cipiu-m*) is the passive counterpart of the Lat. *heru-s*, if we regard this with Lange as 'the taker' (Jahn's Jahrb. 1853 p. 40). *hēr-ē(d)-s* — cp. *merc-ē-d-s* No. 467, Corssen Beitr. 111, Paul. Epit. 99, 200 *heres apud antiquos pro domino ponebatur* — comes from a verbal stem *héré*. The rt. *har* appears in precisely the same application in the Skt. *aṣa-hara-s* 'receiving an inheritance' (Goth. *arbinumja*). To this may be added *herc-tu-m*, *herc-isco* (Corss. Beitr. 40) from a stem with added *c*. — It is possible that χορός again as 'an enclosed dancing-place', χορ-τος in the sense of 'courtyard' which it shares with *hor-tu-s*, the Lat. *har-a* and *co-hor(t)-s*, the Gk. χορός in the sense of 'the enclosing barriers of time' (Zd. *zr-van*, *zrvāna* time), and even χράω, χράο-μαι (Pott W. I 91), are of the same origin. Then from the rt. with added *dh* we get the Goth. *gard-s oīnos*, *aldī, bi-gaird-an* περιζωννύναι, Lith. *gārda-s* 'hurdle', *žārdi-s* 'horse-garden', Ch.-Sl. *grad-i-ti* aedificare, *grad-ŭ* murus, hortus, civitas. To χορός and hortus belongs the O.-Ir. *gort* seges (Z.² 68), *lub-gort* 'garden' (Goid. p. 98, 6, *lub* gen. *lube* frutex Z.² 242).

190) χήν goose. — Skt. *haṣa-s* fem. *haṣ-i*. — Lat. *ans-er*.

— O.-H.-G. *gans*. — Ch.-Sl. *gāsi*, Lith. *žąsi-s*.

— O.-Ir. *goss* goose (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 37), [*geiss*] gen. *gessa* swan (T. B. F. p. 140), *géd* goose (Corm. Gl. p. 23).

Bopp Gl., Schleich. Ksl. 105, Kuhn Ztschr. II 261, who is doubtless right in referring the st. *χην* to a form *χευς*, as *μήν* is from a form *μηνς*, we may perhaps be right in regarding the fem. stem *χευς-ι* = Skt. *has-i* for *ghan-si* as the primary form from which *χην* arose (Ztschr. VI 85). The Lat. form has lost the *h* and taken a new suffix, still Keller (Jahn's Jahrb. 1863, p. 766) thinks we may see the *h* still remaining in *herbilitis hanser* [Lucil. ap. Serv. Verg. G. I, 119] where he thinks there is alliteration. — The oft-repeated etymology from *χαίρω* does very well so far as the meaning goes, but the *s*, which is found in the word in all languages, is against it. It seems to be an addition to the rt. Schweizer (Ztschr. VIII 451) disagrees. — The Ir. nom. *geiss* which may be deduced from the gen. *gessa* points to the primary stem **ghansi*.

191) *χηρ* (Hesych.) hedgehog. — Lat. *hēr* or *ēr*, *hēr-in-ac-eu-s* or *ēr-in-ac-eu-s*.

Pott W. II 2, 395, Benf. II 111, Pictet Ztschr. VI 186, but the connexion of the Skt. words which he adduces with the meaning 'snake' (cp. No. 171, 172) does not appear to be proved. The relation of *χηρ* to *σχηρ* *ἐχίνοσ* (Hesych.) is not clear; M. Schmidt reads *σχηρ*, but this reading is opposed by the alphabetical arrangement. Pictet I 454 considers the word as quite distinct and connects it with the Skt. *khur*, 'scratch', 'burrow'.

192) *χηρ-ο-ς* bereft, empty, *χήρα* widow, *χηρεύ-ω* am bereft, empty, *χηρό-ω* make empty, *χωρίς* separate from, *χωρίζω* separate.

Skt. *hā gā-hā-mi* relinquo, dimitto, *hā-ni-s* relictio.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 68, who compares also the Lat. *hērē-s* (st. *hēréd*) — cp. *χηρῶσής* 'substitute', 'heir', E. 158 — which, as it seems to me, the meaning forbids (No. 189). — Benf. II 190. — The same rt. occurs also in the words *χηρ-ο-ς*, *χα-τί-ς* 'lack', *χατέω* 'want', *χαλά-ω* 'let go', *χαλαρό-ς* 'slack' — the two last from a noun-stem *χαλα*, which bears the same relation to *χα* that *σχο-λα* does to *σχε* and to which the *χαλι* in *χαλι-φρων* is closely allied — lastly in *χάτομαι* 'give way'. The corresponding Skt. *hā* has also the mean-201 ing 'ire', 'cedere' and with prepositions 'concedere', 'discedere'. Cp. note to No. 179. Corssen Beitr. 216 aptly compares with *χα-τί-ς* the Lat. *fa-ti-sc-ere* 'gapo' and 'dissolvi' in the metaphysical sense, *ad-fa-tim*, *fatigo*, *fessu-s* and on the other hand derives *fa-me-s* from the rt. *gha*. *f* = *χ* as in No. 203. Cp. Pott W. I 88.

193) *χθές, ἐ-χθές* yesterday, *χθιζό-ς, χθε-σινό-ς* of yesterday.

Skt. *hjas* yesterday, *hjas-tana-s* of yesterday.

Lat. *her-i, hes-ternu-s*.

Goth. *gistra-dagis* to-morrow, O.-H.-G. *gësteron* yesterday (Germ. *gestern*).

Bopp Gl., Comp. Gr. II 208, Benf. II 208. — The primary form is *ghjas*. The initial letter will be treated later. The Elic form *σερ-ός* i. e. (*χ*)*θεσ-ός* with *ρ* for *σ* and initial *σ* for *θ* (Ahr. d. aeol. p. 228) is worthy of notice. The suffix is a genitive suffix as the *i* in *her-i* i. e. *hes-i* is a locative one. — Lob. El. I 47 adnot. is wrong. — As regards the meaning it is important to notice that as in Goth. so in the Vedas, at least acc. to the explanation of the Scholiasts to the latter (Benf. Lex. z. Sâmavêda 209), the word is applied to the following day.

194) Rt. *χι χι-ών* (st. *χιον*) snow), *δύς-χι-μο-ς* horrible, *χει-μα* storm rainfall, *χειμάξ-ω, χειμαίν-ω* raise a storm, raise a storm against, *χίμεθλο-ν* chilblain, *χειμών* winter, *χειμερ-ινό-ς* wintry.

Skt. *hi-ma-s* nix, as adj. frigidus, *him* cold, frost, *himānī* nix, *hēman-ta-s* hiems. — Zd. *zyáo* winter's frost, *zim, zima* (m.) winter.

Lat. *hiem-s, hibernu-s*.

Ch.-Sl. *zima* hiems, tempestas, frigus, Lith. *žėmà* (f.) winter, *žėmini-s* wintry.

O.-Ir. *gaim* winter (Amra 44), *gáith* ventus (Z.² 241).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 96, Benf. Gött. Anz. 1852 p. 553 ff. — Though the words adduced are undoubtedly connected, they present many difficulties individually, especially the Lat. *hiem-s* and the *b* in *hibernus*. On these points see Corss. Beitr. 250. Since an *i* appears in all the languages the favourite view of a connection with *χέ-ω* rt. *xu* must decidedly be rejected. *χειμών* is a collective of *χειμα*, to *χει-μερ-ινό-ς* and *χειμέριος δυσχει-μερο-ς* is a preparatory step. — It is not lawful to derive, as Ebel Ztschr. IV 334 proposes, the numerous shorter forms all from *χειμαντ*. — Aufrecht IV 415 sees the shorter form *hima* (Zd. *zima* also year) in the Lat. *bi-mu-s, tri-mu-s, quadri-mu-s* for *bi-himu-s* &c., and in support of this Miklosich Beiträge I p. 287 adduces some remarkable analogies from Slavonic and Lithuanian. Cp. Pictet II 588. — From the Teutonic languages Fick² 71

connects the O.-N. *ge* 'bad weather', N.-Norweg. *gjö* 'nix autumni recens' specially as parallels to the Zd. word *zyáo*; in these words the nasal has been lost. It is perhaps preserved in the O.-N. *geimi* 'sea', as my learned friend Zarncke thinks. Whether the Skt. rt. *hi*, which among other meanings has that of 'jacere', 'projicere' (Zd. *si* 'shoot', 'grow', 'cast'), and which would but ill suit 'snow', is the primary root, I leave an open question (Pictet I 90).

- 195) *χίμαρο-ς* fem. *χίμαιρα* (= *χιμαρ-ια*) goat. — O.-N. 202 *gymbr* one-year-old lamb.

Grimm Gesch. 402. — The relation to the O.-H.-G. *geiz* = Lat. *haedu-s* is more remote. Benf. II 193 assumes that *χίμαρο-ς* has lost a *ð*, and would thus bring us to a stem *χιð* preserved in these words intact. Cp. Stier Ztschr. XI 212.

- 186) Rs. *χλαð κέ-χλαð-α* am swollen, *χλα-ρό-ς* gay. — Skt. *hlād hlād-é* gaudeo, laetor.

Bopp Gl., whom I cannot follow in the comparison of the A.-S. *glād* 'laetus' because the dental has not its proper substitute. — Benf. II 135. — Nor can a connection with *laetu-s* be held, on which Corssen Beitr. 150, 1² 114, 376 by way of addition to Leo Meyer Vgl. Gr. I 2 makes quite a distinct conjecture.

- 197) *χλό-η* verdure, grass, *χλο-ερό-ς*, *χλω-ρό-ς* greenish, yellowish, *χλό-ο-ς* green colour.

Skt. *hari-s* green, yellow, *hari-na-s* light yellow. —

Zd. *zairi* yellow, gold-coloured, *zairina* yellowish.

Lat. *hel-us* (*holus*, *olus*), *hel-vu-s*, honey-yellow, *hel-vo-la* vegetables.

O.-H.-G. *grój-u* *gruo-j-u* vireo, O.-S. *gró-ni* viridis.

— O.-H.-G. *gēlo* yellow.

Ch.-Sl. *zel-ije* olera, *zel-enū* viridis, Lith. *žel-iū* vir-
esco, *žol-ė* herba, *žál-ic-s* viridis. — Ch.-Sl. *žlū-tū*,

Lith. *gėl-ta-s* yellow.

O.-Ir. *gel* white, comparative *gili-ther* (Ir. Gl. 168).

Bopp Gl., s. v. *harit*, where *viridi-s* (for *gviridi-s*) is also compared. Pott W. II 1, 207. Schleich. Ksl 109, where more extensive conjectures are made on this rt. Cp. No. 200, 202. *flā-vu-s* too would be more rightly put with these words than with No. 161, since *flāva* is an epithet of Ceres, as *χλόη* of Demeter; *fotus* (Paul. Epit. 84) helps to explain the change to *f*. With Kuhn's connection of *χλόος* with the Lat. *gilvu-s* = Skt. *gāura-s* 'yellow' (Ztschr. I 516) I cannot agree on account of the initial. But *lū-tu-m* 'yellow colour',

whence *lú-t-eu-s*, may well have lost an initial *h* and may so correspond in its first syllable to the *χλω* in *χλω-ρό-s*. — *χλόη* is clearly for *χλο-ῤη*, for which compare the Lat. words, which Corssen II¹ 160 explains in several other ways.

198) *χοῖρο-s* a young pig. — Skt. *ghrsh-vi-s*, *ghrsh-ti-s* boar. — O.-N. *grís-s* porcellus.

Pott W. II 2, 387, Grimm Gesch. 37, Förstemann Ztschr. III 60, Pictet I 373. — We are brought to the rt. *ghars*, which in Skt. (*gharsh*) means 'rub', Gk. *χορσ*, whence *χορσ-ιο-s*, *χορρ-ιο-s*, *χοῖρο-s*. Hugo Weber Ztschr. X 256 considers *ghar* as the rt., whence the Skt. *ghar-ghar-i-ta-m* grunting noise, and derives *χοῖρο-s* (for *χορ-ιο-s*) immediately from it. But the *s* appears to be essential in two languages.

199) *χολάδ-ες* guts, *χόλιξ* (st. *χολικ*) gut; *χορδή* gut. Skt. (Ved.) *hirá* gut.

203

Lat. *haru-spez. har-iolu-s*, *híra* dim. *hílla* guts.

O.-N. *garn-ir* pl. entrails.

Lith. *žarnà* gut.

Pott I¹ 143, Aufrecht Ztschr. III 194 ff., Corssen Beitr. 213. Ausspr. I² 509. The *δ* in *χορδή* will have to be discussed below. *hariolu-s* (another form is *fariolu-s*) may be derived immediately from *haru* a form which we may suppose to have existed, like *famulu-s* from *fāma* (No. 309). On the *i* in *híra* see Walther Ztschr. XII 412.

200) *χόλο-s*, *χολή* gall, anger, *χολ-ικό-s* bilious, *χολά-ω* am bilious, *χολό-ω* make bilious, enrage. —

Lat. *fel*, *fellitu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *gallā*. — Ch.-Sl. *žlŭ-čŭ*, *žlŭ-tŭ* bilis.

Pott W. II 1, 210, Schleich. Ksl. 111. — Both are clearly right in bringing the words into connection with No. 197, so that the gall got its name in that case from its green colour. The suffix is different in the different languages, *fell* is perhaps for *fel-ti* (cp. *mel* No. 465), though otherwise Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 379, Corssen Beitr. 318; in Ch.-Sl. *čŭ* or *tŭ* is suffix and only the stem *žlŭ* is to be compared with *χολ*. Cp. however Kuhn Ztschr. I 516. — How the Lat. *bili-s* is to be referred to the same stem, I do not see, since there is no bridge to help us over from *gh* to initial *b*. Hence Corssen connects this word with *gil-vu-s* and the Skt. *gáwra-s* 'yellow' with *δ* for *g* (cp. below p. 465). — On the distinction between *χολή* and *χόλο-s* see Lobeck Proleg. 11. — Schweizer's conjecture Ztschr. I 566 (cp. Fulda 'Untersuchungen' 208) does not seem to me a happy one.

200b) Rt. *χρεμ χρεμ-ίζω*, *χρεμ-ετ-ίζω* neigh, *χρεμ-ετ-άω* resound, *χρόμ-η*, *χρόμο-s* noise, neighing, *χρόμ-*

αδο-s creaking. — Zd. *gran-tô* (rt. *gram*) incensed. — O.-H.-G. *ga-grim* creaking, A.-S. *grim-etan*, O.-H.-G. *gram-izzôn* murmur, hum. — Ch.-Sl. *grîm-ě-ti* thunder, *grom-ŭ* thunder, *grim-a-ti* sonare.

Fick² 72, who also rightly connects *Χρῆμ-ης*, *Χρῆμ-ύλο-s* the favourite name of the cross-grained old man in comedy, perhaps too the Teutonic words O.-H.-G. *gram* 'resentful', *grim* 'rage', O.-H.-G. *grimmida* 'ill humour' &c. *frend-ěre* is formed by the addition of a *d*, which must originally have been *dh*. — Cp. Pott W. II 2, 167.

201) Rt. *χρῖ* *χρῖ-ω* graze, besmear, *χρῖ-σι-s* anointing, *χρῖ-μα*, *χρῖ-σ-μα* ointment.

Skt. rt. *ghar ghar-â-mi*, *gi-ghar-mi* besprinkle, *gharsh (ghars) gharsh-â-mi* rub, *ghr-ta-m* melted butter, grease, *ghrsh-ti-s* frictio.

Lat. *fri-are* grind to powder, *fri-c-are*, *fric-iu-m* tooth-powder, *fric-tio*.

Benf. II 198, 375, Corssen I² 517. — For the primary meaning of *χρῆν* '*χρῆν μὲς ὀστέος*' Aesch. Prom. 566 is important. — *Fricare* has an added *c*, and we may suppose in this case that it is a derivative from a noun-stem *frica* (*fricae* a kind of stone) or *frico* (Corss. Beitr. 207). The Skt. *gharsh* shows an added *s*. But there is no necessity to suppose with Benfey that *χρῖ-ω* arose from *χρῖσ-ω*. — One 204 feels a strong temptation to compare also *χρῶς*, *χρο-ά*, *χρῶ-μα* 'colour', as being that which is rubbed on. But we are met by the fact that *χρῶ-s* in Homer means only 'skin', and 'skin-colour', and since the same meaning of 'skin' is to be found in *χροιά χροά*, we must suppose colour to have been regarded as a skin drawn over the substance (cp. p. 113); just as *col-or* belongs to the rt. *cel* 'occulere' 'celare'. Or is it that the surface in general is regarded as something 'rubbed on', or 'anointing'? — *χρῖμν-τ-ω* 'touch', *χρῖνω* 'touch', 'colour', *χρῶ-ω* 'scrape', may be regarded as formations from the same rt., even the Skt. *ghrâ*, which though usually meaning 'to smell' (intrans.) means also 'to smell at', 'to kiss', may perhaps be related. — Cp. Pott W. I 98. Ascoli's views (XVII 345, cp. Corss. I² 802) are different, but they do not convince me.

202) *χρῦσό-s*, *χρυσό-ν* gold. — Skt. *hir-ana-m*, *hir-anja-m*, Zd. *zar-anu*, *zaranya* (n.) gold. — Goth. *gul-th*. Ch.-Sl. *zla-to*.

Grimm Gesch. p. 13, Schleich. Ksl. 109. Miklosich Lex. s. v. *zla-to*. In the Slav. *zr-ě-ti*, Lith. *žer-ě-ti* shine the rt., which is the

Skt. *ghar*, is preserved. From this rt., the same already spoken of at No.'s 182, 185, 197, and 200, the oriental languages have formed the word for gold by suffixing *-ana*, the European by suffixing *-ta*. For the latter languages Schleicher in Hildebrand's Jahrb. f. Nationalökon. I p. 410 rightly gives *ghar-ta* as the primary form. From this come the Teutonic and Slavonic forms directly. *χρυσός* however seems to point to a secondary derivative *ghart-ja*, whence *χρυσιο*; — and *ghart-ja* bears to *gharta* precisely the same relation that *hiraŋja* does to *hiraŋa*. On the *ū* cp. Delbrück Stud. I 2, 136. A trace of the formation with the suffix *-na* is to be seen in Hesych's *χλον-νό-ς χρυσός*. The Lat. representative of this stem is *lū-tu-m*, which we have already mentioned at No. 197, whence comes *lūt-eu-s* golden-yellow. We may add the Phryg. *γλου-ρό-ς· χρυσός, γλούρεα· χρύσεια* (Hesych.), with the Eranic *g* for *gh*.

203) Rt. *χυ χέ(ῥ)-ω* (fut. *χεῦ-σω*) pour, *χύ-μα, χεῦ-μα, χύ-σι-ς, χο-ή* a pouring, stream, *χό-ο-ς* a heap of earth, *χυ-μό-ς, χυ-λό-ς* juice.

Lat. *fo-n(t)-s, fu-ti-s* (vas aquarium), *ec-fū-ti-o, re-fū-to, con-fū-to, fu-n-d-o* (st. *fūd*), *fū-ti-li-s*.

Goth. *giu-t-a* pour (st. *gut*). [Germ. *giesse*.]

Pott W. I 777, Aufrecht Ztschr. I 120, Benf. II 194 with an unsuccessful comparison of Skt. words. — Acc. to Ebel Ztschr. II 80 (cp. Döderlein Gl. 2065) *λο-χέῥ-αιρα* 'sagittas fundens' (βέλεα στροφέοντα χέοντο O 590) belongs to this rt., *χεῥ-αιρα* for *χεῥ-αῖ-ια* supposes a masc. *χεῥ-αῖ-ο-ς*, to which it is related as *πίερα* is to *παρό-ς*. See moreover even so far back as the E. M. s. v. — *χά-ε-σθαι* is related to *χέ(ῥ)-ω* as *πλώ-ω* is to *πλέ(ῥ)-ω*. Even Aristarchus explained *χωόμενος* 'angry' in this way by means of *συγχεόμενος* (cp. *confusus animo*) Lehrs Arist. 2 145. — We might be tempted to separate the Lat. *fundo* and the Goth. *giuta* entirely from the Gk. words, and to connect the former along with *funda* with the Gk. *σφενδόνη* (No. 296), if it were not for the Latin words, which point to a shorter stem *fu*. To these belong specially *re-fū-to, con-fū-to*. As to *fū-ti-li-s* Fleckeisen in the *epistula critica* prefixed to his edition of Plautus p. X follows Ritschl in recommending the spelling *fut-ti-li-s*, so that we should have to hold the first *t* to be the representative of *d*, and other testimonies to this way of writing the word are collected by 205 Klotz on Terence Andria p. 125. Paul. Epit. p. 89 has preserved the peculiar meaning of *fu-ti-li-s, vasa futilia a fundendo*, so that a man is *futilis* who is 'not able to hold fast', not able to keep silence. Not a trace of the *d* is to be seen in *effutire* 'chatter'. Cp. Orssen Beitr. 214, where *fon(t)-s* is doubtless rightly referred to a stem *fov-ont* identical with *χεῥ-ovr*, cp. note to No. 192. (Other-

wise Kuhn Ztschr. III 999, Ascoli XVII 346, Bugge Stud. IV 343.) These words have as little to do with *gutta* and *guttur* as with *hú-mor*, more properly *úmor* (No. 158). — Aufrecht XIV 268 and Pictet II 702 following Kuhn (Ztschr. II 470, cp. Grassmann XI 40) have made it very probable that the Skt. *hu* 'sacrifice' belongs not, as I formerly held, to *ḍv-ω* (No. 320), but to our present root, and accordingly had originally the meaning of 'drink-offering'; this view is especially supported by *ā-hāv-a-s* 'bucket', 'horse-trough', and by the Zd. *zao-thra* (f.), cp. *zv-τρα* 'holy water'.

T

Greek *τ* corresponds to Indo-Germanic *t*. It is represented in Sanskrit by *t*, or *th*, in Zend by the same letters, in Latin by *t*, in Gothic by *th*, in the middle of a word sometimes, as in O.-H.-G. throughout, by *d*, in Ecclesiastical Slavonic and Lithuanian by *t*, in Old Irish by *t*, and between vowels by *th* and *d*.

204) *ávτ-ι* over against, instead of, *ávτ-α*, *ávτ-ν*, *ávτ-υ*-ς against, over against, *ávτío-ς*, *év-ávτío-ς* contrary to, *ávτ-o-μαι*, *ávτá-ω*, *ávτιά-ω* meet.

Skt. *anti* over against, before, considering, *anti-ka-s* near, *anti-ka-m* going on before one, *anti-déva-s* opponent.

Lat. *ante* (for *anted*), *ant-erior*, *ant-íquo-s*.

Goth. *and* along, against, *anda-vair-d* answer (Germ.

Antwort), *anda-nahti* the night before, the eve.

Lith. *ant* (with gen.) to, at.

O.-Gall. *ande-*, O.-Ir. *ind-*, *inn-*, *ind-rid* incursus (Z.² 867, 877).

Bopp Comp. Gr. III 488, PW., Pott I² 259, where however there is a very capricious conjecture as to the origin. — Inscr. Delph. No. 8 l. 3 in Wescher and Foucart is important for *ávτι*: '*ávτι τοῦ χτιστοτεχνίου προσάντων ιστάτω*', where the old physical primary meaning which is in general only preserved in compounds can be

clearly seen (cp. Hesiod. *Ἔργ.* 727, Xenoph. *Anab.* IV 7, 6). — On the meaning of the Lith. *ant* see Schleicher *Lit. Gramm.* p. 285 f. — The Lat. *ante-d* is preserved in *antid-eā* and is to be regarded as an ablative, while *ἀντί* and *anti* are locative in form, *ἄντα* instrumental. Cp. No. 330. It is hard to trace the connection between this stem and the Skt. *anta-s* 'end' (but also 'neighbourhood' = the Goth. 206 *andei-s*), which in Sanskrit is closely connected with it. The Lat. *antes* 'rows' must also be considered here. — Weber *Ind. Stud.* II 406 takes as the rt. the Skt. *at* 'to move continuously' (*sam at* visit) along with the unauthenticated *ant* 'bind', while Benf. *Or. u. Occ.* II 560 maintains all these words to be of pronominal origin.

205) ἀστὴρ (st. ἀστέρ) star, ἀστέρ-ό-εις starry, ἄστρο-ο-ν constellation.

Skt. (Ved.) pl. *star-as* stars, *tārā* (for *stārā*) star.
— Zd. *ḡtare* star.

Lat. *stel-la* (for *ster-ula*), *astru-m* (perhaps borrowed).

Goth. *stair-nô* (f.), O.-H.-G. *stërro* (m.) star.

Cymr. *stirenn*, Arem. *ster* stella, Corn. *steyr* stellæ (Z.² 120, 122).

Bopp *Gl.*, s. v. *tārā*, Pott II¹ 167. — Perhaps we ought to put with these *τέρας* and the ἀπαξ εἰρημένον *τείρεα* (Σ 485 ἐν δὲ τὰ *τείρεα πάντα τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφανώται*) while ἀστράν-τ-ω, *στέρ-ον* 'shining', *στέρ-ον-ή* may be reckoned derivative forms. Benf. I 662 f. — The oft-quoted Zd. *aṣtar* is not to be found in Justi, and seems accordingly to have no authority, so that an initial *a* is only to be found in Gk. — As to the rt. varying opinions have been held. Acc. to one view it is preserved in the Skt. *as* throw, in which case ἀστὴρ would answer to the Skt. *astar* shooter (Kuhn *Ztschr.* I 540), in support of which Benf. mentions the Germ. *Strahl* (both 'arrow' and 'flash of lightning'), acc. to the other (Kuhn *Ztschr.* IV 4) the words come from a rt. *star* (No. 227), in which case the stars would have been so-called from being 'strewn over the vault of heaven'. The fact that in the Vedas *star-as* only occurs as a plural speaks for the second view. Max Müller II 365 also derives *star-as* from the rt. *star*, but in the active sense as 'the strewers of light'. This seems to me bold, since we do not find the rt. *star* used specially of light. — Pictet II 209 connects ἀσ-τὴρ only with the rt. *as*, and the words beginning with a consonant with the rt. *star*. — As prothetic vowels are so common in Gk. this seems to me unsafe, and I regard Kuhn's second view to be the most probable one.

206) *ἄστν* (for *ῥάστν*) city, *ἀστεῖο-ς* urbane, *ἀστέ-ς* towns-
man, citizen.

Skt. *vāstu* place, house, *vāstavja-s* *οἰκελος*, rt. *vas*.
— Zd. *vanh* stay, dwell.

O.-H.-G. *wis-t* mansio, Goth. *vis-an* manere.

O.-Ir. *foss* rest (Corm. Gl. p. 1 *amfhos*), *i-fhus*,
i-fhos at home (Corm. Gl. p. 34 *orc tréith*);
ar-a-ossa (for *ar-a-fossa*) quae manet (Z.² 434,
Goid. p. 26, 48).

Kuhn Ztschr. II 132, while Benf. I 297 compares the Skt. *vastu* 'locus', Bopp Gl. s. v. *vas*, Pott W. II, 2, 475. — On the O.-H.-G. *wist* cp. Grimm D. Gr. II 923. — The *ῥ* of *ἄστν* is discussed by Ahr. d. aeol. 170, and by Hoffmann Quaest. Hom. § 112. *α* is here, as often elsewhere, the representative of long *a*. — Pott has ingeniously associated with this same rt. *vas* 'to dwell' the words *οἶη· κάμη* (Hesych.) i. e. *vas-jā*, and *οἶά-τη-ς· καμητήης* (Hesych.) — cp. also *Οἶα*, *Οἶη*, *Ῥη* — and *ὑπερ-ώιο-ν* 'upper-story'. But doubts still remain, especially on account of the Lacon. *ᾠβά* 'tribus'. The same scholar explains the Lat. *ver-na* which like *οἰκέτης* had originally the meaning 'house-companion' (Preller Röm. Myth. 248), to be for *resi-gena* 'born in the house', in which case we might assume a Lat. subs. = Skt. *vasa-s*. But perhaps it is better to derive the word straight from the rt. *vas*. — Roth Ztschr. IX 220 puts *ἑσ-τία*, as I did formerly, not under the rt. *vas* shine (No. 610), but under our present rt, so too *εὔ-νη* for **vas-nā*. But the existence of an Indo-Germ. rt. *vas*, *us*, can hardly be denied.

207) *ἄττα* father! — Skt. *attā* mother, older sister. —

Lat. *atta* father! — Goth. *atta* (st. *attan*) father.

— Ch.-Sl. *otŭ-cŭ* father.

Grimm Gesch. 271, Kuhn Web. Ind. Stud. I 325. — A very old epithet of endearment used to one's elders, of which the Skt. has only the fem. — Paul. Epit. 12, '*attam pro reverentia seni cui libet dicimus, quasi cum avi nomine appellemus*', and therefore certainly not a borrowed word. — The Goth. *aithei* 'mother' with the regular change of letters must also be of the same origin, at the same time Pictet II 347 compares the O.-Ir. *aite* 'foster-father'. — Cp. No. 243.

208) *ἐτ-εό-ς* true, *ἐτά-ξ-ω* examine. — Skt. *sat-ja-s* verus, *sat-ja-m* veritas. — O.-S. A.-S. *sóth* (= *san-th-s*) sooth, O.-N. *sann-r* true.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 243, Benf. I 25. — The rt. is *éc* 'to be' (No. 564). The meaning 'true', 'real' appears already in the Skt.

participle *sat*, the shorter form for *sant* = (*a*)*sant* (Lat. *prae-sent*), and Clemm Stud. III 328 refers the Lat. *son-s* (st. *sont*) 'that has been it' to the same origin, also the derivative *sont-icu-s*, a view which receives striking confirmation from Bugge's account of the use of the Old Norse *sann-r* (Stud. IV 205). *sat-ja-s* is derived from the same *sat*; the Gk. *ἐτ-εό-ς* has lost the spir. asp. Cp. below p. 681. The synonymous words *ἐτν-μο-ς*, *ἐτ-ἡτν-μο-ς* are referred by Benf. to the Skt. form *sat-va-m*, which as a subst. has the meaning 'being', 'creature', 'animal'. — Kern's assertion (Ztschr. VIII 400) that *ἐτεός* shows traces of the *f* has no foundation whatever. The argument that *ἐλ ἐτεόν γε* at the end of a line proves the existence of the digamma would equally well prove its existence in *ἀπο*, for we find *ἦ ἀπολέσθαι* at the end of a line as well. Pott II² 820 holds therefore rightly to the old explanation, as does Sonne Ztschr. X 345. On the *s* = *j* cp. p. 594.

- 209) *ἐτι* moreover, further, still, *προσέτι* over and above.
— Skt. *ati*, Zd. *aiti* excessively, ultra. — Lat. *et*, *et-iam*, *at* in *at-avu-s*. — O.-Ir. *aith-*, *ath-* (for **ati*) re-, iterum in *aith-scribend* re-scriptum, *ad-ro-gegon-sa* repupugi (Z.² 869).

Pott I² 251, Bopp Gl. — *ati* is used in compounds in exactly the same way as in *at-avu-s* e. g. *atj-ahna-s* 'lasting over a day' ('longer than a day'). The Lat. *et* might then also correspond to the related Skt. *atha* 'further', but the former supposition is rendered preferable by the Gk. *ἐτι*. Pott calls special attention to the almost identical use of *ati*, *ἐτι*, and *et-iam* with comparatives: *ἐτι μᾶλλον*, *etiam melius*. Kissling's assertion (Ztschr. XVII, 214) that an original *ati* must have become in Gk. *ἐσι* and then even *ἐλ*, is completely unfounded, as we can see from *προ-τί* (*πο-τί*), *φά-τι-ς*, *μῆ-τι-ς*, *δῶ-τι-ς*, *δω-τί-ρη*. The rt. acc. to Weber Ind. Stud. II 406 is to be found in 208 the Skt. *at* 'ire' (?). — Even the latest edition of Passow's Dictionary repeats the singularly ingenious remark "the word seems to be the primary form of the 3. sing. of *εἰμί*, and so properly *est*".

- 210) *ἔτος* (*Ἰέτος*) year, *ἐτήσιο-ς* yearly, *ἐτησίαι* yearly winds, *τῆτες* (*σῆτες*) this year, *εἰς νέωρ-α* a year hence, *δυρ-ετηρία* a bad year.

Skt. *vatsa-s*, *vatsara-s* year.

Lat- *vetus*, *vetus-tu-s*, *vetulu-s*.

Ch.-Sl. *vetŭch-ŭ* old.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *vatsara*, Pott I¹ 108, Benf. I 311, Kuhn Ztschr. II 133, Miklosich Radd. p. 8 (Ch.-Sl. *ch* regularly from *s*). — The *f*

is established by *ῥέτια*, *ῥικατιῥέτιες* on Boeotian inscriptions (C. I. 1569, 1575) (Ahr. d. aeol. 170), and its effects may be recognized in the Lacedemonian *διαβέτης*, *γέτορ* (Ahr. d. dor. 46, 54), and in *ἄετιά*, *τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει γεννώμενα*, *αὐτέῃ τὸν αὐτοεῖῃ*, *ὑεῖς ὁ αὐτοεῖς* (Hesych. ed. Schmidt p. 57), and in the Homeric *οἰετίας* 'of the same age', and even in *τριακοντούτης*. All of the latter words are compounded with the copulative prefix *ἄ*, *ὀ* (Lob. Elem. I 362). — Ebel Ztschr. IV 329 ingeniously suggests an old subst. *vetus* 'year' as the origin of *vetus-tu-s* (cp. *robustus*, *venustus*) and agrees in so doing with Corssen Ztschr. II 10, who refers *Veturius* as well to the same source. — The stem then is *vatas*, whence came the Skt. *vatsa-s* (for *ratas-a-s*) with added *a*, a shorter form is found in *sam-vat* 'year'. From this shorter form came *νέωτα* which must be for *νεο-ῥ(ε)τ-α*. Cp. *πέρουσι* No. 360. The explanations that have been ventured for *ἱαντός* including the latest made by Ascoli Ztschr. XVII 408, seem to me as yet unsuccessful.

- 211) *ἱτ-αλό-ς* (*ῥιταλός*). — Skt. *vatsa-s* calf, child. — Lat. *vitulu-s*, *vitula*, Osc. *Viteliū* (*Italia*). — Ch.-Sl. *tel-e*, Bohem. *tel-e*, Lith. *telyczà* heel.

ἱταλός in Hesych. with the meaning *ταῦρος*, which is assumed also by Varro R. R. II 5 who follows Timaeus in deriving thence the name *Italia* (cp. Gell. XI 1, 1). This etymology is splendidly confirmed by *Viteliū* in the inscription on Oscan coins (Mommson Unterital. Dialekte 260). — Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ztschr. II 133. — Ebel IV 329 compares the Skt. *vatsa-s* 'year' in which case the word would mean 'that which is of this year'. — So Bopp üb. das Albanesische p. 3. In this language the calf is called *βίτσ*, the year *βίττι* or *βίερ*. Stier Ztschr. XI 207. — Grimm Gesch. 33, who however, regardless of the Skt. word, makes *vitulus* arise from *cvitulus*, comparing the O.-N. *quig-r* vitulus, conjectures that aphaeresis has happened in the Slav.-Lith. words (*tela-s* for *ve-tela-s*) as in the Neapolitan *Talia* = *Italia* (Wentrup Beiträge zur Kenntniss der neapolitan. Mundart p. 9). In the case of a word whose origin was obliterated so early this seems credible. Otherwise Miklos. Radd. p. 93, Lex. 987.

- 212) *μετά* with, among, after, *μέταξε* afterwards, *μέτασ-σαι* lambs of middling age, *μετα-ξύ* between.

Skt. (Ved.) *mithas* alternately, *mithu* together, *mithu-na-s* connected, Zend *mat* with.

Goth. *mith* ἀνὰ μέσον, *μετά*, *σύν*, *missó* one another, 209

O.-H.-G. *miti* (Germ. *mit*) with.

Bopp Comp. Gr. III 510, Benf. Lex. z. Sāmavêda s. v. *sma*, Kuhn Ztschr. I 515, Ebel IV 142, where *mati* is assumed to be the primary

form for the Teutonic languages. — Pott I² 755, more clearly Ztschr. VI 101, assumes aphaeresis of an *a*, so that the Skt. *amā* 'together' would then be the primary form. Benfey's conjecture is more plausible; it is that the Zd. *maŕ* arose from the similarly used Skt. *smat* (with the instrumental 'with' Delbrück Abl. Loc. Instr. 68) and that *μετά* too is to be referred to the stem *sama* (No. 449) not unlike the O.-H.-G. *samant*, *samat*, and the Germ. *sammt* (together with) (Leo Meyer Ztschr. VIII, 139). *μέτασσαι* (cp. *ἐπισσαι*) must be for *μετα-μι-αι*, and *μεταξύ* must be a compound with *ξύν*. The Skt. *i* is weakened from *a*. *μετά* in form is instrumental, *mithas* genitival and ablative. — We can perceive no direct relationship to *μέσος*, at most it might be considered whether both words are derived from the rt. *ma* (No. 461).

213) *ὀστέον* bone, *ὀστέινος*, *ὀστινος* of bone, bony. — Skt. *asthi*, *asthan*, Zd. *aŕti*, *aŕta* bone. — Lat. *os* (O.-Lat. *ossu*, *ossu-m*), *oss-eu-s*.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 329, Kuhn Ztschr. III 325. — The Lat. *os* stands for *osse* st. *ossi*, from *osti* like *messi-s* from *mes-ti-s*, *met-ti-s*. On the other forms see Priscian VI p. 254 H. — The Ch.-Sl. *kosti* which must be related to the Lat. *costa* 'rib' must be put aside because the *k* cannot be explained in the face of three Indo Germ. families. — On the other hand parallels suggest themselves readily in Gk. in *ὄσ-τακός* and *ἄσ-τακός* 'sea-crab', in *ὄσ-τρεφον*, *ὄστροφιον* 'oyster', in *ὄσ-τρεακόν* 'potaherd', 'shell' (of crabs, muscles, and eggs), in *ἄσ-τρεαγᾶλος* 'ankle', 'vertebra', 'die', with the by-form *ἄσ-τρις* (whence *ἀστροίζειν* = *ἀστραγαλίζειν* 'to play with dice'), and in *ἄσ-τριχος*. All these are names of hard substances, and that this is the special meaning of *ὀστέον* is shown by the fact that the same word has in the three languages the two meanings 'bone' and 'kernel' or 'stone of fruit'. This gives ground for Pictet's conjecture (I 515), that the rt. *as* throw contains the etymon, so that bones and fruit-stones were so called from being 'what is thrown away', 'rubbish'. If this view is adopted we must assume a form *as-ta-m* that is preserved in the Lat. *ossu-m* as the primary one, and a by-form *as-ti* whence came *ὄσ-τέον* (as it were *osseum*), probably for *ὄσ-τε-ιον*, and by another suffix a dimin. *ὄσταρον* (Schwabe de deminut. p. 32, 69), whence *ὄσάριον* 'little knucklebone' on the one side, and on the other *ὄστρεον*, *ὄστρακον*, the latter with a fresh diminutival suffix. *ἄσ-τρις* with the *a* preserved would stand for *ἄσ-ταφ-ις*. In *ἄσ-τρεαγᾶλος* (cp. the Germ. *Knöchel*) the *γ* seems to have been weakened from *κ*, so that we should here have a diminutive form of the character of the Lat. *corni-cu-lu-m*, such as we see, though Schwabe (p. 58) sought one in vain, in *ὀβρι-κα-λος* = *ὀβριον* Aesch. Ag. 135.

Cp. Stud. I 259. The words for dice suggest a direct derivation from the rt. *as* throw, which Pott I¹ 519 conjectures for the Lat. *á le-a* (for *as-le-a*; cp. the Skt. *prásaka-s* i. e. *pra-as-a-ka-s* 'die'), but the other meanings make it safer to connect them with the words for 'bone'. Otherwise Pauli 'Körpertheile' 24.

214) Rt. πετ πέτ-ο-μαι fly (ἐ-πτ-ό-μην, ἐ-πτά-μην, ἔ-πτῃ-ν), 210

ὦκυ-πέτ-η-ς swift, ποτά-ο-μαι flutter, πτερό-ν wing, πτέρυξ wing, fin, flap, πτίλο-ν feather. — πί-πτ-ω (Dor. aor. ἔ-πετ-ο-ν), πτν-νέ-ω fall, πτώ-μα, πτώ-σι-ς a fall, πότη-μο-ς lot.

Skt. *pat*, *pat-ā-mi* fly, settle down, fall, light upon, fall in with, *pat-a-tra-m*, *pattra-m*, *pattr-in* bird, *pat-man* flight, *pāt-a-s* flight, fall, wing, leaf.

Lat. *peto*, *im-pet-u-s*, *pen-na* (Old Lat. *pes-na*), *prae-pe(t)-s*, *acci-pit-er*.

O.-H.-G. *fēdara*, *fēdah* (*fētah*) wing, flap. — Goth. *finth-a* γιγνώσκω, O.-H.-G. *find-u*.

Ch.-Sl. *pūt-a* bird, *pūt-ica* passer, *pe-ro* feather.

O.-Ir. *én avis* (for **petna*, cp. O.-Cymr. *etn*, Z.² 776), *ete* wing (Amra 44, for *pet-tia*?), *etechail* volucer (Ir. Gl. 1066).

Bopp Gl., Pott I 240, I² 47, Benf. II 93, Schleich. Ksl. 119, Fick² 114, Ebel Beitr. III 35. — The rt. *pat*, *pet* is clear. The primary meaning (cp. Introduction p. 105) we may assume to have been that of 'quick movement' which has been maintained in the widest sense in the Lat. *petere*, while in the Skt. and Gk. it has branched off into the two meanings 'fly' and 'fall' — both denoting a movement through the air. For all that Skt. compounds like *utpat* 'fly up', 'spring up', *prapat* 'hurry along', 'dash', and also the Gk. *πο-πετής*, *εὐπετής* have meanings more like *petere*, while on the other hand the Lat. *penna* (for *pet-na*), *praepetes* (*aves* Fest. p. 205, 244) and *accipiter* (cp. No. 2), which Pott II¹ 54 well compares to the Gk. *ὠκυπέτης*, with its by-form *acceptor* (Charis p. 98 K) are akin in their meanings to the words for 'flying'. The poetic adj. *δυπετής* (side by side with *δυ-πέτ-ης*) is also important for the special development of the meaning of this rt.; Homer uses it as an epithet of rivers, but it afterwards acquired a much more general use. *ἐμπεσεῖν* in passages like O 624 corresponds quite to the Lat. *impetum facere*. — The Germ. *finden* (find) finds in its special meaning of 'lighting upon' something, a clear analogy in the uses of the Skt. *pat* that are given in the PW.

under head 7. The Lat. *invenire* has almost the same primary meaning, so too *εἰσπύπτειν* applied as it is e. g. by Xen. Cyneg. 3, 5: *ἐλαττοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἔγχη, ὅτι εἰσπύπτονσιν εἰς αὐτά.* — Cp. No. 349.

- 215) St. *πετα πετά-ννυ-μι, πίτ-νη-μι* spread out, *πέτα-σ-μα* curtain, covering, *πέτα-σο-ς* broad-brimmed hat, *πέτα-λο-ν* leaf, plate (of metal), *πέτα-λο-ς* spread out, *πατ-άνη* dish.

Lat. *pat-e-o, pat-ulu-s, Patulciu-s, patina.*

O.-H.-G. *fad-am* filum, O.-S. *fath-m* the outstretched arm, embrace, (*fathom*).

Pott I¹ 244, Benf. I 544, where much foreign matter is introduced, II 98, where *πετά-ννυμι* is classed with *πλατύ-ς* = Skt. *pr̥thu-s* and rt. *parth, prath* 'extendi' (No. 367 b). Leo Meyer Bemerk. 21 agrees with him in comparing the latter, and suggests *ποτί* by the side of *πρωτί* as an analogy. But the *r* of the Skt. words appears in *πλατύς* as *l*, and the words here compared are found in three families of speech with no liquid after the labial, and therefore we prefer to treat them as separate. — *patina* is perhaps borrowed. — That *πέταλον* belongs here and not as Bopp holds to the Skt. *pattram* ('wing', 'leaf' No. 214) is proved by the meaning and the adj. *πέταλο-ς* which is identical with *patulu-s* (cp. *δέινδρεα ὑψιπέτηλα*). — Perhaps we might also place here *πετ-λέα* 'elm' which Fick compares with the Lat. *tília* (Or. u. Occ. III 118). — May we not suppose that the Zd. *pathana*, 'wide', 'broad' belongs here? (Fick² 115).

- 216) Rt. *στα ἔ-στη-ν* I placed myself, *ἱ-στη-μι* place, *στά-σι-ς* position, standing, sedition, *στα-μίν* an upright, side-beam (of a ship), *στά-μνο-ς* jar, *ἱ-στό-ς* weaver's beam, *στή-μων* the warp, *στα-τήρ* a weight.

Skt. *sthā ti-shthā-mi* (Zend *hi-štā-mi*) sto, consisto. *sthi-ti-s* status, *stha-la-m* locus, *stha-vi-s* weaver.

Lat. *sta st-o, si-st-o, stā-ti-m, stā-ti-o, Stā-tor, stā-tu-s, stā-tu-o, stā-tu-a. stā-men* warp, *stā-bu-lu-m, stā-bi-li-s.*

O.-H.-G. *stā-m*, Goth. *stan-da* stand, *stath-s* place, O.-H.-G. *stat* (Germ. *Stütze*), Goth. *stōl-s* (Germ. *Stuhl*) chair, throne.

Ch.-Sl. *sta-ti* stand, Lith. *stō-ti* (in compounds) stand, *sta-tū-s* standing, steep, *statý-ti* to place, *stō-na-s*

standing, *stá-klē-s* loom, Ch.-Sl. *sta-menŭ* στάμνος, *sto-lŭ* thronus, sella.

O.-Ir. *in-a-sessam* "in their standing" = who stand (Corm. Gl. p. 7 bóge), *sessed* standing (Goid. p. 27, 47, from a primary form **si-sta-tu-*).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 312—372, Benf. I 628, Schleich. Ksl. 115, Corssen I² 414. — The rt. *sta*, of which the *t* is aspirated only in the Skt. form, is the basis of a large number of secondary forms, especially of the stems *σταθ* (*στα-θ-μός-ς*, *στα-θ-μή*, *στα-θ-ερός-ς*, *στη-θ-ος*, *ἀ-στα-θής*), *σταλ*, *σελ*, *σταF*, and *σεF*, and, with a change of vowel, of *δτυ*, *στυπ*, and *στυφ*. — It is specially noticeable that the rt. is applied to weaving similarly in the Gk. *ιστό-ς*, *στήμων*, the Lat. *stamen* and the Skt. *stha-vi-s* (Pictet II 173); with *στάμνο-ς* on the other hand may be compared the M.-H.-G. *stande* of like meaning. — *στάλη· ταμείον κτηνῶν* (Hesych.) answers to the Skt. *sthalam* and the O.-H.-G. *stal* (*statio*). The same meaning is found in the Ch.-Sl. *sta-ja*. Corssen Beitr. 463, I² 810 gives valid reasons for not connecting *stlocu-s*, the older form of *locus* with this rt. Pott analyses *δύστηνος* as *δυσ-στηνο-ς* and sees in *στηνο* a noun meaning 'standing' 'condition'. — By the help of the suffix *-vara* the Skt. *sthā-vara-s* 'firm' = Zd. *čtaura* 'strong' is formed from the rt. *sta*; it may however also be compared to the Gk. *σταυ-ρός-ς* 'stake' and to a Lat. *stauru-s* which we may deduce from *in-staur-are*, *re-staurare*. The Goth. *stiur-jan* 'make firm' comes from the same source, perhaps too the Lith. *sta-rari-s* (?) 'knot' (in wood, reeds &c.), while the Lat. *sti-ra* 'plough-tail' shows the suffix *va* only. — That also *στέαρ* (*st. στεαρτ* for *στέ-F-αρ-τ*) 'standing fat', 'tallow', and *σταις* 'dough' came from the rt. *στα* seems very probable (cp. Benf. I 638, Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 369).

217) Rt. *σταF*, *σεF*.

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This rt. is now discussed under Nos. 228 and 216.

218) Rt. *σταλ*, *σελ* *στέλλ-ω* (*ἐ-στάλη-ν*) set, appoint, despatch, *στόλο-ς* expedition, *στάλ-ιξ* prop, rack, *σελ-εό-ν*, *σελεά* (cp. *σειλειή*) handle (of an axe &c.), *στέλ-εχος* the stock of a tree, *στήλ-η* column.

Lat. *prae-stól-o-r*, *stul-tu-s*, *stol-i-du-s* (?).

O.-H.-G. *stil* handle, shaft (Germ. *Stiel*), *stellan* place (Germ. *stellen*), *stilli* still, soft.

O.-Ir. *stalle* he stands, Lith. *stelŭti* arrange, order.

Cp. No. 216. — We find in Skt. the rt. *sthal* 'firmiter stare', but it is not supported by instances (Westergaard). Pott W. I 362. Kuhn Ztschr. III 322. — Ahr. d. aeol. 41 mentions *σπει* as the Aeol. rt. for *σπόλα* = *σπολή*, *κασπολέω* (= *κατασπελῶ*), and hence he separates *σπει* with the meaning 'clothe' from this rt. We are met here by many unsolved difficulties, we cannot even be certain with regard to some of the words given above whether the *l* belongs to the stem or to the formative suffix. — The Aeol. *στάλλα* (Conze 'Reise auf Lesbos' Hannov. 1865 p. 35, A 24, B 17, XIX 2 *στήλλη*) proves that *στήλη* belongs here, and not directly to the rt. *στα*. Perhaps *στάλ-ια* stands for *σταλ-να*, and is to be compared with the Skt. *sthū-nā* (Zd. *ḥtūna*) 'pillar', the *n* of which seems to point to a lost *r* and so to a form *star-nā*. Cp. No. 228. — *σταλίδας*· *κάμακας χάρακας* (Hesych.) suggests the M.-H.-G. *stelze* (Germ. *Stelze*) 'stilt', 'prop'. — *σείλ-ετος* is formed like *τέμ-αχος*, *αἰσ-χος* (st. *αἰδ*). — On *stolidu-s* and *stultu-s* cp. Corssen II² 166.

219) Rt. *στεμφ*, *στεμβ* *στέμφ-υλο-ν* pressed olives or grapes, *ἄ-στεμφ-ής* immovable, unpressed, *στέμβ-ω* shake, misuse, *στεμβ-άζ-ω* (Hesych.), *στοβ-έ-ω*, *στοβ-άζ-ω* scold, revile.

Skt. *stambh stabh-nó-mi*, *stabh-ná-mi* fulcio, innitor, offendo, *stambh-a-s* postis.

O.-H.-G. *stampf* pilum, *stampfôn* to stamp, pound.

Lith. *stēba-s* pillar (?).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 362 f. — *φ* and *β* interchange of old in this rt., *στέμβειν* denoted *τὸ κινεῖν συνεχῶς* and occurs in this sense in Aeschylus (Aesch. fr. 433 Herm.). Lobeck Rhemat. 33 f. discusses these words and others of a similar sound. -- The notions of 'propping' and 'stamping' are united in this rt. as they are in *ἐρείδω*. — The *ἄ* in *ἄστεμφής* accordingly is no doubt not negative but prothetic as in *ἄσταφίς*, *ἄσταχυς*. — I do not see how to connect with this root *σταφυλή* 'bunch of grapes' (*σταφύλη* plummet, peg), *σταφίς*, *ἄσταφίς* 'raisin', at all events it is not likely that *σταφυλή*, as Kuhn Ztschr. I 140 conjectures, originally meant 'vine-stock'. — Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 128 brings forward the Skt. *stibhi-s* 'twig', 'bunch of grapes'.

220) Rt. *στεν* *στέν-ω*, *στενάχ-ω* groan, sigh, *στόνο-ς* sigh. *στένο-μαι*, *σείνομαι*, am straitened, *στενό-ς*, *στεινό-ς* narrow, *σείνως* a confined space, strait, distress.

213

Skt. *stan stan-ā-mi* sono, gemo, *stanaj-ā-mi* I thunder, *stanajitnu-s* thundering.

O.-N. *stynja*, *styn* ingemisco, O.-H.-G. *stunód* suspirium.

Lith. *sten-ě-ti*, Ch.-Sl. *sten-a-ti* groan.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 147, above p. 112, according to which the meaning 'groan' is connected with that of 'confinement', 'pressure' just as it is in the case of *γέμ-ω* (No. 127 b). Kuhn Ztschr. II 237, IV 7. — Cp. No. 230.

221) Rt. *στέρ-ο-μαι* am deprived of, *στερ-έ-ω*, *στερ-ί-σκ-ω* deprive.

Goth. *stil-a* steal.

Pott W. II, 1, 710. — The Skt. *sténa-s* 'fur', *stéja-m* 'furtum' are formed from the shorter rt. *sti*, which Pictet II 439 regards as a weaker by-form of *star*. *τῆτά-ο-μαι* 'want', 'lack' (Pott II¹ 558, Benf. I 660) can hardly be compared, as the meaning does not come near enough. For combinations regarding it see Fick² 210. *στέλλω* itself has in certain connections the notion of 'secretness' and 'stealth' which occurs in the Teutonic words of our present root. Cp. accordingly No. 218. — Diefenbach vgl. Wörterb. II 331 has collected the rest of the Teutonic words. The O.-H.-G. *störjan* Germ. *stören* 'disturb', which Corssen (Beitr. 461) compares is foreign both in sense and sound.

222) *στερ-εό-ς*, *στερφό-ς*, *στέρ-ι-φο-ς* firm, hard, *στερίφη*, *στεῖρα* barren, *σῆρ-ι-γῆ* prop, *στηρίξ-ω* I prop.

Skt. *sthir-a-s* firm, *star-i* vacca sterilis, strength.

Lat. *ster-ili-s*.

M.-H.-G. *star* rigidus, Goth. *stairō* *στεῖρα*.

Lith. *styr-u* am stiff, numb, *stér-va* carrion.

Pott W. I 356. — *στερεό-ς* and *στερφό-ς* point to *στερjo-ς* (cp. *βορέας*, *βορῆας*), so too *στεῖρα* points to *στερ-ja*. The acc. *στεῖραν* corresponds completely to *starjam* the Vedic acc. to *stari* (Kuhn zur ältest. Gesch. p. 8). — We might also connect *στέραξ* (cp. *στόρθη*, *στόρδυγῆ*) 'shaft', comparing also *στεῖρα* 'keel-beam' with the M.-H.-G. *stiure*, the Lith. *stýra-s* rudder (Germ. *Steuer*), though *stiure* 'prop' suggests *σῆρ-ι-γῆ*. We can hardly separate *σκληρής* 'hard', 'rough', 'sharp', and the Lat. *strénuus*. — The *b* of the O.-H.-G. *stir-b-u* 'die' (Germ. *sterben*) might be compared to the *φ* of *στέρ-ι-φο-ς*; at all events 'to die' is properly 'to become stiff and chill'. Walter Ztschr. XII 411 is of the same opinion, only he connects the Teutonic word immediately with *torp-eo*. — The notions 'stiff', 'firm', 'strong' meet here in many instances. — Since Corssen I² 518 establishes for the

Lat. *stiria* as for *stilla* the meaning 'drop' we must hesitate to connect them with the words we are now discussing.

223) *στέφ-vo-v* breast, flat surface. — O.-G. *stirna* brow (Germ. *Stirn*).

Kuhn Ztschr. IV 4. — The primary meaning 'flat surface' is clearly to be seen in the rt. crop No. 227, the form corresponds exactly to the Skt. perf. pass. part. (n.) *stirna-m*, 'that which is spread out'.

224) Rt. *στεφ* (for *στέπ*) *στέφ-ω* I crown, *στέμ-μα*, *στέφ-ος*, *στέφ-ανο-ς* garland, *στεφ-άνη* circlet, border.

Skt. *sthā-p-ajā-mi* colloco, fundo.

214

Lat. *stip-a-re*, *stipatores*, *stipulari*, *stap-ia* stirrup.

O.-H.-G. *stif-t*, M.-H.-G. *stafe*, *stapfe* staff, O.-H.-G. *stifulên* fulcire, M.-H.-G. *under-stivel* fulcrum.

Kuhn Ztschr. I 140, Pott W. I 369. — The primary meaning of *στέφ-ω* is *πυκάζω*, 'make thick', 'firm', 'full', hence the Homeric *ἐπεστέφαντο ποτοιοῖο* (A 470), *ἐπιστεφής* (Archil. fr. 9 Bergk ὄλης ἀγρόλης ἐπιστεφής), both with gen. of material [cp. *στέφανοις πυκασθεῖς* Eur. Alc. 746, and Theocr. II, 153]. Allied to the above is the Lat. *stipare*, while the *stipatores* 'qui circumdant corpora regum' (Fest. p. 314) approach more nearly to the usual meaning 'crown', 'encircle'. *στίφ-ος* 'heap', 'troop', *στιφ-ρό-ς* 'thick', 'close', which are commonly connected with *στρίβω*, start from the notion 'closely-packed', 'pressed together'. On the *i* of several forms see Walter Ztschr. XII 413. — The several uses of *στεφ-άνη* 'battlement', 'railing', 'border', point to a protecting, strengthening 'encircling and surrounding'. — *stipulari* presupposes an adj. *stipulus* 'firmus' (cp. Gessn. Thesaur.), whence it arrived at the meaning 'to fix firmly to each other'. — The Skt. *sthāp-ajā-mi* is a regular causative from *sthā* 'stand'. From this point of view it becomes easy to understand the connection with *stip-ula* stalk, *stip-e-s* stem &c. Pictet II 425 follows the old theory in connecting *stipulari* directly with *stipula*, reminding us of the German custom of the '*Halmwurf*' and of the use of the *festuca* in the ceremony of manumission. — On *φ* for *p* cp. No. 251 and p. 499. — Cp. Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 154, Corssen I² 505.

225) *στί-α* stone, pebble, dim. *στίο-ν*, *στιάξ-ω* pelt with stones, *στιάδης* stony. — Goth. *stai-n-s* stone, *stain-ja-n* to stone.

Pott W. I 329, Benf. I 661, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 34, where he compares *ψιά* as well. — Pott II² 424 brings *στόνυξ* 'point' under this head. Perhaps our word contains the primary notion of this word

of mysterious origin. — Miklosich Lex. 900 compares the Ch.-Sl. *stě-na τείχος, κρημνός*.

226) Rt. *στιγ-ζω* prick, *στίγ-μα, στιγ-μή* prick, point, mark, spot, *στιχ-τός* spotted.

Skt. *tiḡ tēg-ā-mi* to be sharp, to sharpen, *tig-ma-s* sharp, violent, *tik-ta-s* bitter, *tēga-s* keenness, strength. — Zd. *tigh-ra* pointed, *tigh-ri* arrow.

Lat. *di-sting-u-o* (*διαστίζω*), *in-stinc-tu-s*, *in-stig-a-re*, *sti-mulu-s*, *sti-lu-s*.

Goth. (*us-*) *stigg-an* prick out, put out, O.-H.-G. *sting-u*, *stihh-u* prick, stick (Germ. *stechen*), Goth. *stik-s* *στιγμή*, *stak-s* *στίγμα*, O.-H.-G. *stacchilla* sting, point, *stihhīl* graving tool, stilus.

Pott W. III 465 cp. 342, Benf. I 647. — Skt. *tiḡ* for *stig* (cp. Nos. 222 and 205). — Kuhn Ztschr. IV 6. — The development of the meaning in Sanskrit resembles closely that in the case of the rt. *ak* (No. 2). So *tig-ma-s* can be translated by *acer*, *tēgas* by *ἀκμή*. In its meaning *tikta-s* corresponds to *πικ-ρός* (No. 100). The name of the river *Tigri-s* also belongs to the Persian words (Pott Ztschr. VI 257). — Aufrecht Ztschr. I 513 discusses *sti(g)mu-lu-s*. *sti-lu-s* (for *stig-lu-s*) is certainly not a borrowed word, it is identical with the O.-H.-G. *stihhīl*. Some of the Teutonic forms come from a rt. 215 with *a* of similar meaning, *stag*. Cp. Grimm D. Gr. II 37 No. 418. — The rt. *θιγ θιγγάνω* (No. 145) which has been more than once compared with this rt. has nothing whatever to do with it. Benfey, Ebel Ztschr. IV 441, Grassmann XII 138 connect *sig-nu-m*, but this, in consideration of Pott's remarks V 27 (cp. Introd. p. 105) I cannot agree with (cp. Corssen Beitr. 82, Nachtr. 122). *stinguo* 'extinguish' finds an analogy in the Germ. *ersticken* 'stifle', 'smother', which I cannot see how to connect with our present root.

226 b) *στό-μα* mouth, jaws, *στό-μα-χο-ς* stomach, *στωμ-ύλο-ς* talkative. — Zd. *ḡtaman* (m.) mouth.

Fick² 211, Pott W. I 371. The Aeol. *στό-μα* is of as little importance for the discovery of the etymon as *δυνμα*, or *πύταμος* for that of *δνομα* and *πόταμος*. The Skt. *stu* 'laudare', 'celebrare' is certainly not the rt. A relationship with the Goth. *stib-na φωνή* and some of the words treated of by Diefenb. II 312 is more likely than this.

227) Rt. *σπορ στόρ-νυ-μι, σπορ-έ-ννυ-μι, σπρώ-ννυ-μι* spread out, *σπρῶ-μα* carpet, *σπρω-μνή* couch, *σπρα-τός* an encamped army.

Skt. *star str-nô-mi*, *str-nâ-mi* sterno, *upa-star* rare, *star-i-man*, *star-a-s* couch. — Zd. *çtar* strew, *çtair-is* couch.

Lat. *ster-n-o*, *strâ-tu-s*, *strâ-men*, *strâ-mentu-m*, *toru-s*.

Goth. *strau-ja* στράωννυμι, O.-H.-G. *strâo*, M.-H.-G. *strô* gen. *strôw-es* straw, *betti-streuui* lectisternium.

Ch.-Sl. *strê-ti* extendere, *po-stl-a-ti* sternere, *po-stel-ja* στρωμνῇ, Lith. *stra-jė* straw, horse-stall.

Cymr. *strat*, *y-strat* planities, *e-starn*, *y-starn* ephippium, Corn. *stret* radius, *flumen sanguinis* (Z.² 121, 122).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 701, Schleich. Ksl. 115, Kuhn Ztschr. II 456 ff., IV 4, where *toru-s* is discussed in its relation to *stara-s* — the connecting link is *stor-ea* 'coverlet', 'mat' —; the oldest *tori* were like those prepared by Philemon and Baucis for the gods 'de mollibus ulvis' (Ov. Met. VIII 655). — The Gk. *σπατό-ς* belongs in spite of its *a* to this rt., and the more certainly that the Aeol. form *σπατό-ς* occurs in inscriptions (Ahr. d. aeol. 75). From the Lat. we get also the related words *strâ-g-e-s* and *stru-o* (*struxi*) along with *strues* and *struices*. In *stru-o* the *u* is best regarded as the correlative of the *ω* in στράωννυμι. Corssen's view (Beitr. 71), that the guttural comes from a nominal suffix, I disagree with here as in other cases, where verbs that are evidently primitive are declared to be denominative. *stru-e-re* suggests the Ch.-Sl. *stro-i-ti* κατασκευάζειν, *ἰδύναι*. Akin to this in meaning is τέτ-α-μνο-ν (for στετ-α-μνο-ν), only used in the plur. for 'house', 'hall', 'room' — i. e. 'structura', 'exstructio' —, from the rt. with *e* which appears here as in *ster-no*. — Since *l* and *r* occur manifestly side by side in the Slavonic languages, it is probable, that the Lat. *lâ-tu-s* too, old Lat. *silâ-tu-s* (Fest. p. 313) is to be referred to the same rt. with *l* for *r*. This is also Corssen's view Beitr. 462, where the derived *stlâtarius* is discussed as well. At all events this *lâtu-s* is as certainly distinct from the partic. *lâtu-s* = τητό-ς as from πλάτύ-ς with which it has been often compared. Cp. ἀσγήρ (No. 205) and στέγνω-ν (No. 223).

216 228) Rt. *ctu*, *στυ-ω* set up, *στυ-λο-ς* column, *στο-ά* portico.

Skt. *sthû-la-s*, *sthûla-ka-s* big, stupid, clumsy, *sthû-nâ*,

Zd. *çtûna* pillar. — Zd. *çtûi* big.

Lith. *stû'ly-s* stump of a tree (Ness.), *stû-mî* length of body.

Cp. rt. *στα* (No. 216), *σταλ* (No. 218) Pott W. 1, 360. — The metaphysical meaning of *sthūla-s* reminds us of the words *stultu-s* and *stolidu-s* given under No. 218. — *στο-ά* stands for an original *στο-ιά* (Lob. El. I 443) with *-ιά* collective, and points to a primary *στο-ο-ς* for *στο-ο-ς* or *στο-α* for *στο-α* with the same meaning as *στυ-λο-ς* from which *στο-ιά* was formed in the same way as *σποδ-ιά*, *πορτ-ιά* and *ἀνθρακ-ιά*. — By vowel intensification *στυ* becomes *στεν* which is preserved in the Homeric *στεν-ται* i. e. *κατὰ διάνοιαν ἵσταται, ὀφίζεται*, 'he stands or is fixed in a certain direction' (cp. Lehrs Arist. 2 98), 'makes provision or arrangement (Germ. 'Anstalt') for something'. — The attempt made by Düntzer Ztschr. XIII 22 and Leo Meyer XIV 85, to connect this *στεν-το* closely with the Skt. *stu* (Zd. *ḥtu*) is a mistaken one, since *stu* always means 'praise', and not 'promise' or simply 'speak'. I should be inclined to conjecture rather, that *stu* (cp. *sthūla-s*) arose from the physical meaning 'set up', 'raise'. — No doubt the Goth. *stiv-iti* ὑπομονή, Lith. *stov-iu* 'stand' with *v* before the vowel instead of *u*, belong to *stau* the correlative of this *στεν*.

229) *στυπο-ς* stem, stump, *στυ-πη* tow.

Skt. *stūpa-s* cumulus, *stūpa-jā-mi* heap up.

Lat. *stūpa*, *stīpa* tow, *stūpe-o*, *stup-idu-s*, *stipe(t)-s*.

The general notion is that of 'firm', 'hard'. — The change of the vowel and the similar origin of *stipes* is rendered probable by the form *stīpa* = *stupa* quoted by Fest. p. 351 '*qua amphorae firmari solent cum exstruuntur*'. Cp. rt. *στερ* No. 224. Perhaps too *στυφ-ω* 'make firm, thick' together with *στυψις*, *στύμμα*, *στυφλός*, *στυφελός* belong here. Lobeck Rhem. 297 compares also *στοιβή* 'stuffing', while *στειβω* (esp. § 92) comes near to the rt. *στεμφ* No. 219. All these stems touch each other at many points (Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 129).

230) Rt. *τα*, *ταν*, *τεν* *τῇ* tene, *τά-νυ-μαι* stretch myself, *τείν-ω* (ἐ-τά-θη-ν), *τι-ταίν-ω* stretch, extend, *τά-σι-ς* a stretching, *τό-νο-ς* strain, tension, tone, *τανυ-*, *ταναός-ς* extended, long, *ἀ-τεν-ίς* tenax, stiff, *τέ-ταν-ο-ς* stretching, convulsive tension, *τέν-ων* (st. *τενοντ*) sinew, *ταιν-ία* strip, band, fillet.

Skt. *tan* *tan-ō-mi* stretch oneself, stretch, strain, carry out (Partic. *ta-ta-s*), *tan-ti-s* cord, rope, chord, *tāna-s* thread, tone, *tanu-s* thin, tender, *tanava-m* thinness, *tan-tu-s*, *tan-trī* wire, string,

tan-ju-s roaring, whistling (of the wind), *tan-ja-tu-s* noise, thunder. — Zd. *tan* stretch out, lead, *tan-ya* spread out.

Lat. *ten-d-o*, *ten-e-o*, *ten-tu-s*, *tenti-o*, *ten-or*, *ten-u-i-s*. *ten-ax*, *ten-er*, *ten-us* cord, snare, *tendo*, *tendicula*, adv. *tenus*, *ton-a-re*, *toni-tru*. — Umbr. *an-ten-tu* ἀνατεινέτω, *us-ten-tu* ostendito.

217

Goth. *than-ja* extendo, O.-H.-G. *dunni* thin (Germ *dünn*), *dona* tendicula, O.-H.-G. *donar* tonitru A.-S. *thunjan* tonare.

Lith. *temp-j-ù* stretch out, *timpa* sinew, *temptyra* bowstring. Ch.-Sl. *tl'n-ĩ-kũ* tenuis, *ten-eto*. *ton-oto* laqueus, *tetiva* chorda.

Cymr. *tant*, O.-Ir. *tét* fides (Z.² 68), acc. pl. *téta* ties (T. B. Fr. p. 140).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 60 and 89, Grimm Gesch. 403, Schleich. Ksl. 113, Kuhn Ztschr. II 238 whose conjectures about the initial letter however I cannot share (cp. Ztschr. IV 7). — The rt. has started from the primary meaning *stretch* and developed in the main three special ideas which meet us in all languages, namely 1) 'thin' — further developed to 'tender', 2) 'that which is stretched out', hence 'string', 'sinew' &c. (cp. O.-H.-G. *fadam* No. 215), 3) 'tension', 'tone', 'noise'. The third meaning approaches the rt. *stan* (No. 220) in many of its applications, but it seems to me very hazardous to try and identify the two roots under this meaning, as has been attempted by Pott ' 255, Benf. I 675 and lately by Corssen Beitr. 436, Walter Ztschr. XII 375. The Skt. *tána-s* = the Gk. *τόνος* 'tension' and 'tone', *τείνειν βοήν*, *πάταγον* (Soph. Ant. 124) 'raise a cry, a noise' originally 'make a cry &c. stretch itself, continue'. Since the Gk. usage proves that the linguistic instinct perceived some connexion between the ideas 'stretch' and 'resound', we may believe the like of the other peoples too (cp. Ptsb. Wtb. s. v. *tána*). It would be astounding indeed if the *s* of the rt. *stan* had been lost in four languages, while at the same time the rt. was preserved intact in three. — We must add too the meaning 'hold' which is arrived at through the notion 'stretch', and which meets us in *tenere* and in the Gk. *την*, which I have compared with the Lith. permissive *tē* (Ztschr. VI 91). The Lith. *p* reminds us of the *p* in the Lat. *temp-to*, the connection of which with our rt. Ebel doubts (Ztschr. IV 442). But *temptare* clearly means properly 'to stretch something repeatedly' until it fits. Corssen Ausspr. I² 123 however considers

tentare the etymologically correct spelling. — On derived forms with *s* see Pott II² 603. — Perhaps besides *tendo*, the Osc. *tad-ait*, which Corssen Ztschr. V 94 translates by 'tendat', belongs to a rt. with added *d*. May not also *ἐπι-τηδ-ες* 'intente', with *ἐπιτήδειος* and *ἐπι-τηδεύω* belong to the same rt.? Cp. p. 65.

230 b) Rt. ταγ τε-ταγ-ών grasping. — Lat. *tag-o*, *tan-g-o*, *tag-ax*, *tac-tu-s*, *tac-tio*. — Goth. *tēk-an* touch.

Lottner Ztschr. XI 185. — The identity of the Gk. and Lat. roots, ignored by Pott III 443 ff. no one will doubt. In Gothic the initial has not its regular substitute, but the meaning is so completely identical with that of the Graeco-Italian words that we must agree here to admit an exception — and Lottner has collected several. To *tēk-an* is allied the A.-S. *tac-an*, Eng. *take*, which we must not with Grassmann separate from the Goth. word and connect with *δέξ-ομαι* (rt. *dek*). Might not the rt. be *stag*, and so the persistence of the *tenuis* be explained as elsewhere by the dropped *s*? We became acquainted under No. 226 with one or two forms which presupposed such a rt., whose meaning could without any difficulty be reconciled with that of our present rt. — Fick 209 compares the Skt. *tāḡ-at* 'sudden' and the rt. *tuḡ* (*tuṅḡā-mi*) 'knock', 'thrust', 'knock against', but prefers to connect it with the Goth. *stiggvan* 'knock' rather than 218 with *tēkan*.

231) Rt. ταν τήκ-ω melt (*ἐ-τάκ-ην*), ταν-ερό-ς melting, liquid, τηκε-δών (st. *τηκεδον*) a melting away, τήγ-ανο-ν saucepan, crucible.

Lat. *tā-be-s* moisture, corruption, *tā-b-e-o*, *tāb-e-sc-o*, *tāb-u-m* matter, emaciation.

A.-S. *thā-v-an* to thaw, O.-H.-G. *deuan* to melt away, thaw, O.-N. *thā* terra egelida, *they-r* a thawing wind.

Ch.-Sl. *ta-j-a* liquefio.

The identity of meaning proves the common origin of these words. The *k* is probably accessory, cp. above p. 63, although the supposition of the suppression of the *k* (Teutonic *g*) in the other languages is not altogether inconceivable. The suffix in *tā-be-s* is the same as that occurring in *ple-be-s*, *pu-be-s*, that in *ta-bu-m* as that in *ver-bu-m*. — Schweizer Ztschr. VIII 451 connects the Goth. *thahô* clay, the O.-H.-G. *dāhā*. — Cp. Pott W. I 102. — Otherwise Fick² 76.

232) ταῦρο-ς steer. — Ved. *sthūra-s* taurus, Zend *ṣtaura* draught-ox. — Lat. *tauru-s*, Umbr. *turu*. — Goth.

stiur, O.-N. *thór-r* bos castratus. — Ch.-Sl. *turǔ* steer, Lith. *taura-s* wild ox.

Kuhn Web. Ind. Studien I 339, Schleich. Kal. 113, Beitr. I 238. — The etymology is to be found in the adjectival use of the Skt. *sthúra-s*, *sthúla-s*, *stavira-s* 'firm', 'strong' (No. 217, 228). — Pott W. I 361.

233) Rt. *ταφ ἔ-ταφ-ο-ν* I was astonished, *τάφ-ος* astonishment.

Skt. *stambh stabh-nó-mi* immobilem reddo, stupefacio, *stambh-as* stupefactio.

Lith. *steb-iú-s* I am astonished.

Benf. I 651, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 16. Owing to the influence of the *s stabh* became *σθαφ* and then this lost the *σ* and became *θαφ*. The objection the Greeks had to two simple aspirates at the beginning of neighbouring syllables changed sometimes the first aspirate into the tenuis (*ταφ*), and sometimes the second (*θαπ*). The latter form (*τέ-θηπ-α*) suffered nasalization and softening in *θάμβ-ος* and *θαμβ-έ-ω*, and simple weakening of the final consonant in *θηβ-ος* *θαῦμα* (Hesych.). — *stup-eo* comes in the same way from the rt. *stap* (No. 224). — Cp. Nos. 219, 216. — For *θαῦ-μα* see No. 308.

233 b) The pronominal stem *τε* (for *τφε*), Dor. *τύ*, Boeot. *τού-ν*, *τού* thou, *τέό-ς* thy. — Skt. st. *tva*, *tva-m*, Zd. *tú-m* thou, Skt. *tava-s* Zd. *thwa* thy. — Lat. st. *te tú*, *tuu-s*. — Goth. *thu* thou, *thein-s* thy. — Lith. *tù* thou, *tavàs-is* thine, Ch.-Sl. *ty* thou, *two-j* thy. — O.-Ir. *tú* thou, *-t* thee, *no-t-aíl* alit te, *do* thy, inserted *-t*, *du-t-menmain* menti tuae (Z.² 325. 329. 339).

Bopp Comp. Gr. I 122, Schleicher Compend. 491 ff. — Ahrens d. aeol. 207, dor. 248. — The softening in ordinary Gk. to *σε*, *σέ* &c. need not be dwelt on.

219 234) *τέγγ-ω* moisten, soften, *τέξι-ς* a moistening. —

Lat. *ting-o*, *tinc-tu-s*, *tinc-tura*, *tinc-tio*, *tinct-ili-s*.

— O.-H.-G. *thunc-on*, *dunc-on* tingere.

Joh. Schmidt Voc. I, 168. Pott W. III 461. — It was formerly held, from a consideration of the Goth. *thvah-a* 'wash', that the media was softened from the tenuis, but the O.-H.-G. verb coincides both in sound and sense with the Graeco-Italic ones. *τέναι-ος* 'vadum', which it is sought to identify with *stagnu-m*, can hardly be connected with this rt.

235) Rt. τεκ *ἐ-τεκ-ο-ν*, τίκ-τ-ω generate, τέκ-ος, τέκ-νο-ν child, τοκ-εύ-ς begetter, τόκο-ς birth, interest. — τέκ-μαρ aim goal, τεκ-μήρ-ιο-ν token, Τέκμησσα, τόξο-ν bow, τόσσαις (Pind.) hitting, happening. — τέχ-νη art, τέκ-τ-ων (st. τεκτον) carpenter. — Rt. τυκ τυχ τυγχ-άν-ω (*ἐ-τυχ-ο-ν*) hit, τύχ-η success, τεύχ-ω, τε-τύχ-οντο they prepared, τύκ-ο-ς chisel, Τεύκ-ρο-ς.

Skt. *tak-man* child, *tak-sh-â* (st. *tak-sh-an*) wood-cutter, carpenter, *taksh-ana-m* a hewing, an axe, *tak-sh* to hew, prepare, make (O.-Pers. *takhsh* build), *tôka-s* proles. — Zd. *tash* cut, do carpenter's work, *tasha* (m.) axe, *tas-ta* dish, cup, *tuc* beget.

Lat. *tig-nu-m*, *tê-lu-m*, *tê-mo*, *tex-o*, *tex-tor*, *textura*, *tê-la*.

Goth. *theih-a* flourish? O.-S. *thigg-ju*, O.-H.-G. *dig-ju* obtineo, impetro, O.-H.-G. *dêh-s-a* hoe, trowel, M.-H.-G. *dêhsen* to dress flax, *dih-sel* shaft, pole (Germ. *Deichsel*).

Lith. *tek-ý-s* ram, *tenk-ù* fall to the lot of, *tink-ù* fit, suit, *tink-a-s* it happens, *tik-ra-s* right, proper, O.-Pr. *tik-in-t* facere, *teikusna* creatio, Lith. *tiký-ti* to aim, *taszy-ti* make (of a carpenter), hew at, *taisy-ti* prepare; Ch.-Sl. *tûk-na-ti* figere, *tûk-a-ti* texere, *is-tûk-na-ti* effodere, *tes-a-ti* caedere (Bohem. *tesař* faber), *tes-la* axe.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *taksh*, Pott II² 614, W. II, 2, 401, 404, III 799, 804, Benf. II 247 ff., J. Grimm Ueb. Diphth. p. 8, Pictet II 127, Fick² 74, 75, Joh. Schmidt Voc. I, 52. — On the change of vowel and the three main meanings 'generate', 'hit', 'prepare' cp. above p. 60: on the various forms of the present see Ztschr. I 262. — The rt. is one of the oldest applied to any kind of occupation without any clearly defined distinction, so that we must not be astonished if we meet the weaver in the company of the carpenter and the marksman. In the Zd. *tas-ta* 'dish' which we cannot separate from the Lat. *testa*, we find traces of the potter as well. The Germ. *treffen* 'hit', 'hit upon', 'happen', illustrates the change from these active meanings to the intransitive one of τυχεῖν. The *χ* is only an affected *κ*. For τυχεῖν, the intransitive of τεύξαι, τετυνέ-σθαι, we get analogies in the O.-H.-G.

digju, and the Lith. *tink-ù*, and the Lith. *tink-a-s* is specially instructive. I now connect *τεῖχος* with No. 145. Some of the Slav. words, especially the rt. *tŭk* are regarded differently by Miklosich (Lex. 220 p. 1017). — The rt. *taksh* is formed by the addition of an *s* to which in this case the Gk. *τ* (by assimilation) corresponds. — Side by side with *taksh* we find the rare *tvaksh* with the same meanings. Acc. to some scholars this contains the primary rt. *tvak*, from which we might arrive at *tuk*, *τυκ*, and (though not so well) at *tak*. In any case the roots *tak* and *tuk* have been in use side by side from the earliest times.

236) Rt. *τελ*, *ταλ*, *τλή-ναι* endure, *τάλα-ς* (st. *ταλαν*), *πολύ-τλᾶ-ς*, *ταλα-ό-ς*, *τλή-μων* (st. *τλημων*) wretched, *τάλ-αντο-ν* balance, weight, *ἄ-τάλαντο-ς* of equal weight, equal to, *τάλ-αρο-ς* basket, *τελα-μών* strap, supporter (in architecture), *τόλ-μα* strength to bear and to dare, *τολμά-ω* bear, dare, *Τάν-ταλο-ς*. Skt. *tul tōla-jā-mi*, *tula-j-ā-mi* lift up, weigh, esteem equal, *tul-ā* scales, *tul-ja-s* equal, *tōlana-m* a lifting up, weighing.

O.-Lat. *tul-o*, *te-tul-i*, Lat. *tu-li*, (*t*)*lā-tu-s*, *toll-o*, subst. *toll-o*, *tolleno*, *tolerare*, *tol-ū-tim*.

Goth. *thul-a ἀνέχομαι*, *us-thul-ain-s* patience, O.-H.-G. *dolēm*, *dultu* I suffer (Germ. *dulde*).

Ch.-Sl. *tul-ŭ* pharetra.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 394, Ztschr. VII 337, Benf. II 258, who follows Pott, and justly so, in referring *ἀν-τλέ-ω* 'draw' (water) to *ἀνά* and *τλα*. The instrument for drawing water was called in Lat. *tollo*, *tolleno* 'genus machinae, quo trahitur aqua, alteram partem praegravante pondere, dictus a tollendo' (Fest. p. 356). *τάλαρο-ς* the wool-spinner's basket for carrying and hanging up, belongs clearly to this stem. Special notice should be paid to the agreement between *τάλ-αντον* and the Skt. *tulā* (cp. *pondus* 'pound'), which also denotes a special weight, and to that between *ἄτάλαντος* and *tuljas* (cp. *λεό-δφοπος*). With the latter Schleicher Ksl. 114 connects also the Ch.-Sl. *pri-tul-i-ti* 'accommodare'; he doubts the connection of the Ch.-Sl. *tul-ŭ*, but the origin of *φαρ-έ-τρα* of the same meaning makes it very probable (cp. above p. 114). — *tal* is no doubt to be regarded as the Indo-Germ. rt.; the *a* has degenerated in Skt. Teut. and Ch.-Sl. to *u*. All the three *a*-sounds appear in Gk. To *τελ* belongs also *τέλ-ος* in the sense of 'tax' (cp. *φόρος*) 'office', 'task', which is a completely distinct word from *τέλ-ος* 'end' (No. 238). Sonne's attempt (Ztschr. X 404) to identify this whole rt. with No. 238 finds an insuperable ob-

stacle in the physical meaning of *tal* 'lift', 'bear', which is quite foreign to that of *tar*. — In Lat. *tol* is the primary form; the *o* is preserved in the Old Lat. *tolerint*, *toli* (Corssen II² 73), in *tollo* (perhaps as Corssen holds Beitr. 209 from *tol-jo*), *tol-û-tim* 'trotting' (which may well be from *tolô-tim* from a secondary verb *tolo-o* = *ταλά-ω*, cp. 'ûb. d. Spuren einer lat. O-Conj.' Symbola philolog. Bonn. I p. 271 ff.) and in other forms, while elsewhere it has been weakened to *u*. So in *Tullu-s*, *Tulliu-s* which acc. to Theod. Mommsen Rh. Mus. XV 197 is 'from tollere', and acc. to Rob. Mowat Revue Archéolog. 1868 p. 359 is the counterpart of 'projectus'. Perhaps we should be right in adding *τολύπ-η* 'clew' 'pensum', with added *π*, whence comes *τολπεύειν* 'unwind', 'accomplish' (work), which has already in Homer its metaphorical meaning (Döderlein Gloss. 2390).

- 237) Rt. *τεμ*, *ταμ* *τέμ-ν-ω* (*ἐ-ταμ-ο-ν*), *τμή-γ-ω* cut, *τομ-ή*
a cutting, *τμήμ-α*, *τέμ-α-χος* slice, segment, *τομ-* 221
εὔ-ς knife, *ταμ-ία-ς* dispenser, steward, *ταμίη*
housekeeper.

Ch.-Sl. *tl̃n-a* inf. *te-ti* scindere.

Benf, II 245, where there is very much that is doubtful. The Skt. *tam-āla-s* that used to be compared appears in the Ptsb. Wtb. with the meaning among many others of 'sword', but this meaning has no authority, and the others start from the primary notion 'dark' (cp. *tam-as* 'darkness'). The rt. *tam* too has accordingly the meaning 'to be stifled', 'to stand still', 'to pinch'. All these words must therefore be put aside altogether. On the other hand there is great probability of a relationship between *τέμ-ενος* 'district', a piece of land marked off' and *tem-p-lu-m* (*τέμενος αἰθέρος* Aesch. Pers. 365 = 'caeli templa' Enn.). Cp. Corssen Beitr. 440. But *ton-d-ê-re* which is put with these words by Walter Ztschr. XII 414 is still more closely allied: its *n* arose from *m* through the influence of the determinative *d* (= *dh*) as in *fren-d-e-re* 'gnash the teeth' compared with *χρόμ-αδο-ς* (No. 200 b). *τέν-ειν* 'gnaw' too, *τένθ-η-ς* 'a sweet-tooth' seem to have spring from a similar secondary root. Then again we find the stem of *ταγ* and *τεμ-α-χ* formed by the addition of a guttural. Walter Ztschr. XII 376 compares *μάχος* 'μάσμα' (Hes.) with *τέμαχος*. The Slav. *n* by the side of *m* is as in the rt. *gam*, *gan* No. 128 (Ebel Beitr. I 271).

- 238) *τέρ-μα* goal, extreme point, *τέρμων* (st. *τερμον*)
boundary, *τέρ-θορο-ν* end, point, *τέρμ-ιο-ς* *τερμι-*
όει-ς reaching to the boundary.

Skt. *tar tar-â-mi* take across, go through, overcome,

tar-a-na-s, *tar-i-s* boat, *tar-anta-s* sea, *tar-man* cacumen pali sacrificalis, *tiras* (Ved.), Zd. *tari* trans, Skt. *tira-m* bank, border.

Lat. *ter-mo*, *ter-men*, *ter-minu-s*, Osc. *teremenniu*, Umbr. *termnu*, *in-tra-re*, *ex-tra-re*, *trans*, Umb. *traf* = *trans*.

O.-N. *thrö-m-r* margo, O.-H.-G. *dru-m* meta, finis, Goth. *thair-h*, O.-H.-G. *durh* through (Germ. *durch*).

O.-Ir. *tair* imperat. come (Goid. p. 99, 11), *do-r-im-thirid* ministravit (Beitr. VII 24), *tri tre*, *tar per*, *tairm* trans (Z.² 651 ff.), *tairsech* threshold (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 161).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 261. — The primary meaning of the words here collected is *overstep*. *τέρ-μων* and *ter-minu-s* might be translated 'that which is stepped over'. Probably *Τάρᾱ-s* (st. *Ταρανι*) belongs here as well, cp. *Πειραιεύ-s* (No. 357), perhaps even *Τρο-ία*, *Τρο-ιζήν*, on the *ζ* in which see p. 614. — The same rt. appears with *λ* instead of *ρ* in *τέλ-ος* which corresponds in sound to the Skt. *tar-as* 'a pressing forwards', 'strength' (that makes its way through), and clearly accordingly denotes the attained goal; with it come *τέλειω*, *τέλειος*, *τελευτή* &c. — *ex-tra-bunt* Afranius Ribbeck Com. p. 141, *ter-mo* Enn. Ann. 470 sq. Vahlen, *ter-men* Varro l. l. V § 21 Müll., Osc. *teremenniu* (Corssen I² 573), Umbr. *termnu*, *traf* Aufr. u. Kirchh. I 157. where too a conjecture is hazarded on *trāme(t)s* which is certainly related. — Corssen Ztschr. III 276 ingeniously explains *Trans-im-enu-s* as 'that on the yonder side'. The *h* in the Teutonic *thair-h* 222 must be the representative of a derivative *k*. The meaning *through* is related to that of *trans* as *τετράω* is to *τέλω* (No. 239). — With the Ir. *imthirid* compare as to meaning the Gk. *ἀμφι-πολος*.

239) Rt. *τερ τέλω-ω*, *τρού-ω*, *τρί-β-ω*, *τρού-χ-ω* rub, *τέρ-ην* (st. *τερεν*) tender, *τι-τρά-ω*, *τε-τραίν-ω* rub away, pierce, *τερ-έ-ω* bore, turn on a lathe, *τέρ-ε-τρο-ν* a gimlet, *τόρο-s* chisel, *τορό-s* (cp. *τραῖνής*) piercing, *τόρ-νο-s* a pair of compasses, a turner's chisel, *τορ-ύνη* ladle, *τορ-εύ-ω* grave, sculpture, *τορῦ-μα* hole.

Skt. *tar-una-s*, *tal-una-s* tender, youthful.

Lat. *tér-o*, *tër-e(t)-s*, *tër-e-bra*, *tri-bula tribulare*, *tri-*

ti-cu-m, Sabine *ter-entu-m* molle, *Ter-entiu-s*, *tur-unda* a roll, cake, *tru-a* ladle, *tar-me(t)-s* wood-worm.

A.-S. *thrā-v-an* torquere, O.-H.-G. *drā-j-an* tornare, Goth. *thair-kō* hole, eye of a needle (τρυναιλιά).

Ch.-Sl. *trē-ti*. *try-ti* terere. Lith. *trìn-ti* rub, file.

O.-Ir. *tarathar* terebra (Z.² 782).

Bopp Gl. s. v. *tē*, Pott W. II, 1, 285, Benf. II 260, Schleich. Ksl. 112, Legerlotz Ztschr. VII 136, Leo Meyer VIII 259. — The words here collected fall, as regards sound, under one or other of the primary forms *tar* (τετ, τοτ), *tra*, *tri*, *tru*, which supplement and approach each other in endless ways. The meanings we may divide into two main classes, *rub* and *bore*. The second is Graeco-Italian, the first European in general. The Skt. knows even this meaning only in the metaphorical *tar-un-as* 'tender' (p. 113). For in spite of Corssen I² 511 it can scarcely be doubted that this really sprung from the notion 'wear away', 'that can be worn away', if we compare τερόνη-ς τετριμμένος ὄνος καὶ γέγων (cp. No. 130), τερόν ἀσθενέας λεπτόν, τερόσμετο ἐτελείετο (Hes.). Cp. also the Skt. *tanu-s*, the Lat. *tenu-s*, *ten-er* (No. 230) and λεπτό-ς; in all these adjectives the meaning has shifted considerably from what it was at first. Is it possible that in *taluni* the by-form of *tarunī* 'girl', 'young woman' we have an analogy to the rare word τάλι-ς 'bride'? The word *tri-ti-cu-m* comes from the meaning 'rub' like *grā-nu-m* from the rt. *gar* (No. 130, cp. Hehn 400), from that of 'boring' we get *tur-unda* 'macaroni' in which the hollowness is the essential thing, not (Corss. Beitr. 126) the roundness. It is certain at all events that from the meaning 'rub' springs that of a 'twisting movement', most clearly to be seen in the Teutonic words, to which Regel Ztschr. XI 114 ff. adds many provincialisms. To this class belong τετ-έ-ω and also the Lat. *teres* (Corssen Nachtr. 257). Since now *tar-ala-s* in Skt. means 'moving hither and thither', 'starting', 'trembling', this was perhaps the primary meaning from which the derived rts. *tram* (No. 245), and *tras* (No. 244) started. Under No. 238 are several words similar in sound, but it is better to consider the two groups as distinct. — *τι-τά-ω* is to be regarded as intensive, τεύ-χ-ω, instead of Hesychius's τερό-σ-ω, τεύσ-ω, as causative (cp. p. 700). θραύ-ω 'break up' comes near to τραῦ-μα 'wound', this latter to τι-τά-σ-ω, and this to the Homeric ξ-τοτ-ε (A 236). θ may have arisen through the influence of the ρ. On the other hand it is true θραύ-ω suggests the 223 Lat. *frau-(d)-s*, *frus-tu-m*, *frus-tra* (Ztschr. II 399) and the Skt. *dhru-ti* disappointment, *dhūr-v* 'bend', 'injure'. In case it belongs to the latter we must assume a rt. *dhru*. Cp. Pott W. I 1092. — Among

the lengthened stems *τρῦν* (*τρῦπα* 'hole', *τρύ-π-ανο-ν* gimlet, *τρῦ-π-ά-ω*) is most distinct, suggesting in sound the Lith. *trup-ù* 'crumble' and *trup-ù-s* 'loose', and remaining as true to the meaning 'bore' as *τρῦ-φ-ή*, *θρύπ-τ-ω* to that of 'rubbing away', which is afterwards applied like *τέφ-ην* and *τρύχ-ω* to softness of character. *τρί-β-ω* is hardest to explain. Whether *θλά-ω* 'crush' belongs to the simple rt. and *θλίβ-ω* 'crush', 'rub' to *τρί-β-ω* I cannot say.

240) Rt. *τερπ* *τέρπ-ω* (*τραπ-εἰ-ομεν*) delight, *τέρψι-ς*, *τερπ-ωλή* joy, *τερπ-νό-ς* delightful.

Skt. *tarp*, *trmp-â-mi*, *trp-nô-mi*, *trp-â-mi* am filled, enjoy, *tarpa-jâ-mi* satiate, content, *tarp-ana-m*, *trp-ti-s* satiation, gratification.

Goth. *thraf-st-ja* console.

Lith. *tarp-a* increase, prosperity, growth, *târp-ti* flourish.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 257, who considers *τρέφω* as well to be the same word; this is rendered probable by the fact that in Zend too the rt. *tarep* = Skt. *tarp* becomes *thrâf*, whence *thrâfanâh* = *τρέφ-ος*. There are however uses of the rt. *τρεφ* such as *γάλα τρέφειν* 'to make milk curdle', and *περιτρέφεται* E 903 (I. Becker after Apollon. Soph. and Herodian), *τρόφι κῦμα*, *ταφφές* 'thick', *τάφφος* 'thicket', and *ταφερη* 'mainland', which can only be deduced from *τερπ* by circuitous routes. Nevertheless I consider the identity of *τερπ* and *τρεφ* more probable than Sonne's combination in Ztschr. XIII 410. The aspirate is a late growth as in *ἀλείφω* rt. λιπ (No. 340). The union of the notions 'fill', 'delight', and 'comfort' is genuinely vulgar: as genuinely Greek is the separation of the two former notions by means of different orders of sound.

241) Rt. *τερε* *τέρεσ-ο-μαι* become dry, *τερεσ-αίν-ω* make dry, *τρασ-ιά*, *ταρεσ-ιά* drying-kiln, *ταρεσ-ό-ς* wicker-work.

Skt. *tarsh* *trsh-jâ-mi* I thirst, pant, *trsh*, *tarsha-s* thirst. — Zd. *tarsh-na* (m.) thirst.

Lat. *torr-eo*, *tos-tu-s*, *tostare*, *torr-i-s* torch, *torr-en-s* torrent.

Goth. *ga-thaur-s-an-s* dry, *thaur-s-ja* I thirst, *thaurstei* thirst, O.-H.-G. *derr-u* torreo.

Lith. *tróksz-t-u* pant, thirst.

O.-Ir. *hó tirmai* (nom. *tirme*) ab ariditate (Z.² 1047),

tírim aridus (Z.² 771), *tír* terra, ager (neut. and i-stem Z.² 233), *tart* thirst (Goid. p. 31).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 406, Benf. II 265, Grimm Gesch. 403, Stokes Ir. Gl. 703. — The Teutonic words are a connecting link between 'dry' and 'thirst'. Cp. πολυδίψιον ἄργος, διψία πόσις. — τρασιά 'τὸ ἐκ καλάμου πλέγμα, ἐφ' οὗ ψύχεται τὰ σῦκα' Pollux VII 144 cp. E. M. p. 764, 25, through this word we get to the meaning of τασό-ς which has however other and secondary meanings. No 224 connection whatever can be allowed with θέρ-ω in spite of Hesych. θαρρά· τασά (Lob. El. I 494). — *torr-eo* is naturally for *tors-eo*, and *tos-tu-s* for *tors-tu-s*, the Umbr. *turs-i-tu*. Pott compares *terra* as well (cp. O.-Ir. *tír*), which in that case was originally the opposite to *mare*, *tes-ta* (cp. *lateres coctiles*, but also the Zd. *tasta* under No. 235) and *tesqu-a* 'wilderness', 'desert'. Cp. Corssen I² 243.

242) τέτριξ, τέτραξ, τετράων a kind of fowl, τετράξ-ω cackle. — Skt. *tittiri-s*, *tittira-s* partridge. — O.-N. *thidhur-r* grouse, heath-cock. — Lith. *tetèrva* black grouse (Nesselm.), Ch.-Sl. *tetrèvī* pheasant.

Pott I¹ LXXX, Förstemann Ztschr. III 52. The onomatopoeia is unmistakeable.

243) τέττα papa. — Skt. *tāta-s* (especially in the voc.) form of address used by parents to son or *vice versa*. — Lat. *tāta* papa. — Low Germ. *teite*, O.-H.-G. *toto* godfather. — Bohem. *tāta* father, Lith. *tėta*, *tėti-s* papa, *tetā*, Ch.-Sl. *teta* aunt.

Kuhn Ind. Studien I 325, Benf. II 238. A title of endearment whose childish sound has preserved its letters from 'shifting'. Fröhner Heidelb. Jahrb. 1862 p. 768 reminds us of the *gens Tettia*. — Buschmann 'über den Naturlaut' Berl. 1863 p. 18 f. — Cp. No. 207.

244) Rt. τρεc τρέ-ω (Homeric aor. τρέσσα) flee, tremble, τρη-ρό-ς, τρή-ρ-ων fugitive, timorous.

Skt. *tras tras-ā-mi*, *tras-jā-mi* shudder, *apa-tras* flee, *tras-a-s* unstable, *tras-u-ra-s* timorous, *trās-a-s* fright. — Zd. *tareç* tremble, *tars-ti* fright.

Lat. *terr-e-o*, *terr-or*.

Ch.-Sl. *tres-q* quatio, *tres-q* se, tremo.

Ir. *tarrach* (st. *tarsaco*) timorous (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 162).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 411, II² 425, Benf. II 253, Schleich. Kal. 113. — The present form *τρέω* which occurs first in Oppian, is simply a lengthened form of *τρέω* and is not with Grassmann Ztschr. XI 33 to be explained from *tras-já-mi*. *ἔτερος-εν* is explained in the manuscript of Hesych. by *ἐφόβησεν* which M. Schmidt has too hastily altered to *ἐφοβήθη*. Who is to say that the stem which resembles *terr-co* (for *ters-co*) in sound had not like it a transitive meaning? The shorter rt. *tra*, *tar*, of which *tras* and *tram* may be secondary forms, has been discussed at No. 239, and to it no doubt belong the adjectives *ὀτρηρός-ς*, *ὀτραλέος-ς* 'hasty' which have so often been connected with our present rt. (Lob. El. 81). On the meaning of *τρέω* see Lehrs Arist. ² 77. *τρηρός-ς* Hesych. *ἐλαφρός*, *δειλός*. The Ch.-Sl. *s-trach-ŭ φόβος* is perhaps also related, since *ch* = *s*, but has nothing to do with *ταράσσω* — *tris-ti-s* which Bopp compares has a meaning which will not suit this rt. (cp. Corssen Nachtr. 248).

- 245) Rt. *τρεμ τρέμ-ω* tremble, *τρόμος-ς* trembling, *τρομέ-ος-ς* quaking, *τε-τρεμ-αίν-ω*, *τρομέ-ω* tremble, *ἀ-τρέμας* quiet.

225 Lat. *trēm-o*, *trēm-or*, *trēm-ulu-s*.

Lith. *trīm-u* I tremble.

Cp. Nos. 239, 244. — Fick Ztschr. XIX 262, Pott W. II, 2, 180.

- 246) St. *τρι τρεῖς*, *τρί-α* three, *τρί-το-ς*, *τρί-ς*, *τρισός-ς* threefold.

Skt. st. *tri trajas* tres, *tr-tija-s* tertius, *tri-s* ter. —

Zd. *thri* tres, *thri-tja*, *thris*.

Lat. st. *tri tré-s*, *tri-a*, *ter-tiu-s*, *ter*.

Goth. st. *thri threis*, n. *thrija* tres, *tria*, *thri-dja* tertius, Germ. *drei*.

Ch.-Sl. st. *tri trije* tres, *tria*, *tre-tii* tertius, Lith. *trýs* tres, *tré-cza-s* tertius.

O.-Ir. *trí* tres, dat. pl. *trib*, *tris* tertius (Z.² 302. 309).

Bopp Comp. Gr. II 66, Schleich. Kal. 190. — The Lat. *ter-ti-us* has an analogy in the Skt. *tr-tija-s* and in the Aeol. *τρέ-το-ς*.

- 247) Rt. *τυ τύ-λο-ς*, *τύ-λη* hard swelling, knot (in wood), hump, *τυλό-ω* make swellings, *ταῦ-ς μέγας*, *πολύς*, *ταῦνας* *μεγαλύνας* (Hesych.) *Τι-τυ-ός-ς* (?).

Skt. *tu táu-mi* and *tav-i-mi* valeo, *tw-i* in comp. powerful, very much, *tu-m-ra-s* swelling, plump,

tû-tu-ma-s plentiful. — Zend *tu* to have the power, *tavan* rich.

Lat. *tû-b-er*, *tu-m-or*, *tu-m-e-o*, *tum-îdu-s*, *tum-ulu-s* (?)

Umb. and Osc. *tau-ta*, *tota*, *touta* town, *tut-icu-s* belonging to the town.

A.-S. *thû-ma*, O.-H.-G. *dû-mo* thumb (Germ. *Daumen*), Goth. *thiu-da* populus.

Ch.-Sl. *ty-ti* pinguescere, *tu-kû* adeps, Lith. *tau-ka-i* fat (subst.), *tunk-ù* get fat, O.-Pr. *tau-ta* country.

O.-Ir. *tuath* populus, Cymr. *tut*, Corn. *tus* (Z.² 241, 97. 154).

Bopp Comp. Gr. II 372, 382, Schleich. Ksl. 113, Ztschr. f. d. Alterthsw. 1847 p. 463 f., Pott W. I 793. The meanings 'swell', 'grow', 'be large' are unmistakeably clear, whence come the notions of 'people', 'community' — transferred to the place 'country', 'town' — just as is *po-pu-lus*, *ple-b-s* (No. 366), *πόλι-s* by the side of *ple-o* and *πολύ-s*. Cp. Mommsen Unterital. D. 304, where however not everything is trustworthy — especially not the contrast he finds between *tutu* and *tribus* (cp. No. 250). — That the Lat. *tôtu-s* is also of the same origin seems to me rendered improbable at once by its pronominal declension. — *tu-m-eo* has like the Skt. *tum-ra-s* an *m* added to the rt. These words however diverge widely in meaning from the Skt. *tumala-s*, *tumula-s* 'noisy', *tumula-m* 'noise', which must be compared with *tumul-tu-s*. In *tû-ber* (n.) I am inclined in spite of Corssen's objection (Beitr. 247, 157) to maintain *b* has come from *r*, a change which may be explained by the objection to the sound-group *vu*, *uv*, and to regard the *v* as the result of the preceding *u* (cp. *plu-v-ia*). — Perhaps the O.-Ir. *tuus*, *tús* for **tovus* 'initium', *toisech* princeps, belong here, cp. the Cymr. *touyssogion* princeps (Z.² 56). [Perhaps also Deut.-sch: cp. Corssen I² 371, Fick² 81, 365.]

Rt. τυδ Τυδ-εύ-s, Τύδ-α-s, Τυνδ-άρη-s, Τυνδ-άρεο-s, Τυνδ-άρεω-s, Τυνδ-άρο-ιχο-s.

Skt. *tud tud-â-mi* knock, pierce, *tôt-tra-m* point, 226 prick, *tód-a-s* pricker, horse-driver, prick. *Tuda-s* a man's name.

Lat. *tu-n-d-o*, *tūd-e(t)-s* hammer, *tud-i-tare*, dea *Per-tunda*.

Goth. *staut-a* τύπτω, O.-H.-G. *stôz-u* (Germ. *stossen*) knock.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *tud*, Pott I¹ 244, Ztschr. IX 172, Benf. I 658, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 6. — Especially Düntzer Höfer's Ztschr. IV 268. — The primary *s* has been retained in the Teutonic languages only. — *Tūd-εύ-ς* &c. mean therefore 'Striker' 'Beater', or, if we go to the Lat. *tudes* the Hammer (cp. *Karl Martell*). *Τυνδ-άρη-ς* with nasalization (cp. the Skt. *tund-a-tē*) comes from an adj. *τυνδ-αρο-ς* (cp. *λιπαρό-ς*, *σιμβ-αρό-ς*), and from this the longer forms are derived (cp. *Βριδάρεω-ς*). — The gloss *Τυδᾶν· κολωνᾶν, Τυνδαριδᾶν· κολωνᾶν* (Hes.) gives us no help unfortunately. — Paul. Epit. 73 "*detudes detunsos, deminutos*", which may be compared with *ob-tusu-s*.

- 249) Rt. *τυπ* *τύπ-τ-ω* strike, *τύπο-ς*, *τυπή*, *τύμ-μα* stroke, blow, *τυπ-ά(δ)-ς* hammer, *τύμ-ανο-ν* drum.

Skt. *tup*, *tump*, *tup-ā-mi*, *tōp-ā-mi* injure (also *typh*).

O.-H.-G. *stumpf* mancus, *stumb-alō-n* obtundere, *stumph* O.-N. *stuf-r* stump, trunk.

Ch.-Sl. *tap-ŭ* obtusus, *te-ti* (1 s. pr. *tep-a*) *τύπειν*, *tŭp-ŭtŭi* ψόφος.

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 657, Schleich. Ksl. 113, Fick² 213. — The Skt. rt. is unfortunately not supported by instances. The word *prastump-a-ti* given by the PW. is remarkable. The *s* has been preserved here as in *συνάξει*, which acc. to Hesych. means *ὥθι* as well as *βροντᾶ*, *ψοφεῖ*. In the development of the meanings it is very similar to No. 248. — The vowels in the Slavonic words vary.

- 250) *τύρ-βη* noise, *τύρβα* noisily, *τυρβάξ-ω* make a noise, *τυρβασία* bustle, confusion, *Τυρμ-ίδαί* Att. deme?

Skt. *tvar tvar-é*, *tur*, *tur-ā-mi* hurry, *tur-a-s* quick, *tvar-ā* (subst.) hurry.

Lat. *turb-a*, *turba-re*, *turb-o*, *tur-ma*.

Benf. II 252, Corssen Beitr. 438, Pott W. II 1, 315. — The initial also appears as *σ*: *σύρβη*, *σύρβα* (cp. under No. 577), with which comes the solitary *στυρβάξω* (Bekk. Anecd. 303). We may therefore regard *strar*, *stur* as the oldest rt. Whether, as Corssen supposes, the Teutonic *Stur-m* 'storm' and *stürz-en* 'dash' (Diefenb. Vgl. Wtb. II 315), belong to the same rt. I cannot say. The rt. *τυρ* may also be seen in *τυρφέεται· ταράττει* Hesych., which can hardly come from *τύρος* 'cheese'. The *β* in *τύρ-βη* is still unexplained. There are but uncertain traces to be seen of a suffix *-ba*. A Gk. *τυρ-μη* seems also to have been formed from the same rt., and *Τυρμίδαί* may be a derivative from it. However, as Müllenhoff points out to me, with the

Lat. *tur-ma* may be compared the A.-S. *thrym* 'throng', 'mass', 'troop', and from this comes the probability that the Goth. *thaurp* the O.-H.-G. *dorf* Eng. *thorp* which properly signifies 'a coming' together — hence the still-used Swiss expression '*einen Dorf halten*' 'to hold an assembly' — together with the O.-N. *thyrpaz* 'congregari' also belong to the same root. The *p* is the regular representative of the Graeco-Italic *b*. The Umbr. form *trefu* (Corssen Ztschr. XIII 179) is opposed to the supposition of a relationship with *tribu-s* which Zeuss Gramm. Celt. I 44 compares with the Brit. *treb* 'vicus' 227 as the *f* of the Umbrian word cannot be reconciled with that *b* which = the Goth. *p*. Other words are compared by Diefenb. Vgl. Wtb. II 699, and Corssen I² 163.

251) Rt. τυφ τυφ-ω burn, τυφ-ο-ς smoke, darkness, stupefaction, τυφ-ών, τυφώ-ς whirlwind, τυφ-εδών smoky vapour, Τυμφορηστό-ς (?).

Skt. *dhūp* *dhūp-a-jā-mi* fumigate, burn incense, *dhūpa-s*, *dhūp-a-na-m* frank-incense.

M.-H.-G. *dimpfen* (Germ. *dampfen*) to smoke, evaporate.

Lith. *dump-iù* to blow up a fire, *dùmp-lės* (plur.) bellows.

Pott I¹ 257. — τυφ arose out of θυφ, which in θύψω has preserved the first aspirate, the φ from π as in No. 224; the Skt. *dhūp* is lengthened from the rt. *dhu* (No. 320). The root is nevertheless given in this place because it does not come in well anywhere else. — Pictet V 333 connects τυφο-ς with the meaning self-conceit (Germ. *Dünkel*) with the Skt. *stubbh*, *stumbh* but there is no authority for this in the sense *stupere*. But in Aristoph. Vesp. 1364 a foolish man is called τυφεδαρός and this cannot be separated from τυφεδών. The meaning of τυφο-ς too suits this root better. Probably τυφ-λό-ς 'blind' is also related, which would then mean 'cloudy', 'misty', 'dim', as τυφών means the wind 'that brings darkness'. The Goth. *daub-s* 'deaf' and *dumb-s* 'dumb' we may also compare with Grassmann Ztschr. XII 127, perhaps also with Hehn 245 the Goth. *dubo* 'dove' on the ground of its dark colour, which is also expressed in πίλεια.

251 b) ὕσ-τερο-ς later, superl. ὕσ-τατο-ς. — Skt. *ut-tara-s* the upper, the later, *ut-tama-s* the uppermost, the outermost, farthest.

Bopp Vgl. Gr. III 498, Pott I² 637, Ebel Beitr. V 75. — The positive is given in the Skt. preposition *ud* 'upon', 'out', which seems to have been retained in ὕσ-πληξ 'barrier', 'bridge-tree', 'prop',

properly that which 'strikes up'. The same preposition has in Goth. the form *ut*, in O.-H.-G. *az* 'out' (Germ. *aus*) so that *ὑστερος* corresponds to the Germ. *äusserer* (outer) and *ὑστατος* to 'uttermost'. There is no connection with *ultimu-s*, *ulterior* (Corssen Beitr. 301). Pott is probably right in comparing *ὕστερα* 'womb' and *uteru-s*, which must have stood for *ut-teru-s*, and also the Skt. *ud-ara-m* 'belly' which is no doubt, as we see from the Homeric *velaton ἐς νεκῶνα*, 'that which lies lower down' (cp. *ἔντερα*), but the Skt. word is not identical in sound, inasmuch as it has only *-ara*, not *-tara* for suffix. — Probably too we may compare the O.-Ir. *uad*, usually *ó*, *ua* 'ab', 'ex' (*uaim* 'a me', but *uad-ib* ex iis Z.² 334, 630).

A

A Greek *δ* corresponds to an Indogermanic *d*, which has remained unchanged in Sanskrit, Zend (with the exception of an occasional change to *dh*), Latin, Church-Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Old Irish, while it has become in Gothic *t*, in High German *z* (*sz* in the middle of a word).

228 252) Rt. *ád* (*σφαδ*) *άνδ-άν-ω* (*ἔ-αδ-ο-ν*, *ἔ-αδ-α*) please, *ἦδ-ο-μαι* I am glad, *ἦδ-ος*, *ἦδ-ονή* pleasure, *ἦδ-ύ-ς*, *ἦδν-μο-ς* sweet, pleasant, *ἄσ-μενο-ς* glad, *ἔδ-από-ς* sweet.

Skt. *svad*, *svād svad-ā-mi* gusto, delibo, placeo, *svad-ē* (mid.) please myself with, please, *svād-u-s* dulcis, *svād-ana-m* gustatio.

Lat. *suā-vi-s* (for *suād-vi-s*), *suād-e-o*, *suād-u-s*, *Suād-a*, *suād-ēla*.

Goth. *sūt-s* sweet, A.-S. *svēte*, O.-H.-G. *suozī* (Germ. *süss*) sweet.

Lith. *sald-ù-s* sweet, Ch.-Sl. *slad-i-ti* *ἦδύνειν*, *slad-ŭ-kŭ* dulcis.

Bopp Gl. On the derivation of *svad* from *su ā ad* 'eat well at' cp. above p. 35, Benf. I 367 f., Kuhn Ztschr. II 134. — Traces of the *f* are preserved especially in the Homeric *εὔαδε* i. e. *ἔ-σφαδ-ε*,

ἑ-ῖνδανε, ἑᾶδα, in the Lesbian *ῥάδεα* (Ahr. aeol. 31), in *γαδεῖν· χαρ-ῖασθαι*, *γάδεσθαι ἡδεσθαι* (Hesych., Ahr. dor. 45, 53), in the proper name *ῥασίας* in an inscription from Lebadea (Keil 'Zur Sylloge Inscr. Boeot.' p. 554), *ῥάσανδρος* (Keil *Sylloge* II, 38 p. 6), in the Locrian *ῥεῤῥαθηρότα* (Allen Stud. III 247). — *ἑδ-αν-ῶ* (Apoll. Lex. ἡδεῖ) Ξ 172, an epithet of oil, clearly belongs here in spite of Buttman Lexil. II 14, probably too *ἑδ-νο-ν* for *σῥεδ-νο-ν* on which cp. Lob. El. I 59, who holds *ἑσ-μιο-ν· νόστιμον* (Hesych.) to be related as well. ἡδος with the spir. lenis like ἡμαρ by the side of ἡμερα, ἰδος by the side of ἰδρῶς, and οὔδας (No. 281) by the side of ὀδός. In the Slavo-Lithuanian family *sv* has become *sl*.

253) Rt. ἀρδ ἄρδ-ω, ἄρδ-εύ-ω wet, ἄρδ-μός watering-place, ἄρδ-α dirt, ἑρ-ῥάδ-α-ται, ῥάλν-ω sprinkle, ῥανί-ς drop (?).

Skt. *ārd-ra-s* moist, fresh, juicy, *ārdrajā-mi* I wet.

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 115. — *νεο-αρδέ' ἀλωήν* (Φ 346) in spite of the initial vowel, with the var. lect. *νεο-αιδέ'* is remarkable. It induces Legerlotz (Ztschr. X 367) to reject the above comparison and to assume a rt. *ῥαρδ* which is supposed to have come in its turn from *ῥαρθ* and to have preserved this its oldest shape in *ῥαθ-άλνω*, *ῥαθ-άσσω*, *ῥαθ-ά-μυξ*. But nothing to support such a root is found in any other language. Other traces of a *ῥ* are extremely doubtful, as is the quotation of a supposed Aeolic *βῥᾶναι* = *ῥᾶναι* in the dust-heap of notes in the excerpta cod. Vatic. p. 689 (Gregor. Corinth. p. 689), which Ahrens wisely hesitated to follow (Aeol. 34 note), and the very ambiguous glosses of Hesych. which L. quotes. It is no unheard of thing in post-homeric Greek for words beginning with a vowel to be treated in a precisely similar way to those which had in an older stage of the language a consonantal initial: e. g. *ᾗ-ασμος*, *νεο-αύητος*, *ἰσο-ενρής*. If it is thought that this could not have happened in so early a time, the readiest conjecture is that the true reading is *νειαρδέ'* (cp. *νελαιρα*), seeing that the word occurs but once. — If *παδ* arose by metathesis from *ἀρδ* (cp. *rap* and *ἀρπ* No. 331, the rt. *κα* No. 84 by the side of *ἀκ* No. 2, the rt. *ῥα* by the side of *ᾗῥ* No. 587), we shall refer *ῥάλν-ω* to *ῥαδ-ν-ω*, in which case the *ν* would have to be considered formative, as in the ramifications of the rt. *ῥα*, *ῥαν*. Legerlotz assumes here as in the case of *καίν-νμαι* (*ἐκέναστο*) a change from *δ* to *ι*.

254) *βδέλλα* leech. — Lith. *dėlė* leech, tape-worm, snail.

Pott W. I, 182, II, 1, 459. — Although *βδέλλα*, with which 229 Benf. II 71 compares a Semitic word, connects itself with *βδάλλω*

'suck', while the Lith. word seems to stand by itself, I venture to put the two words together. Otherwise Pictet I 531, Walter Ztschr. XI 437.

255) βδέ-ω visio, βδέσ-μα, βδόλο-ς, βδύλλ-ω, βδελυρό-ς, βδελύσσω.

Lat. *vis-io*, *visiu-m* βδέσμα.

Lith. *béz-d-a-s* βδέσμα, *béz-d-ù* βδέω, Bohem. *bzd-i-ti* βδεῖν.

Pott W. II, 1, 459. — The Gk. stem is βδεσ, to which corresponds the Lith. *béz*, where the *d* following it must be derivative. The Lat. *v* = β is explained by Walter Ztschr. XI 438 as arising from an older *g* (cp. p. 465).

255 b) βραδ-ύ-ς slow (βάρδ-ιστο-ς), βραδύ-τη(τ)-ς slowness.

Skt. *mṛd-u-s* (*mardu-s*) soft, tender, *mṛdu-tá* softness, weakness.

Ch.-Sl. *mlad-ŭ* tener.

Benf. I 509, Bopp Gl. — β before ρ and λ takes the place of μ cp. βροτό-ς rt. μωρ (No. 468). On the difference of meaning cp. p. 112 f. and the note on No. 239. βράδων ἀδύνατος, which we placed under that head is certainly not in its right place in Hesych. M. Schmidt compares well βλαδόν ἀδύνατον. — The rt. *mard* has in Skt. the meaning 'bruise', 'gall'. — The same rt. occurs with a prothetic *ā* and the softer liquid in *ā-malδ-ύνω* 'weaken' (Ebel Ztschr. VII 227).

255 c) Rt. δα δέ-δα-ε-ν he taught, δε-δα-ώς taught, acquainted with, δε-δά-ασθαι to search out, δα-ή-ναι learn, δαή-μων acquainted with, ἀ-δά-ης unacquainted with. — Zd. rt. *dā* know, *dāo* (f.) wisdom, adj. wise, *dā-nu* wise, *dā-mi* (f.) wisdom, *dī-dāñh-ē* I am taught, *dāñh-ista* the wisest.

Fick² 91, Pott W. I 130. It is highly probable that δή-ω find. δῆ-νο-ς cunning, μετα-δήα· μεταμελέτη (Hesych.) also belong here. The rt. *da* is expanded in various ways: by *s* in the Zd. *dāñh*, for *h* in the regular representative of *s*, which is preserved in Skt., inasmuch as the Skt. *das-ra-s* 'of miraculous power' properly belongs here and corresponds to the Zd. *dāñgra* 'wise'. Possibly a portion of the Gk. words should be referred not to *da* but to the expanded form *das*. By means of the determinative *k* is formed the rt. *dak*, which is plainly to be seen in *doc-tu-s*, *doc-eo* and with fresh expan-

sion in the Zd. *daksh* 'teach'. δι-δάσκ-ω and *disc-o* (i for e from a) show the *k* added to the *s*, while διδάξω, διδάχ-ή, *di-dic-i* have parted with the *s*.

256) Rt. δα δα-ί-ω (Hom. fut. δάσσομαι) divide, δαί(τ)-ς, δαι-τύ-ς, δαί-τη portion, meal, δαι-τρό-ς carver, δαί-νυ-μι entertain, δαί-νυ-μαι feast, δαι-τυ-μών (st. δαιτυμον) guest, δαίξ-ω tear in pieces, δα-τέ-ο-μαι distribute, δα-σ-μό-ς tribute.

Skt. rt. *daj*, *dajê* divide, assign, take part in, *dāja-s* portion, inheritance; rt. *dā*, *dā-mi*, *djā-mi* cut, in 230 comp. divide. *dā-ti-s* division, *dā-tra-m* share.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 127, II² 940, Benf. II 204. — Connection with the rt. δα No. 270 is not impossible. — From the idea of distributing is developed that of a meal, cp. ταμίη rt. τέμ (No. 237), and the rt. δαπ (No. 261). Pott II² 950 puts δαί-μων with these words, according to which it would mean 'distributor', and compares Ἰσοδαίτης ὁ π' ἐνίων ὁ Πλούτων Hesych., while Bopp Cp. Gr. III 167, Legerlotz Ztschr. VII 307 refer it to the rt. διF (No. 269). — There is a remarkable parallel to the figurative use ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆι δαίεται ἦτορ α 48, δεδαίγμενον ἦτορ ν 320 in the Skt. *daj-a-tê* 'he pities', a fact noticed in the PW. With all the greater certainty may we with Döderlein Gl. 2468 put δαίεται with this rt. and not under No. 258.

257) δαήρ (st. δᾶερ for δᾶFερ). — Skt. *dēvā* (st. *dēvar*) and *dēvara-s* — Lat. *lēvir* (st. *leviro*). — A.-S. *tācor*, O.-H.-G. *zeihhur*. — Ch.-Sl. *děvert*, Lith. *dėveris* brother-in-law.

Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ind. Studien I 328, Schleicher Ksl. 116. — The guttural in the Teutonic words is to be explained by a pre-Teutonic *gr* that arose from the *v*. The primary form is *daivar*. On the prosody of the Gk. word see Rhein. Mus. 1845 p. 253. — The meaning *frater mariti* is clearly the exclusive one in Skt. Gk. Lat. and Lith. In Skt. the word is derived from the rt. *div* 'play', like *na-nand-ar* or *na-nānd-ar* 'husband's sister' from the rt. *nand* 'to enjoy oneself' (cp. note to Nos. 20 and 124). It agrees with this that acc. to the PW. "especially the younger brother of one's husband" is so called. From the same rt. comes *juvān* = *juven-i-s*. Delbrück in Ztschr. f. d. Philol. I 152 calls this "an Indogermanic idyll".

259) Rt. δαF δα-ί-ω kindle (δέ-δη-α, δε-δαν-μένο-ς), δα-τ-ς firebrand, torch, δᾶ-λό-ς firebrand.

Skt. *du du-nô-mi* burn, consume, torment, *dava-s*, *dáva-s*, *dava-thu-s* burning, heat.

O.-Ir. *dóthim* uro, *dóthide* part. perf. pass. (F. A. 182).

Benf. I 35, whose views as to the relation of other words besides are as unsound as Pott's (I 282) and Bopp's (Gloss.) comparison of the Skt. rt. *dah* i. e. *dagh*. Cp. Aufrecht Ztschr. VII 311, and now Pott W. I 904. — *μηρίων δεδανυμένων* E. M. p. 250, 18, Simon. Cei fr. CXXXV. Schneidew., Hesych. *δεδανυμένων περιπεφλεγμένων, δαβει κανθῆ, δαβελός δαλός*. When we consider that *δάφιο-ς* acc. to Priscian's express testimony I p. 17 H. had in Alcman a *φ* (*καὶ χεῖμα πῦρ τε δάφιον*), we are inclined to connect this word with *δαίω*. The frequent coupling of *δίῳ* with *πῦρ* in Homer agrees with this, and the dat. *δαί* (*ἐν δαί λυγρῇ*) may well be connected too, seeing that we find such expressions as *μάχη πόλεμός τε δεδήει* (T 18) (cp. *bellum conflare, proelium exardescit*, O.-N. *brand-r* 'clang of swords'). But it is not so easy to reconcile with this the prominent meaning of *δίῳ* — 'hostile' — and of *δηϊότη(τ)-ς* — 'strife' — and of *δηϊώω* — 'lay waste' — (Döderl. Gloss. 2468), for which Max Müller Ztschr. V 151 tries to find an etymology in the Ved. *dása-s*, *dasju-s*, a designation of hostile peoples and spirits. We may however find a point of connection in the meaning 'consuming', 'tormenting'. This is specially suggested by the tragic use of *δαίος* 'miser' e. g. Soph. Aj. 771 *ὦ δαῖα Τέκμησσα*. Here the word means 'tormented'. — The same transition of meaning takes place in Skt. in the case of the rt. *du*, and this shows that *δύ-η* woe, need, *δν-ερός* unfortunate, *δνάω* torment also belong to this rt., though in the 1st edition I put them separate under No. 276 and compared them, perhaps rightly, with the Lith. *dovyti* torment, but probably wrongly with the Ch.-Sl. *dar-i-ti* 'strangle'. Stokes derives the Ir. *dóthim* from *dód* (L. U. 33 b along with *léod* 'cut' and *loscud* 'burn') which must be identical with "*duad*" "toil, labour" in O.R. — Cp. Pott II² 942.

259) Rt. *δαλ δαί-δαλ-ο-ς, δαι-δάλ-εο-ς* cunningly wrought, *δαιδάλλ-ω* work cunningly, embellish, *δαίδαλ-μα* a work of art.

Goth. *ga-til-s* seemly (?).

Lith. *daĩli-s* delicate, *daĩlin-ti* mould delicately.

Benf. I 99, II 339, Pott Ztschr. VI 32 f., Diefenbach Vgl. Wtb. II 667. — The O.-H.-G. *zila* 'studium', *zil-én*, *zil-ón* 'tendere' make the connection of the Goth. *ga-til-s* = A.-S. *tíl* doubtful. — For the diphthongal reduplication compare *παι-πάλλ-ω, μαι-μά-ω*. — It seems probable that the Lat. *dol-á-re* 'carve', *dola-bra* and perhaps *dol-iu-m* cask are also related. — Pictet II 126 takes the Skt. *dar* split (No. 267) as the rt.

260) Rt. δαμ δάμ-νη-μι, δαμ-ά-ω, δαμάξ-ω tame, overpower, δάμ-αρ (st. δαμαρτ) wife, δαμ-άλλη-ς steer, -δαμο-ς in comp. taming, ἄ-δμη(τ)-ς untamed, δμώ-ς slave.

Skt. rt. *dam dām-jā-mi* (also *dama-jā-mi*, *daman-jā-mi*) am tame, tame, part. *dam-i-ta-s* domitus, -*dama-s* in comp. taming, *dam-ana-s* domitor, *dam-ja-s* young steer.

Lat. *dom-a-re*, *dom-i-tu-s*, *dom-i-tor*, *dom-inu-s*.

Goth. *ga-tam-jan* δαμᾶν, O.-H.-G. *zam-ôn* I tame, *zam* tame.

O.-Ir. *dam* steer, dat. *daum* (Z.² 224, cp. Stokes Ir. Gl. 858).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 180, Grimm Gesch. I 402. — Instead of δάμαρ Hesych. has δόμορτι-ς (doubtless Aeolic) γωνή. — We must recognize in δάμαρ and δαμάλλη-ς the idea of overpowering which is prominent also in παρθένος ἀδμής. The Homeric δμώ-ς is to the Lat. *dominu-s* as χέρην-ς is to *heru-s* (No. 189). For this reason and on account of the Skt. *dam-ana-s* I prefer the above account of *dominu-s* to that given by Lange (Jahn's Jahrb. Bd. 68 p. 41) who takes *dominu-s* to be the 'giver' (Rt. *da*, *do*), though I adopt his conjecture about the form *dubenus* (Paul. Epit. p. 67 M.) that it is a mistake for *dumenus*. Otherwise Corssen Beitr. 249, whose explanation of the word from an unauthenticated Skt. rt. has no support. — Hugo Weber (Et. Unters. I 8) and Pictet II 390 both hit on the idea that δῆμο-ς comes from this rt., like the A.-S. *team* family and the O.-H.-G. *zunf-t* 'conventus'. But while even the idea of a 'bond of fellowship', a "community with distinct boundaries" does not come very near to that of the rt. δαμ the Homeric use of the word for 'country' does most certainly not agree with this derivation. [Cp. Studien VII] — Ebel (Beitr. II 160) and Stokes (Beitr. VII 14) connect the Ir. rt. *dam* 'suffer': *damair* perf. depon. "he suffered, allowed".

261) Rt. δαπ, δεπ, δάπ-τ-ω dissever, rend, δαπ-άνη ex-232 pense, δάπ-ανο-ς extravagant, δασιλής liberal. — δεῖπ-νο-ν meal.

Skt. *dā-p-ajā-mi* causative from *dā* divide, No. 256.

Lat. *dap-s* meal, sacrificial feast, *dap-inare* serve up on table.

A.-S. *tiber*, *tifer*, O.-H.-G. *zēbar*, O.-N. *tafn* victima,

M.-H.-G. *un-ge-zib-ele* vermin, properly 'not fit to be offered'.

Benf. II 204, Fick³ 92. — The shorter rt. is No. 256; it has an added π, cp. *δραπ-έτη-ς* (No. 272) and *ἀστράπτω* (No. 205). We are reminded of the rt. *da* give, which has in Skt. the causative form *dā-p-ajā-mi*. But the nouns given under No. 256 almost compel us to start from the idea of 'dividing', which again gives an easier explanation of the physical meaning of *δάπτω*, *καταδάπτω* tear, rend. *καταδάπτεται* ἦτορ π 92, like *δαίεται* ἦτορ. On the formation of *δαφιλῆς* Lobeck proleg. 114 cp. *δεισιλός* *δειλός* Hesych. and *λιπαρῆς* by the side of *λιπαρός*. — *δειπνο-ν* (Benf. II 271) from *δεικνο-ν*, which would correspond to the form *dapinu-m* which we may assume to account for *dap-inare* (Plaut.); clearly its proper meaning is *distributio* (cp. *ἐστίασις*). Cp. Legerlotz Ztschr. VIII 397. — *δέπας* too along with *δέπαστρον* from *δεπάζειν* 'to be in one's cups' is doubtless related. The Homeric phrase *δέπας οἴνου* seems properly to mean a 'measure' of wine, and the transition of the word from this meaning to that of vessel is an easy one. Accordingly we may assume *δέπας* to have had the same meaning with reference to drink as *δαίς* and the Lat. *dap-s* with reference to food: i. e. a portion.

262) Rt. *δαρθ* *ἔδραθ-ο-ν*, *δαρθ-άν-ω* sleep. — Skt. *drā*, *drā-mi*, *drājā-mi* sleep, *nī-drā* go to sleep. — Lat. *dor-m-i-o*. — Ch.-Sl. *drē-m-a-ti* dormire.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 135, Schleicher Ch.-Sl. 116. — On the secondary *θ* and *m* see pp. 65 and 68. It is to be remarked that Homer knows only the aorist *ἔδραθ-ο-ν*, *κατέδραθον*, *παρέδραθον*, and only in this form, and that the present (*καταδαρθάνω*) does not appear to occur till Plato.

263) *δασύ-ς* thick, *δάσος* thicket, *δασύνω* make thick, rough, *δανλό-ς* thickly overgrown, *Δαυλί-ς*.
Lat. *densu-s*, *densere*, *densare*.

Pott I¹ 139, Ztschr. VI 406, where *δανλό-ς* is rightly held to be from *δασυ-λό-ς* and explained by *ἡ-δύ-λο-ς* from *ἡδύ-ς*, so *παχυ-λό-ς* from *παχύ-ς*. Pott conjectures that, with a different suffix, *Ἐπί-δαν-ρο-ς* stands for *Ἐπι-δασυ-ρο-ς*, and accordingly denotes a place overgrown with a thicket, and compares the proper name *Θράσυλλος* for *Θράσυλλος*. Benf. II 200. Cp. *δασ-κόν* *δασύ*, *δασ-πέταλον* *ποιόφυλλον* (Hesych.). — But the Lat. *dus-mu-s* without doubt belongs here, Paul. Ep. 67 "*dus-mo* in loco apud Livium significat dumosum vel squalidum". *dus-mu-s* must be for *dens-imu-s* (cp. *ἄνθ-ιμο-ς*). *dú-mu-s*, *dú-metu-m* always keep the more general meaning bushes.

So Döderlein Syn. u. Et. VI 108. Should we be right in adding the Messapian names *Dasumu-s* *Δάζιμο-s*, *Dasiu-s* (Mommsen Unterit. D. 72), which might have the same meaning as *Δασύλλιος* which Benseler translates by 'Ruge'?

263 b) -δε towards, *οἰκόν-δε* homewards. — Zd. *da*, *vaēc*-233 *men-da* homewards. — Lat. -do in *en-do*, *in-du*. Goth. *du*, A.-S. *tō*, O.-H.-G. *zuo*, *za*, *ze*, *zi* to (Germ. *zu*). — Ch.-Sl. *do* up to, Lith. prefix *da*. — O.-Ir. *do* (*du*) ad (Z.² 638)?

Pott I² 287, Miklosich Lex., Ebel Beitr. I 312, Fick² 85, Scherer 304, where the Lat. *de* (the Osc. *dat*) is also referred to this stem. In the Arcadian *θύρ-δα* *ἐξω* (Hesych.) i. e. *θύραξ* the old *α* is retained in the place of the *ε*, in the Aeol. -*δης* (so too in the Homeric *ἄλλυ-δης*) it is weakened to *ι* and a *ς* is added (cp. *ἐξ*, *ἀμφίς*). — The Ir. *do* seems to me doubtful on account of *duun* ad nos, *dó dau* ei and of the Arem. *daved dave* ad (Z.² 333. 690).

264) Rt. δε *δέ-ω*, *δί-δη-μι* bind, *δέ-σι-ς* a binding, *δε-τή* bundle, *δε-σ-μός-ς* band, fetter, *κρή-δε-μνο-ν*, *διά-δη-μα* fillet.

Skt. *dā dā-mi* bind, *dā-man* band, cord, *dā-mā*.

Bopp GL., Benf. II 200, Schweizer Ztschr. III 342, Pott W. I 129. — The comparison of *δοῦλο-ς* slave, which is often connected with the Skt. *dāsa-s* of like meaning and explained to be from *δοσ-λο-ς* (cp. No. 263) seems to me especially questionable on account of the *ο* which is foreign to this rt. — On *δεσ-πότη-ς* No. 377. — It has long ago been recognized that *δεῖν* to be obliged is connected with *δεῖν* to bind. Hence the construction with the acc. But *δεήσει* points to the loss of a consonant and the related *δεύω* (*δενήσω*) want makes it likely that this consonant was *f*. Sonne Ztschr. XIII 409 conjectures a rt. *du* which, he says, related to *dā*, means also bind and is preserved in the Skt. *du-v-as* reverence; reverence, of the Gods that is, being here regarded as a *binding* duty, want as a *binding* necessity. This is at any rate an acute conjecture and we must look for confirmation of it.

265) Rt. δεμ *δέμ-ω* build, *δέμ-ας* build, shape, *δόμο-ς* building, room, *δῶ*, *δῶμα* house.

Skt. *dam-a-s*, *dam* (Ved.) house, *dam-patī* housewife.

— Zend. *dem-a* dwelling.

Lat. *domu-s*, *domes-ticu-s*, *domi-ciliu-m*, *Domi-tiu-s* (?).

A.-S. *timber*, O.-H.-G. *zimbar* lignum, aedificium,
Goth. *timrjan* οἰκοδομεῖν.

Ch.-Sl. *domŭ* house, Lith. *náma-s* house (?).

O.-Ir. *aur-dam*, *er-dam* prodomus (Z.² 7, F. A. 39).

Pott II, 2, 185. — On the Vedic form *dam* which may be compared with *δῶ* (for *δομ*) Kuhn Ztschr. IV 314. — Grimm Gesch. 402, who is certainly wrong in comparing *δένδρο-ν* (cp. No. 275). — On the Lith. *náma-s* Schleicher Ksl. 117. — *dom-es-ticu-s* seems to proceed from a neuter stem *domes* standing on the same line as *δέμας* (cp. *genes* nom. *genus*), and it would be developed from it like *aqua-ticu-s*, *silva-ticu-s* from their primitives. But we must remember *sil-ves-tri-s*, *campes-tri-s*, *modes-tu-s*. *domi-cil-ium* is said to be connected with the rt. *cel* (*celare*) mentioned under No. 30 (Vossius Et. '*domicolium*'). — Pictet I 209 with Diefenbach separates the Teutonic words (Vgl. Wtb. II 670), comparing them with the Ch.-Sl. *dab-ŭ* 234 oak, tree. But the rt. *dabh* burn which he assumes for them does not seem to have this meaning. *Domitius*, according to Gaston Paris Mémoires de la soc. linguist. I 94, comes from *domitu-s* like *Quinctius* from *quinctu-s*. — Cp. No. 260, 264.

266) *δεξιό-ς*, *δεξι-τερό-ς* on the right, *περι-δέξιο-ς*, *ἀμφι-δέξιο-ς* ambidexter.

Skt. *dakshina-s* on the right, to the south. [Hence Deccan.] — Zd. *dashina* on the right.

Lat. *dexter* (st. *dextero*), superl. *dex-timu-s*.

Goth. *taihs-va*, *taihs-vó* dexter, O.-H.-G. *zēsawá* δεξιá.

O.-H.-G. adj. *zēso* gen. *zēswoes* on the right.

Ch.-Sl. *desŭnŭ* dexter, Lith. *deszinė* dextera.

O.-Ir. *dess* on the right, to the south (Z.² 49).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 414, Schleicher Ksl. 116 &c. — The root I hold to be the *dek* that is discussed at No. 11, which has here an added *s* (cp. p. 67). The lengthened rt. *daksh* means in Skt. to satisfy, suit, *daksh-a-s* suitable, capable.

267) Rt. *δερ δέρ-ω* (δείρω, δαίρω aor. *εδάργην*) flay, *δέρ-ος*, *δορ-ά*, *δέρ-μα* skin, *δέρ-τρο-ν* skin of the intestines, *δέρρι-ς* leathern covering.

Skt. *dar dr-ná-mi* burst, burst open, tear asunder, *dr-ti-s* leather bottle, bladder. — Zd. *dar* cut.

Goth. *ga-tair-akatalíw*, O.-H.-G. *ziru*, *far-ziru* destruo.

Ch.-Sl. *der-a* (inf. *dra-ti*), Lith. *dir-iù* flay.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 317, Grimm Gesch. 402, Schleicher Kal. 116, Benf. II 228. — From the physical meaning *split*, which is most prominent in the Skt. *á-dar* (*á-d̥rt-já* open-handed) comes, as Fick² 89 conjectures, the Arcad. *δάρ-ι-ς* (*σπιθαμή* span Hesych.), to which, in that case would belong also *δῶρο-ν παλαιστή, ὀρθόδωρον* (Hültsch Metrologie 31). — Bopp Vgl. Gr. III² 380 connects *δῆρ-ι-ς* strife, struggle (*δηρίσαντο, δηριάσθαι*) as well, Corssen I² 506 the Lat. *diru-s* of which I am not convinced.

267 b) *δειρή, δέρη* neck, mountain ridge, *δειρός λόφος* (Hesych.), *δειρά(δ)-ς* mountain ridge, precipice.
Lat. *dorsu-s, dorsu-m*. — O.-Ir. *druim* back (Ir. Gl. 745).

Pauli Körpertheile p. 12, Fick² 90. — I have shown (Studien I, 1, 256) how the Gk. word by its *η* which is so remarkable in Attic, and by the Aeol. *δέρρα*, Dor. *δηράς* points to *δερσα*. — Ir. *druim* (gen. *drommo*) comes from **drosomi* like *tirim* aridus (No. 241) from **tarsimi*.

268) Rt. *δι δέ-εσθαι* hasten, to be scared, *δί-ον* (Hom.)
ran, was scared (*δεί-δι-α, δέι-δοι-κα, δέι-δ-ω, ξ-δδει-σα*), *δέος* fear, *δειλό-ς* frightened, cowardly,
δει-νό-ς frightful, *δέι-μο-ς* fright. — *δί-νο-ς* eddy,
δί-ν-ω, δι-νέ-ω, δινεύ-ω swing.

Skt. *dī, dī, dī-jā-mi* hurry, fly, *pari-dī* fly round,
stream round.

Lat. *dī-ru-s*.

O.-Ir. *dían* celer, *déne* celeritas (Z.² 18).

It is often asserted, and among others by Leo Meyer Ztschr. 235 VII 195 ff., that the rt. *δι* is related to the Skt. *divish* to hate, to be angry, but the unquestionable connection of the above mentioned Gk. words will not allow of this. The primitive meaning of the rt. *δι* is that of scared restlessness, as is proved specially by the Homeric usage (Buttm. Ausf. Gr. II 146). — On the irregularities of prosody found at the beginning of *δέος*, on *ξδδεισεν* &c. cp. p. 607, where also the view taken by Grassmann Ztschr. XI 11 is discussed. — We get a more physical meaning in *δινο-ς*, perhaps too in *δειρό-ς*, which, especially in the phrase *δειρῶ ποδί* ι 43 can hardly mean anything but fleeting. — On the Skt. *dī* and *pari-dī* Benfey Wörterb. zum Sāmaveda p. 90. Whether *dīna-s* which acc. to the Ptsb. Wtb. means frightened, poor, mean, belongs here I cannot decide. — *dī-ru-s* frightful may be compared for its meaning with *δει-νό-ς* and has a com-

plete analogy in *mī-ru-s* (No. 463). — I am not shaken in this view of the connection of the words by Pott's sharp opposition (W. I 571 ff.). The Zd. *thwi* frighten, which Spiegel Beitr. II 219 compares with *di* without giving an example of *th* for *d* is evidently to be coupled with the Skt. *wish* to be excited, startled, and has nothing to do with this *rt*.

269) Rt. δι, διϕ, δέ-α-το, δο-ά-σσα-το seemed, δία-λο-ς, δέελο-ς, δῆλο-ς clear, st. Διϕ nom. Ζεύ-ς, δι-ο-ς heavenly, ἐν-δι-ο-ς at midday, εὐ-δί-α clear sky, Διώνη.

Skt. *dī* (*dī-dī*, pres. *dī-djā-mi*) appear, shine, *dī-na-s* day, *a-dja* to-day, *div* (*dju*) *div-jā-mi* shine, play, *div* brightness, clearness, sky, *djō* nom. *djāu-s* sky, Sky-god, day, *div-ja-s* heavenly. *div-am*, *div-asa-s* day, *dēva-s* God. — Zd. *div* shine, *daēva* demon.

Lat. *Diov-i-s*, *deu-s*, *divu-s*, *sub dio*, *Diana*, *die-s*, *bi-du-u-m*, *nū-diu-s*, *inter-diu*, *nun-dinae*.

O.-N. *tivar* Gods, heroes, A.-S. *Tives-dæg* Tuesday, O.-H.-G. *Zio*.

Lith. *dēva-s* God, *dēnà* day. — Ch.-Sl. *dī-nŕ* (m.) day, *dī-nŕ-sŕ* to-day.

Cymr. *dyw* (Z.² 129), O.-Ir. *día* (gen. *dé* acc. pl. *déo*, *déu*, st. *daiva*) deus (Z.² 222 ff.); Cymr. *dyw* (Z.² 129); O.-Ir. *dia* (and *din* Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 140) dies, *in-diu* hodie (Z.² 271, 609, st. *dīra* or *divas*?).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 913 ff., Benf. II 207, Grimm Gesch. 402, Grassmann Ztschr. XI 2, Fick² 93. — Owing to the instability of the *v* in Gk. and Lat. it is hard to decide which forms come from the shorter *rt* *dī*, and which from the longer *div*. On δέατο (§ 242) and δοάσσατο cp. below p. 558, on Ζεύ-ς p. 605. — διά-λας δήλας, δίαλον πανερόν, δέελον δῆλον, δάελον διάδηλον (Hesych.) are to be referred partly to διϕ partly to an strengthened *daiv* (Skt. *dēv* shine) and leave no doubt as to the origin of δῆλο-ς, which even in Doric was δῆλος and not δᾶλος (Ahrens dor. 151), as may be here remarked 236 against Düntzer Ztschr. XVI 282. So too εὐδελος, in spite of Buttm. Lexil. II 191 and Düntzer's 'beautiful in the evening' ('*abendschön*'' Ztschr. XII 10, must be only another form for εὐδηλος. — M. Müller

II 453 gives some instances of the use of *dēva-s* as an adjective — 'shining'. The transition of meaning may be seen again in the case of the rt. *svar* shine, whence *sura-s* God (Grassmann Ztschr. IX, 3). — Greek is not entirely without any of the words for day springing from this rt. Macrobian Saturn. I 15 "Cretenses *δία τὴν ἡμέραν* vocant", *ὀγδό-διο-ν*. *Θυσία τελομένη Θησεῖ* (Hesych.). Cp. Mor. Schmidt on this passage, Pott II² 805, W. I 1064. In the Lat. *die-s* (cp. Corssen II² 458, I² 380 f.) the *v* has dropped out, but it is clearly to be seen in *nu-dius* and *bi-duu-m* (for *bi-div-u-m*). On *nū-dius* Fleckeisen Jahrb. 1867, p. 627. — On *Διώνη* *Diāna* Benf. Or. u. Occ. I 280. — From the shorter rt. *dī* we get again the Skt. *dīp* shine, and from *dju djut* with like meaning.

270) Rt. *do* *δί-δω-μι* give, *δο-τήρ*, *δω-τήρ* giver, *δώ-s*, *δῶ-τι-s*, *δό-σι-s* gift, *δῶ-ρο-ν* present.

Skt. *dā*, *da-dā-mi* give, *dā-tā* (st. *dā-tar*) giver, *dā-na-m* a giving, *dā-man* gift. — Zd. *dā* give, *dā-tar*, *dā-ta* giver, *dā-na* (n.) a giving, *dā-thra* (n.) a present.

Lat. *dā-re*. *dātor*, *dō-s* (st. *doti*), *dō-nu-m*.

Ch.-Sl. *da-mŭ*, Lith. *dū-mi*, *dū-du* give, *dū-ti-s*, *dū-ni-s* gift, Ch.-Sl. *da-rŭ* present, *da-nŭ* yield, tax.

O.-Ir. *dán* donum, ars (masc. u-stem, Z.² 238), Cymr. *ro-do* det (Z.² 513), s. praeter. *ro-deis*, 2 s. *ro-deist*, 3 s. *ro-des*, pl. *ro-dessam* (Z.² 522).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 105, Schleicher Ksl. 115. — The *a*-sound has survived in *δάν-ος* loan (*δάνειον*, *δανείζω*) under the protection of the *v*, cp. old Lat. *dān-unt* by the side of *dant*. *da-mnu-m* too is regarded as *τὸ δι-δό-μενο-ν* by Mommsen Unterit. D. p. 248, Fleckeisen Jahn's Jahrb. vol. 60 p. 254, Ritschl Rhein. Mus. XVI 304, Pott W. I 121, while in the PW. the rt. *dabh* (*dabh-nó-mi*) injure is given as the origin of this word, though it is improbable, as this rt. is nowhere else represented in Gk. or Lat. — On the other hand the *o*-sound appears in the Lat. *sacer-dō(t)-s*, *dō-(ti)s*, *dō-nu-m*. As regards the *u* in the old Lat. forms *du-int*, *du-am*, *ad-du-és* (Paul. Epit. 27), *du-i-to-r* (Plin. H. N. XXI, 3 in an old law), either, as I assumed (Tempora u. Modi p. 261) it arose from *o*, so that *du-int* = *δο-ῖεν*, *du-a-m* = *δό-ω*, or these forms come from a by-root *du*. So Fick² 95, Corssen Ausspr. I² 364, Nachtr. 239. Cp. Schoell XII tabb. 82. In any case the Umbr. *pur-tuv-itu*, *pur-dov-itu* (Anfr. u. Kirchh. II 171) point to a stem *dov* which takes its place with the Lith. *dū* but perhaps too with the Ch.-Sl. *da-va-ti* give.

271) δόλο-ς cunning, δέλεαρ bait.

Skt. *dal-bha-s* deceit (?).

Lat. *dolu-s* Osc. abl. *dolu-d* (tab. Bant.).

O.-N. *tál* dolus, fraus, O.-H.-G. *zāla* ambush, wiles.

Grimm Gesch. 402, Benf. II 226, Pott W. II, 1, 326. — *dal-bha-s* 237 is rendered doubtful by the by-form *dambha-s*. — The relationship of δόλος and δέλεαρ is proved by μ 252 *ιχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ εἶδατα βάλλον*. The Teutonic words show *dolu-s* to be a word of great antiquity, by no means borrowed from the Gk. — Cp. No. 259.

272) Rt. δρα ἀπο-δρᾶ-ναι run away, δι-δρά-σκ-ω run, δρα-σ-μός-ς flight, ᾶ-δρα-σ-το-ς not to be escaped.

Skt. *drá*, *drá-mi* fugio.

Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ztschr. VII 320, Pott W. I 133, Fick² 97. — δρᾶν-έτη-ς and δρᾶ-π-ων (Lentz Herodian I 34, 14) come from the rt. with an added *p* (cp. the Skt. causal *drá-pa-já-mi* and above p. 62). — The Goth. *tru-d-a* O.-H.-G. *tri-t-u* tread, O.-N. *trá-dha* vestigium agree in sound with this rt. but not in meaning; we may however regard as related the M.-H.-G. *trinnen* run, O.-H.-G. *ant-trunneo* run-away, whence through a misapprehension came the German *ent-rinnen* which should have been *ent-trinnen*.

273) Rt. δρα δρά-ω do, δρᾶ-μα act, Hom. δρη-σ-τήρ workman, servant, δρη-σ-το-σύνη skill in serving, δρᾶν-ος deed, work.

Lith. *dar-aú* make, do.

Pott W. I 136, Ztschr. VI 33, where other possibly related words are discussed. — The Lith. *dár-b-a-s* work along with *dir-b-u* I work could at most be regarded as a further expansion of this root. — Is it possible that this rt. and the preceeding one are one? πρᾶσσω too (No. 358) is originally a verb of motion; the Skt. *kar* run and *kar* do (No. 72), *tar* pass over and τέλ-ος τελεῖν (No. 238) spring from the same source. In Homer the word has only the meaning of busy performance. The Homeric ὀλιγο-δραν-έων (cp. ὀλιγηπελείων) powerless is remarkable — it may mean really "hardly moving oneself".

274) Rt. δραμ ε-δραμ-ο-ν I ran (pf. δέ-δρομ-α), δρόμο-ς a running, δρομ-εύ-ς a runner.

Skt. *dram dram-á-mi* run hither and thither, wander.

Benf. II 229. — Bopp Vergl. Gr. I 233 connects the Gk. δραμ with the Skt. *dru*, *drav-á-mi* curro, regarding the *m* as a hardening of the *v*. Why take the more difficult hypothesis, when we have here a

simpler one? We can hardly help regarding the shorter rt. *δρα* (No. 272) as the source of this one (Intro. p. 68). Cp. Sonne Ztschr. XII 295, Pott W. II, 2, 189.

275) *δρῦ-ς* tree, oak, *δρῦ-μά* (pl.), *δρῦ-μός-ς* wood, *δρῦ-τόμο-ς* wood-cutter, *δέν-δρε-ο-ν* (*δένδρο-ν*) tree, *δρία* (pl.) thicket, *δόνυ* (pl. *δούρα*, *δούρατα*) wood, beam, shaft, spear, *δούρ-ειο-ς*, *δουράτ-εο-ς* wooden. Skt. *dru-s* wood, tree, *dru-ma-s* tree, *dāru* wood, a kind of pine, *dāru-na-s* hard. — Zd. *dru* (n.) *dāuru* (n.) wood, spear.

Goth. *triu* tree, *triv-ein-s* ξύλινος, O.-S. *trio* trabs, lignum, arbor, Engl. *tree*.

Ch.-Sl. *drěvo* tree, *drěva* (pl.) sticks. — Lith. *dervà* 238 pitch-wood.

O.-Ir. *daur* gen. *daro* quercus (for **daru* later *dair* I-stem), *derucc* glans (Z.² 7. 260).

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 96 ff., Schleicher Ksl. 116, Stokes Ir. Gl. 554, Ebel Beitr. II 160, especially Kuhn Ztschr. IV 84 ff. — The derivatives of *δρῦ-ς* here placed with it leave no doubt that with the Greeks as well as with the other nations the original meaning was not oak but tree (Schol. A 86). We may compare besides *δάρυλ-λο-ς* (*ἡ δρῦς ὑπὸ Μανεδόνων* Hesych.) and the proper names *Δρῦ-ς*, *Δρύας*, *Δρύοψ*, *Δρίον*. Perhaps *Δωρί-ς* too really meant wood-land, forest-land, so that the *Δωρεῖς* would correspond to the German Holsaten. The *ω* as in *γωνία* by the side of *γόνυ*. It is on account of this meaning, preserved in so many languages, that I cannot accept the derivation suggested by Kuhn and others from the rt. *δερ* (No. 267), acc. to which the tree was named from the wood considered as that which is peeled or split. — *δέν-δρε-ον* (Hom.) reduplicated like *τεν-θρη-δών*, *πεμ-φρη-δών* (Hainebach de graecae linguae reduplicatione Gissae 1847 p. 11 sq.), is brought under this head by Döderlein also (Glossar 226), who compares *δέν-δρυ-άζειν* (Hesych. Eustath.) i. e. to hide oneself behind a tree, lie in wait, and also *ὑπο-δέν-δρυ-άζειν* ἔξ ἀφανούς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι (Hes.). Ahrens "*Δρῦς* und seine Sippe" Hannover 1866.

276) See No. 258.

277) *δύο*, *δύω*, *δοιοί* two, *δίς* for *δφ-ίς* twice, *δευ-τερο-ς* the second, *δοιή* doubt, *δι-ά* between, apart (in compounds), *δι-χα*, *δι-χθά* two ways, *δι-σός-ς* double, *δυνά-δεκα*, *δω-δεκα*.

Skt. *dva*, *dvāu* two, *dvis* twice, *dvi-tīja-s* the second, *dva-ja-s* twofold, *vi-* (in compounds) apart. —
Zd. *dva* two, *bi-* two in compounds, *bi-tya* the second.

Lat. *duo*, *bis* for *dvis*, *dis- bī-ni*, *du-plex*, *du-bi-us*. —
Umbr. *du-r* duo.

Goth. *twai*, f. *twós*, n. *tva*, O.-H.-G. *zer- zar-* apart (Germ. *zer-*), Goth. *vi-thra* contra, *tvis-stass* διχ-οστας.

Ch.-Sl. *dva*, *dūva*, Lith. *dù*, fem. *dvi* two, *dvejì* two, by twos.

O.-Ir. *dá*, f. *dí*, n. *dá(-n)*, dat. *dīb(-n)* (Z.² 301).

Bopp Vergl. Gr. II 63, 94, Pott I¹ 128 &c. — *δέυ-τερο-ς* arose by metathesis from *dva-tara-s*, *δισσό-ς* from *δφι-τjo-ς*, which corresponds to the Skt. *dvi-tīja-s* for *dvi-tja-s*. Cp. however Joh. Schmidt Ztschr. XVI 437. — Both the prefixal and the prepositional use of *διά* i. e. *dvi-ja* are to be explained by the idea 'between' (Curtius Gk. Grammar § 458). Cp. p. 39, with which however again p. 195 must be compared on account of *vē*. On *δο-ιολ* below p. 559, on the Lat. *du-bius* see Corssen II² 1027.

278) *δύς- mis-*, *δυσ-μενής* ill-disposed.

Skt. *dus- dur- mis-*, *dur-manás* *δυσ-μενής*. — Zd. *dush*, *dus-mananh*.

Goth. *tus-*, *tuz* (*tuz-vérjan* to doubt), O.-N. *tor-*, O.-H.-G. *zur-*, N.-H.-G. *zer-* amiss.

239 O.-Ir. *du-*, *do- mis-*, *do-chruth* dishonest (*so-chruth* honest, from *cruth* forma, modus Z.² 863).

Bopp Gl., Grimm Gesch. 403, Pott W. II, 2, 417. — We must allow connection with the Skt. *dush* destroy, *dvis* hate (No. 290), Zd. *dush-i-ti* miserable. — The *s* must have fallen out very early in the Ir. *do*, for after *do* the following consonant is aspirated. Stokes (Ir. Gl. p. 46 note) doubts the connection on that account.

279) Rt. *ἐδ* *ἐδ-ω*, *ἔσ-θ-ω*, *ἐσ-θί-ω* eat, *ἐδ-ωδ-ή*, *ἐδ-η-ρύ-ς*, *ἔδ-ε-σ-μα*, *εἰδ-αφ* food.

Skt. *ad-mi* eat, *ad-ana-m* food, *ad-a-ka-s* eating, *ád-ja-s* eatable.

Lat. *ed-o* (3. sing. *es-t*), *ed-â-x*, *ēsu-s*, *ēsū-ri-o*, *es-ca*.

Goth. *it-a*, O.-H.-G. *iz-u* eat.

Ch.-Sl. *ja-mĭ*, also *ě-mĭ* (inf. *jas-ti*, *ěs-ti*) eat, *jad-ŭ* cibus, Lith. *ĕd-mi*, *ĕd-u* devour, *ĕd-i-s* food, meal, *ĕd-ika-s* glutton.

O.-Ir. *ithim* mando (Z.² 429), *cini estar* etsi non edit (Z.² 468 s. conjunctive)?

Bopp Gl., Pott I² 242, Benf. I 246 &c. Cp. ὀδόν-ς (No. 289), on *ἔσθω*, *ἔσθιω* p. 69, *es-ca* for *ed-ca*. In the suffix too we find a remarkable resemblance between the Skt. *ad-aka-s*, the Lat. *ed-ax*, and the Lith. *ed-ika-s*. Otherwise Corssen II² 257. I see no reason for separating *sid-aq* from this rt. as is proposed by Sonne Ztschr. XII 341. In *δρε-ι-aq* too there appears an *ι* before the suffix *-αqr*, and this *ι* seems to have been forced into the preceding syllable in *εἰδ-aq*. — Perhaps the Lat. *ad-or* spelt belongs here, in which case it would be a connection of the A.-S. *at-a*, Eng. *oat*, the vowel of which points to an older *ei*, and of the Goth. *at-isk-s* seed; so Pictet I 259, who adduces the Skt. *an-na-m* for *ad-na-m* food, corn as an example of this change of meaning. Cp. note to No. 304 and with respect to ὀδύνη No. 284. — The Ir. *ithim* is not quite certain on account of its *th*, but Ebel (Beitr. II 162) and Stokes (Ir. Gl. 40) place it here.

280) Rt. *éd sit*. — εἰ-σα I seated, ἔξομαι, ἵξομαι seat myself, ἵξω I seat, ἔδ-ος, ἔδ-ρα a seat, ἰδρú-ω I seat, settle.

Skt. *sad sid-á-mi* sido, sedeo, *sád-a-jámi* colloco, *sad-as* a sitting. — Zd. *had sit*, *hadh-is* a seat, dwelling-place.

Lat. *séd-e-o*, *síd-o*, *sel-la* (for *sed-la*), *séd-c-s*, *séd-are*, *sol-iu-m*.

Goth. *sit-a*, O.-H.-G. *sizzu*, Goth. *sit-l-s*, O.-H.-G. *sēzal* (sedile), O.-H.-G. *satul* (sella), Goth. *sat-jan*, O.-H.-G. *sezzan* seat, place (Germ. *setzen*).

Ch.-Sl. *sēs-ti* (for *séd-ti*) 1. pres. s. *sed-a* consido, *sad-i-ti* plantare, *sed-lo* saddle, Lith. *séd-mi*, *séd-zu* sit, *sod-in-ù* seat, place, plant.

O.-Ir. *sedait* sedent (T. B. Fr. 140), *suide* seat (Ir. Gl. 366, primary form *sadja-*), *rig-suide* throne (F. A. 58), *suidigim* I seat, place (*ro-suidigestar* aor. dep. posuit Z.² 465).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 248, Schleicher Ksl. 117, Grimm Gesch. 422, Ebel Beitr. II 165. — The *σ* is preserved in the form *σέδ-ας* (καθέδρας

240 Hesych.). Remarkable too is the conformity of the Lat. *sella*, i. e. *sed-la* and Hesychius's ἐλλά καθέδρα, which also means τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ ἱερὸν (cp. Hesych. s. v. ἐλλά), no doubt in the sense of ἕδος, abode of the gods. Cp. Giese ūb. den æol. D. 249. — On the ε in ἰδ-φύ-ω which is compared by Benfey and Fick² 194 to the Skt. *sad-ru-s* resting, and ἱζω, Kuhn Ztschr. V 209 and below p. 701. Another present-form from the rt. ἑδ occurs in ἱν-νυ-ε-ν ἐκαθέζετο (Hesych.), as it is rightly written by Lobeck Rhemat. 207 and M. Schmidt instead of ἱννοισεν, and accordingly it answers to ἑδ-νυ-με, — The Skt. *sadman* means domus, as Schweizer Ztschr. XV 317 shows, properly *sedes*. — Eschmann Ztschr. XIII 106 is for putting under this head not only *con-sul*, *prae-sul*, which, on account of the proved transition of *d* to *l* in Lat., might belong here as far as the sound goes, but also the Gk. σέλ-ματα. To this there are three objections. In the first place σέλματα is not seat, but timber-work, hence σέλματα πύγμων, secondly ἐύ-σσελμο-ς points to the loss of a consonant after the σ, thirdly the change of δ to λ is unknown in Greek. — On *soliu-m* Corssen I² 487 expresses a different view.

281) Rt. ἑδ go. — ὁδ-ό-ς way. ὁδ-ί-τη-ς traveller, ὁδ-εὔ-ω travel, ὁδ-ό-ς (οὐδό-ς) threshold, οὐδ-ας, ἑδ-α-φος ground.

Skt. *sad á-sad* adire, accedere.

Lat. *söl-u-m*, *söl-ea*.

Ch.-Sl. *chod-i-ti* ire, šŷd-ŷ profectus.

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 442 f., Schleich. Ksl. 117, Pott I¹ 248, who sought formerly in the meaning 'sink' and now I² 48 in that of 'support' the primary notion connecting this rt. with No. 280. — ὁδό-ς is properly tread, that on which one treads, οὐδας: rt. ἑδ = πῖδον (No. 291): πεδ. Cp. p. 113. On the suffix of ἑδ-α-φος (cp. ἑφ-εδές. ἐπίπεδον. ταπεινόν, χαμαί Hesych.) Jahn's Jahrb. vol. 69 p. 95. — *solu-m* shows such close agreement with this root that we cannot separate it, the *l* as in *soliu-m* (No. 280), whether by assimilation from *dl* or directly from *d*. *söl-ea* sole must also be put here since *sölu-m* itself means sole as well. Cp. No. 560. Otherwise Corssen I² 486, where the above irrefragable analogies for the transition to the ideas of *that which is trodden on* and *ground* or *site* (cp. too βά-σι-ς, βά-θρο-ν) are ignored. At all events we have in the Latin *séd-ulu-s* a representative of this rt. with the *d* preserved — cp. *bib-ulu-s*, *trem-ulu-s*, though here the *é* is strange —; it does not mean as Corssen I² 458 says, 'sitting away for ever', assiduus, but *agilis*, active, properly always going, running hither and thither. In No. 273 we saw a similar instance of the idea of busy service developed from a verbum movendi. The same origin is conjectured by Bernhardt Gr. Etymologien (Wiesbaden 1862) p. 20 and

Pott II² 788 for the Gk. *ἀοζο-ς, ὑπηρέτης, ἀκόλουθος*, in which case the word would stand for *ἀ-οδ-jo-ς* fellow-traveller (cp. *ἀκόλουθος, ὁπαδός, gasinth-ja*). — Roth Ztschr. XIX, 214 comes to a totally different conclusion about the words here adduced. He takes *οὐδας, ὀδός* and *ἔδαφος* to No. 280 and conjectures for *ὀδός* a rt. *sadh*, which occurs most clearly in *sádh-u-s* direct, so that *ὀδός* would properly mean 'straight line', 'direction'. But I know of no example of the appearance of *δ* for *θ* on account of an initial aspirate, and R. must assume this if he is to connect *ὀδός* with *sadh*.

282) Rt. *id*, Ftb *εἶδ-ο-ν* I saw, *εἶδ-ο-μαι* appear, *οἶδ-α* 241 know, *εἶδ-ος* 'species', *εἶδ-ωλο-ν* image, *Ἄ-ιδης*, *ἴσ-τωρ* (st. *ἴστορ*) knowing, a witness, *ἴστορ-έ-ω* inquire, *ιδ-ρι-ς* knowing, *ινδ-άλλομαι* appear. — *ῥιδ-νη-ς* *εἰδώς, ἔμπειρος* (Hesych.).

Skt. *vid véd-mi*, pf. *véda* know, *vind-á-mi* find, *véda-s* the scriptures.

Lat. *vid-eo, visu-s, vis-o*, Umbr. *vir-s-e-to* = *visus* (part.), Lat. *vi-tru-m*.

Goth. *vait oīða*, *un-vit-i* ignorance (*unwittingness*), *vit-an τηρεtv. far-veit-l* *θέατρον*, O.-H.-G. *wizan*, (Germ. *wissen*) know, *gi-wizo* witness.

Ch.Sl. *vid-ě-ti* see, *věd-ě-ti* know, Lith. *vėd-a-s* facies, *výzd-i-s* eye-ball, *vėizd-mi* see, O.-Pr. *waidimai* scimus.

O.-Ir. *ad-fiadat* narrant (Z.² 433), *ro-fessur* for *ro-féd-s-ur* sciam (Fut. Dep. Z.² 468), *no-findad* he used to know (Corm. Gl. 31 Manannan), *finnta dúinn* "let us find out" (Corm. Gl. 34 ore tréith).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 246 ff., Benf. I 369 f., Diefenbach I 216 ff. Schleich. Ksl. 117. — The idea of physical perception is clearly seen in the different families of speech; the metaphysical idea of 'knowing' attaches itself generally to the form *void* strengthened by the addition of a vowel, but passes also to the shorter form. For a conjecture as to the primary meaning see above p. 99. Sonne Ztschr. XII 339 ff. discusses it more at length: from the meaning *find, get a thing found*, and the Ved. *vi-vi* di-gnoscere he gets as far as *di-vid-ere* and makes some very good comparisons. — For the *F* the name of the Spartan magistrates *βίδεοι* or *βίδνοι* is important: *βίδνοι* = Att. *ἰδύοι* (Ahrens d. dor. 47), cp. *ἴτωρ* and the Ch.-Sl. (Russ.) *vid-okŭ* testis. On the traces of the *F* in Homer, who has 103 cases of a hiatus before *ιδών*

and the like, see Hoffmann Quaest. hom. II p. 26 sqq., on *vitru-m* Corssen Beitr. 368. — The Lat. *viso* has the look of a desiderative and was perhaps originally reduplicated like the Skt. *vi-vit-sa-ti*, and accordingly arose from *vivid-so* (Aufrecht Ztschr. I 190, Pott II² 574). — In Z.² 458 may be found numerous other Irish forms of this root.

283) Rt. ἰδ cFid ἰδ-ι-ω sweat, ἰδ-ος, ἰδ-ρῶ-ς, ἰδ-ρῶ(τ)-ς sweat.

Skt. *svid-jā-mi* sudo, *svēd-a-s* sudor.

Lat. *sūd-ā-re*, *sūd-or*, *sūd-ariu-m*.

O.-N. *sveit-i*, O.-H.-G. *sweiz* sweat.

Cymr. *chwys* sudor (Z.² 124).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 249, Grimm Gesch. 303. — *ἰδ-ι-ω* is completely identical with *svid-j-ā-mi* (Tempora u. Modi 89). It can be no objection to this that the *ι* reaches beyond the present stem in Attic Greek; it is the same with the *ε* in *δοκέω δοκήσω* for the older *δόξω*, and with *φθί-νν-θ-ο-ν*, *ju-n-xi*, though the syllable *νν* and the rare *ν* served originally to denote the present-stem. — Cp. No. 293.

284) Rt. καθ κῆδ-ω hurt, vex, κε-καδ-ών (Hom.) vexing, robbing (fut. *κεκαδήσω*), κῆδ-ο-μαι am troubled (fut. *κεκαδήσομαι*), κῆδ-ος care, anxiety.

Skt. *khād* (*khad*) chew, bite to pieces, eat (?).

Lobeck on Buttm. II 322 already saw the mistake of connecting *κεκαδεῖν* with *χάζω*, a mistake common with modern grammarians. *κεκαδῆσαι βλάψαι* (Hesych.) which he adduces, likewise belongs here. On the other hand *ἐκεκήθει ὑπεχώρει* (Hesych.) will hardly fit in with our present rt., though it will with the Lat. *cedere*; the connection would have to be sought in the idea of separation, tearing asunder. — Lobeck's conjecture (ut sup.) on the relation of the initial letter to that of *σχάω*, *σχάζω* agrees with the comparisons of Kuhn Ztschr. III 426. — In this comparison I have followed Aufrecht Ztschr. I 480, relying especially on the meaning contristare given for the Skt. *khād* in Westergaard's Radices and supported by a quotation from the Vedas. But the PW. knows nothing of this meaning, but only the physical one of eating, on which Corssen fastens (Beitr. 456) in order to explain *ces-na*, *cēna*, Umbr. *cers-na* by means of the assumed primary form *skad* (cp. No. 294). Seeing however that of the same suitors who *ἀλλότριον βίονον (οἶκον π 431) νήποινον ἔδουσι* (α 160) it is said *οἶκον κῆδεσκον* (ψ 9), since *curae* are called *edaces*, and even *ὀδ-ύνη* is referred perhaps rightly to the rt. ἔδ (No. 279), we may allow this comparison to stand. Cp. Fulda 153.

285) κοιν-ς pl. κοινίδ-ες nits, eggs of lice &c. — Lat.

lend-es. — A.-S. *hnit* (Eng. *nit*), O.-H.-G. *hniz* (Germ. *Nisse*). — Bohem. *hnida*, Lith. *glinda-s*.

Pott I¹ 107, Grimm Gesch. 411, Benf. I 190, Walther Ztschr. XII 382. — The primary form is *knid*, whence by the introduction of an *o* *κονιδ* (cp. *μόλιθος* No. 552), in the Lat. and Lith. forms the *n* is replaced by *l* and the word is nasalized. It should here be remarked that Lat. does not know an initial *cn*. (Cp. rt. *πνυ* No. 370.) — Corssen Beitr. 295 seems to doubt.

286) Rt. *μεδ μέδ-ω, μέδ-ο-μαι, μήδ-ο-μαι* measure, consider, *μέδ-οντ-ες* counsellors, lords, *μήσ-τωρ* counsellor, *μῆδ-ος* counsel, plan, *μέδ-ι-μνο-ς* measure, bushel.

Lat. *mod-u-s, mod-iu-s, modes-tu-s, moder-ari*.

Goth. *mit-a* I mete, measure, *mit-ôn* consider, O.-H.-G. *mēzan* measure (Germ. *messen*), *mēz, māza* measure (Germ. *Maass*).

O.-Ir. *ir-mad-adar* pres. dep. intellegit (Z.² 438), *conam-madar-sa* ut judicem (Z.² 442), *mess* judicium (primary form *med-tu* Z.² 787), *coimdiu* gen. *coimded* dominus (Z.² 255, for *co-midiu*, a *t*-stem).

Pott W. I 274, Grimm Gesch. 411, Ebel Beitr. II 158. — *μεδ* is apparently an offspring of the shorter rt. *με* (Skt. *mā* No. 461) (p. 65), but has no intimate connection with *me-ti-or* which finds its counterpart in the Lith. *ma-tó-ju* I measure. Perhaps *μεσ-τό-ς* full also means really measured. We may add *μέσμα· μέστωμα* Hesych. — The Lat. *med-ēri, med-itari, med-icu-s, med-ēla, re-med-iu-m* which I formerly placed here belong clearly to the Zd. *madh mad* mederi, *madh-a-s* the science of healing, wisdom, as was recognized by Pictet Ztschr. V 46. The more general meaning however proves the agreement with the Gk. *μαθ* which is treated at No. 429. — That the Osc. *meddix* belongs here is rendered very doubtful by its appearance as *meddiss* and the discussion of Corssen Ztschr. XI 332 based on this. In meaning it seemed to compare well with the Homeric *μέδ-ο-ντες*. — The gloss of Hesych. too, formerly placed here, which I then with Döderlein Gloss. 2411 wrote *μέσκει ἄρχει*, seeing the MS. has *μέσκει ἄρξεσται* has perhaps nothing to do with this root. — In Irish we ought perhaps to give a by-form of the rt. *mid*: for *miastar* fut. dep. *judicabit, messamar* *judicabimus* can hardly be regarded as different to *ni-fastar* *nesciet, ro-festar* *sciet* from the rt. *vid* (Z.² 468); *r-a-midar*

perf. dep. eum judicavi (Z.² 450) seems to speak by its *í* rather for the *a*-row.

287) Rt. μελδ μέλδ-ω, μέλδ-ο-μαι melt.

O.-N. *smelt-i*, O.-H.-G. *smilz-u* (Germ. *schmelzen*) melt, smelt.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *mard*, which rt. with the meaning *conterere* he compares with this one. In that case *mard* must have lost an initial *s*; the meaning too seems to me to be hard to reconcile, since the Skt. *mard* Zd. *mared* bite, gnaw has apparently its counterpart in the Lat. *mord-eo*. — Grimm Gesch. 412, Pott W. II, 1, 542.

287 b) Rt. νεδ Νέδ-η, Νέδ-ων, Νέσ-το-ς. — Skt. *nad nad-ā-mi* sound, bellow, *nada-s* bellower (ox), river, *nad-ī* river, flood.

Sonne Ztschr. X 123, Preller Gr. Mythologie II² 246, so too Pott Jahn's Jahrb. Suppltb. III 313. — These different river names are evidently allied. The etymon of bellowing is especially suitable for the *Néδα* in the Peloponnese, since it is called by Strabo *λαβρον ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνναίου κατιόν*, and described as a roaring stream (E. Curtius Peloponnesos I 343). The Thracian *Nέστος* too is added to the list: it was also called *Nέσσος*, and there is no doubt that the name of the centaur *Nέσσος* is of the same origin. Sonne associates *Nέστος* also with these words as "the roarer". inasmuch as he is a *Προειδών ἱππιος*. This is a mystery for Mythology to solve. Cp. note to No. 432.

288) Rt. ὀδ ὄξ-ω (pf. ὄδ-ωδ-α) smell (intrans.) ὀδ-μή (ὀσ-μή) odour, δυσ-ώδ-ης of an evil smell.

Lat. *od-or*, *od-orari*, *ol-eo*, *ol-facio*.

Lith. *ũ'd-ž-u* inf. *ũ's-ti* smell, trace out, *ũ'd-ima-s* a smelling.

Pott I¹ 196, where more extensive but doubtful combinations are made Benf. I 249. On the present form ὄξ-ω = ὀδ-*j*-ω, a formation completely parallel to the Lith. *ũ'd-ž-u* = *ũ'd-j-u* Schleich. Lit. Gr. p. 66) cp. Tempora u. Modi p. 109. — Benf. Or. u. Occ. I 626 holds ὀδ smell and ἐδ eat to be identical roots, noticing the use of the word *taste*, but ἐδ does not mean to taste.

289) ὀδού-ς (st. ὀδοντ) tooth (Aeol. pl. ἔδοντες). — Skt. *dant-a-s*, Zd. *dañt-an* tooth. — Lat. *den-s* (st. *dent*). — Goth. *tunth-u-s*, O.-H.-G. *zand* tooth. — Lith. *dant-ì-s* tooth. — Cymr. *dant* tooth (Z.² 291), O.-Ir. *dét* (Z.² 18).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 242. — On the Aeol. form Ahrens d. aeol. 244 p. 80. — It was long regarded among Comparative Philologists as proved that the *rt* was *ēd* (No. 279), as held by Pollux VI 38 ἀπὸ ἰδιωμάτων . . . ἀπὸ τούτου γὰρ πεποίηται οἷον ἔδοντες τινες οἱ ὀδόντες (Lobeck ad Aj. v. 360); now Schleicher Comp.³ 76, Max Müller II 262, Hugo Weber Ztschr. X 244 prefer to derive the word from the *rt. da* divide (No. 256), principally because it is only in Gk. that a vowel appears before the *d*. There would be no very wide difference between the two views, inasmuch as, as Schl. admits, the roots *da* and *ad* seem to have been closely associated from the beginning. Still I do not regard this as altogether proved, for it happens that the Greeks held with great tenacity in other cases as well the initial vowels, e. g. in *ἔσμες* by the side of the Skt. *s-mas*, Zd. *h-mahi*, Lat. *s-umus*, and although in this case it is true that the Lithuanian *és-me* holds with the Gk. as well as the Slavonic and Keltic forms, it is not so e. g. with *ἔῃ* i. e. *es-u* = Skt. *su*, Zd. *hu*, O.-Pr. *u*, Ir. *hu*. Again the vowel *o* in the second syllable which answers to the Lat. *e* will not agree with the *rt. da*. How easy on the other hand in a word of such frequent use for an initial vowel to fall away when the sense of the etymon was obliterated. As *ἔδοντ* is related to the *rt. ēd* (No. 279), so is the Skt. *khād-ana-s* tooth to the *rt. khād* (No. 284), and *παγόνες* to the *rt. παγ* (No. 408).

- 290) St. *ὀδὺς ὀδ-ώδυσ-ται, ὠδυσ-ά-μην, ὀδυσσά-μενο-ς* be angry, hate, *ὠδυσ-ίη* (Hesych. *ὀργή*), *Ὀδυσ-εύ-ς*. Skt. *dvish dvēsh-mi* hate, am disinclined, *dvish* (Nom. *dvi!*) hate, enemy, *dvēsh-as* hate.

Pott I¹ 270, Ztschr. IX 212, Benf. II 223. — The *o* is prothetic, *ri* contracted to *v* as in *γρῆ-ῡ-ς* for *γρη-ῤ-ς* (above p. 176) and *ῡδ-ρη-ς* (p. 241). In Skt. too we have in *dush* (mentioned at No. 278) an undoubted connection of *dvish*.

- 291) Rt. *πεδ πέδ-ο-ν, πεδ-ί-ο-ν* ground, country, *πέδ-η* fetter, *πέδ-ί-λο-ν* sole, *πεζό-ς* pedestris, *πέζα* foot, border, *πού-ς* (st. *ποδ*) foot.

Skt. *pad pad-jā-mi* fall, go towards, *pad-a-m* tread, step, place, spot, foot-print, track, *pād-a-s pad* foot, *pad-ā-ti-s pat-ti-s* pedestrian, *pād-uka-s* shoe.

— Zd. *pad* go, *padh-a* (m.) foot.

Lat. *Ped-u-m, oppid-u-m, ped-ica, com-pe(d)-s, ped-ūle* (sole), *pe(d)-s, ped-e(t)-s, ped-es-ter, tri-pod-are. tri-pud-iu-m*; Umbr. *du-purs-us* = *biped-ibus*.

O.-N. *fjö-tur-r*, O.-H.-G. *fëzzar*, Goth. *föt-u-s*, O.-H.-G. *fuoz* foot (Germ. *Fuss*).

Lith. *pád-a-s* sole, *péd-à* footprint.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 244 f., Benf. II 92. From the primary meaning tread was developed that of the ground trodden on, of the shoe or the fetter into which one steps, and that of the foot that treads (cp. No. 281 and p. 113). — As from *pe-s* we easily get *im-ped-ire*, 245 *com-pes* and *ped-ica* foot-fetter, then fetter, snare generally, so from *πίδη* we have *πεδάω*, while the Lat. *pedare* means stride. The Lat. correlative of *πίδη* is *peda vestigium humanum* (Paul. Ep. 211), which has its counterpart in the Lith. *pèdà*. — On *op-pedu-m*, later *op-pidu-m*, τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ, the town regarded as the defence of the country, hence also *oppidum* locus in circo unde quadrigae emittuntur (Fest. p. 184), see above p. 82. Döderlein Gloss. 2341 compares the adv. *oppido* with *ἐμπεδον*; we may grant this without identifying *op* with *ἐν*. In another way *illico* may be compared. — Perhaps also *ped-u-m* shepherd's crook belongs here. It is true that the meaning of *πηδ-αν* leap is somewhat foreign to that of the other offshoots from our rt., but *πηδ-αν* can hardly be separated from *πηδόν*, *πηδάλιον* rudder. So there seems in all probability to have been preserved a more energetic force in the stronger form. The Skt. *rt.* means also fall and in this meaning corresponds to the Ch.-Sl. *pad-a* cado, but the compounds show the more general meaning go, tread. Similar transitions of meaning under Rt. *pat* Gk. πετ (No. 214).

292) Rt. περδ *πέρδ-ω*, *πέρδ-ο-μαι* (*ἐπαρδ-ο-ν*, *πέπορδ-α*)
pedo, πορδ-ή peditum, *πέρδ-ιξ* (st. *περδιx*) part-
ridge.

Skt. *pard* *pard-é* pedo, *pard-a-s*, *pard-ana-m* πορδή.

Lat. *péd-o*, *pód-ex*.

O.-H.-G. *firz-u* (Germ. *furzen*).

Bohem. *prd-im*, Lith. *pérd-ž-u* inf. *pérs-ti*, *pird-i-s*
πορδή.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 245, Schleicher Ksl. 121. — On *péd-or*, the form *paedor* and *pédic-are* along with the other allied words cp. Bücheler Rh. Mus. XIII 153, XVIII 386, Fleckeisen Jahrb. 1861, 574 and Corssen's objections I² 648. The *r* is suppressed in Lat. and the vowel lengthened in compensation (cp. *φρέαρ-ος* for *φρεαρ-ος*). *περδ-ιξ*, "παρὰ τὸ πέρδειν, cum enim sonum edit" Jos. Scaliger ad Varronem p. 187 (ed. 1573). So the other name of the bird *κακκαβίς* reminds us of No. 28. These etyma cannot have been present to the minds of the ancients, or Alkman (fr. 60 B.) would not have considered the

καταβίδες to be his teachers of song. Gerland too "*über die Perdix-sage*" Halle 1871 denies the connection with the rt. κερδ.

- 293) σιδ-ηρο-ς iron. — Skt. *svīd-i-ta-s* smelted, *svēd-anī* iron plate, pan. — O.-H.-G. *sweiz-jan* frigère.

Benf. I 466, Kuhn Ztschr. II 132. — More doubtful is the connection with the O.-H.-G. *smid-ōn* forge (Germ. *schmieden*), *smeidar* smith, especially on account of the irregularity in the sound-change. Cp. too Grimm Gesch. II 745 on the name Swedes. — The rt. *svīd* has been already seen in the form *īd* No. 283. It is not surprising that in the name of the metal, the sense of the origin of which must have been early lost, the sibilant survived. Cp. moreover the double form σφε and *f* from *sva*, *sv-ς* and *ῥ-ς* and under No. 280 σέδας. — Pictet I 168 disputes this derivation with the words: 'il me semble difficile à croire, que le plus réfractaire des métaux usuels ait tiré son nom de la notion de fusibilité'. There is no need though for the meaning of σιδ-ηρο-ς to be "fusible", it may be "prepared by melting", and that suits iron exactly, because it must first (cp. Max 246 Müller II 226) be separated from other minerals by melting. — It is by no means however to be assumed from this comparison that the Indo-Germans were acquainted with iron before their division. M. Müller aptly recalls Hesiod *Ἔργα* 153 μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος, as evidence that the Greeks themselves had an idea of a time when the πολύμητος σίδηρος had not yet been discovered. It is only the root that is common to the languages, and applied in a similar way. — Otherwise Pott I¹ 127, who compares the Lith. *svīd-ā-s* bright, and the Lat. *sid-us*.

- 294) Rt. κεδ (σχεδ, κεδ), σκεδ-άννυ-μι, κεδ-άννυ-μι burst asunder (trans.) scatter, σκιδ-να-σθαι to scatter oneself, spread oneself abroad, σκέδ-α-σι-ς a bursting asunder, σχέδ-η (dim. σχέδ-άριον) tablet, leaf, σχεδ-ία raft.

Skt. *skhad skhad-ē* fugo, dispello, scindo, *kshad* frangere, dissecare, edere.

Lat. *scand-ula* (*scindula*) a shingle (used for roofing).

Cp. No. 284 and 295, Benf. I 169. — σχεδ-ία is a collective to σχέδ-η in the assumable meaning of billet or plank. Müllenhoff compares with σχέδ-η the Goth. *skatts* coin, O.-H.-G. *scaz*. It would in this case have arrived at its special meaning in the same way as κέσμα. — The α seems to be retained in the rt. *cxad* σχάζ-ω split, tear, to which χάζ-ω I separate myself, yield, seems to be the intransitive (Lob. Rhemat. 84, Pott W. I 311). In σκιδνημι on the other hand

the *ε* is weakened to *ι* as in *πίννμι* (Grassmann Ztschr. XII 97 cp. Ascoli Fonol. 214, 220, 222). — I cannot with Kuhn (Ztschr. III 427) compare the Goth. *skath-jan* nocere because of the phonetic relations and the undeniable difference of the meanings. — The unexpanded rt. *çxa* (cp. No. 45b) occurs in *σχά-ω*, a well established Attic by-form of *σχάζω* (Phrynichus ed. Lobeck 219).

295) Rt. *κιδ* *çhid*, *σχίξ-ω* split, *σχίξ-α* log, *σχιδ-η*, *σχιδ-αξ*, *σχινδ-αλμός*-s splinter, shingle.

Skt. *khid khinad-mi*, *khind-ā-mi* cut off, tear in pieces, divide, destroy, partic. *khinna-s* enfeebled. — Zd. *çhid* shatter.

Lat. *scind-o* (*sci-cid-i*, *scīd-i*), *caed-o*, *cae-lu-m* (chisel).

Goth. *skaid-a* *χωρίζω*, O.-H.-G. *sceit* discissio, O.-N. *skīdh* lignum fissum.

Lith. *skėd-žu* divide, *skėd-rà* chip, splint.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 244, who also adds the Maced. *κοιδος* or *κοιδος ολονόμος* (Sturz dial. Maced. 26, Pollux X 16), Benf. I 168. Here belongs also *κιδ-αρό-ν* *ἀραιόν* Hes. — On the change of the initial letter Lob. El. I 125, on the relation of the meanings Kuhn Ztschr. III 427. — I now put *caedo* here with Leo Meyer and Schweizer Ztschr. XII 228, cp. Corssen Beitr. 453, Pott W. I 537. — The *d* has remained unshifted in the Teutonic languages. In this case the complete similarity of meaning compels us to admit this irregularity. Cp. No. 294 and Delbrück Ztschr. f. deutsche Philol. I 155. Grassmann 247 (Ztschr. XII 130) conjectures that the rt. was originally *skīdh*: if so the irregularity must be laid at the door of the Greek and Sanskrit.

296) Rt. *çpad* *σπαδ-άξ-ω* start, am restless, *σπαδ-ασμός*-s spasm, desire, impatience, *σπεδ-ανός*-s eager, violent, *σφοδ-ρός*-s vehement. — *σπενδ-όνη* sling, *σπενδ-ονᾶν* to sling.

Skt. *spand spand-ê* prurio, *pari-spand-ê* tremo, *vi-spand-ê* renitor.

Lat. *fund-a fūsu-s* spindle (?).

Benf. II 361, Corssen Beitr. 460, who however now I² 161 separates the Latin words on account of the manifold meanings of *fund-a*. The *σ* produces aspiration as in *κιδ* by the side of *σχιδ* &c. — The physical meaning 'spasmodic motion' is best preserved in *σπενδόνη* and *funda*, also no doubt in *σφόνδ-υλο*-s twirling-wheel of a spindle, then any round body generally, a word which resembles *fūsu-s* in sound. From this however it is not so very far to *σπένδειν*,

the hurling away of a liquid. Perhaps Grassmann Ztschr. XII 102 is right in conjecturing that *pend-é-re* "to move oneself like a pendulum" belongs here.

297) *σπίδ-ες* (*χορδαὶ μαγειρικαὶ* Hesych.), *σπίδ-η* (*χορδή* id.).

Lat. *fide-s* (*fidi-um*), *fidi-cen*, *fidi-cina*.

Vossius Etymol. p. 214, Benf. I 565, Kuhn Ztschr. IV, 9, 30, where too the O.-H.-G. *scito*, *scita* (Germ. *Saite*) is compared and the loss of a labial in the word conjectured.

298) *ῥῑδ-ω*, *ῥῑδ-έ-ω* sing, praise, *ῥῑδ-η-ς* singer, *ᾱ-(f)εῖδ-ω* sing, *ᾱοιδό-ς* singer, *ᾱοιδή* song, *ἄηδών* (st. *ἄηδον*) nightingale.

Skt. *vad vad-ā-mi* dico, loquor, *vand-é* celebros, *vād-ajā-mi* make to sound, *vād-a-s* sermo, controversia.

O.-H.-G. *far-wāz-u* curse, confute.

Lith. *vad-i-n-ù* call, entice, Ch.-Sl. *vad-iti* accusare, *us-ta* (Neut. pl.) mouth (rt. *ud*).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 245, Benf. I 364. — The meanings of these words admit easily of unity of origin, but the phonetic relations have not been made quite clear. The forms with *v* which are first used by the Alexandrines, though doubtless not without precedent in older usage, are related to the Skt. *vad* as the *ῥπ* in *ῥπ-vo-ς* is to the Skt. *srav* (No. 391), in the rest the *ᾱ* is prothetic, the digamma is preserved only in the Boeot. *ᾱFυδó-ς* (Ahr. d. aeol. p. 171) and in *ᾱβηδών* (Hesych.). The explanation which now seems to me most probable is that there sprung up by the side of *vad* a rt. *vid*, like *skid* by the side of *skad* (No. 295). I am not shaken in this by the arguments of Joh. Schmidt Vocal. I 125 for another view. *ᾱFηδών* would have to be derived from *ᾱFεδ* = *vad*. From *Fιδ* on the other hand we get quite regularly *ᾱFεῖδω*, *ᾱFοιδό-ς* with prothetic *α*. *ῥδ* is a still further weakening from *vad*, passing perhaps by way of the above *vid*. Cp. *όδvs* = *drish* (No. 290). If *ᾱῥδ-ή* belongs here it is related to the Skt. *vad* as *ᾱῥ-ρα* is to the Skt. *vā* to blow (No. 587). Hugo Weber Ztschr. X 241, without considering the Indian and Letto-248 slavonian words or even *ῥδω* develops *ᾱFεῖδ-ω* from *ᾱFη-μι*; but this account of the word is unsatisfactory, as he has to suppose a *δ* used to expand a stem that has already passed through many changes of form. It is strikingly conjectured by Clemm Comp. 28, that the second part of *Ῥατ-οδο-ς* comes from this rt., so that the name would mean *τελες ὁδῆν* (i. e. *φῶδην*). — On the Slavonic words see Miklosich Die Wurzeln des Altslowenischen (Wien 1857) p. 10 and 14.

299) *ῥδρα*, *ῥδρο-ς* water-snake, *ῥλλο-ς* ichneumon (?).

Skt. *udra-s* a water animal, otter, Zd. *udra* (m.)
a water animal.

A.-S. *oter*, O.-H.-G. *otter* otter.

Ch.-Sl. *vydra*, Lith. *údra* otter.

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 452. — The word is clearly derived from a noun-stem (*ud* or *udar* water). — The Gk. *ἔνυδρος* otter, water-snake is like the adj. *ἔνυδρος* of a much later stamp. — If *ἔνυδρος* is related it must be regarded as a diminutive.

300) *ῥδ-ωρ* (st. *ῥδαρτ*) Boeot. *οὔδωρ* water, *ῥδρ-ία* water-jug, *ῥδρ-εῦ-ω* draw water, *ῥδραιν-ω* I water, *ἄνυδρος* without water, *ἰδαρής*, *ἰδαρός* watery, *ῥδερ-ο-ς*, *ῥδρ-ωψ* dropsy.

Skt. rt. *ud u-na-d-mi*, *und-ā-mi* gush forth, moisten, *ud-a-m*, *uda-ka-m* water, *ud-an* wave, water, *an-udra-s* without water.

Lat. *und-a*, *pal-ū(d)-s* (?) (No. 361).

Goth. *vat-ó* (st. *vatam*), O.-H.-G. *was-ar* water, O.-H.-G. *und-a*, *und-ea* unda, fluctus.

Ch.-Sl. *vod-a*, Lith. *vand-ù* (st. *vanden*).

O.-Ir. *us-ce*, *ui-sce* aqua (Z.² 230).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 242, Grimm Gesch. 411, Benf. I 448, Stokes Ir. Gl. 69. — We must start from a double form, *vad* the stronger and *úd* the weaker, of which only the latter occurs in Greek. Cp. however Pott Ztschr. VI 264 on the supposed Phrygio-Macedonian form *βέδν* water, air; he associates it with the dat. *ῥδεῖ* in Hesiod *Ἔργα* 61, for which later writers furnished the nom. *ῥδος*. — For the form *ῥδωρ* I start from the stem *ῥδαρτ* which I hold to be derived by addition of *τ* from *ῥδαρ* (cp. Ztschr. IV 214). The Lat. *udor*, adduced by Kuhn Ztschr. I 379 rests on a false reading of Varro l. l. V § 24 Müll. — *úv-eo* to which belongs *ú-du-s*, is discussed at No. 158. — The Gk. *ῥδν-ης* in the sense of watery, *ῥδνεῖν* to water have no authority, Hesych. knows only *ῥδνεῖν τρέφειν* which has nothing to do with this root. Lottner Ztschr. XI 200 gives instances of irregularities in sound-change which warrant our putting O.-H.-G. *unda*, *undea* here. — Kuhn seems to me to have no ground whatever for regarding the suffixes in *n* and *r* as identical (see above 249 p. 75). — In the Ir. *us-ce* change of *d* to *s* before *c* has taken place as in the Ir. *mes-ce* drunkenness for *med-ce* (No. 322), Lat. *esca* for *ed-ca* (No. 279).



Greek θ corresponds to Indo-Germanic and Sanskrit dh , which is represented in Latin at the beginning of a word sometimes by f , in the middle usually by d , in Zend (with the occasional substitution of dh), Gothic, Slavonic, Lithuanian, Old Irish universally by d , in High German by t .

- 301) $\tilde{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\text{-}\lambda\omicron\text{-}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\text{-}\lambda\iota\omicron\text{-}\nu$ the prize of a contest, $\tilde{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\text{-}\lambda\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ contest, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\epsilon\theta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\omega$ engage in a contest, $\text{'}\tilde{\alpha}\theta\lambda\eta\text{-}\tau\eta\rho$ competitor.

Lat. $v\ddot{a}(d)\text{-}s$, *vadi-moni-u-m*, *vad-ari*, *prae(d)-s*.

Goth. *vad-i* pledge, *ga-vad-j-ōn* promise, O.-H.-G. *wetti* pignus, *vadimonium*, M.-H.-G. *wette* pledge, prize, prize-fighting, O.-Fris. *wit-ma*, O.-H.-G. *widamo* price of a wife, O.-Fris. *wed* bargain, bail, O.-N. *vedhja* pignore certare. [Scotch *wad-set*, O.-Eng. *wadd* pledge (whence *wedlock*).]

Lith. *vad-ōju* to redeem a pledge.

Döderlein "Reden und Aufsätze" II, 109 (otherwise Gloss. 973), Diefenbach Vgl. Wörterb. I 140 ff., where however the Greek words are not given. — Whoever compares the three primary meanings of the European words here collected — wager, pledge, bail, will not fail to recognize the connection between them; a connection of great antiquity and of great importance to the historian of law. — The uncontracted forms occur almost exclusively in Homer. The α is prefixed as in $\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\nu$ ($\delta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\omicron\nu\ \text{Κρητες}$ Hesych.) No. 497. That the Gk. words are used originally of sham and not real fighting is specially proved by II 590 $\tilde{\eta}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega\ \tilde{\eta}\tilde{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$, hence too $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\kappa\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\theta\lambda\omicron\varphi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\iota$. Hence in the metaphorical use of the word the idea of striving is prominent, not that of danger. This is a sufficient refutation of the conjecture of Benfey I 256. — The Lat. *prae-s* has in the *Lex Thoria* (C. I. Lat. 200, 46) the plural *prae-vid-es* which leaves no doubt as to the connection with *va(d)-s*. Cp. note to No. 180. — Bergk's 'thesis' that $\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\theta\lambda\omicron\nu$ belongs to $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varrho\omega$ (Rh. Mus. XIX 604) is as far from convincing me as Leo Meyer's assertion (Ztschr. XIV 94) that "it seems much more probable that the θ belongs to the suffix". Moreover the derivation from *av* (*avére*) desire hardly suits the masc. $\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\theta\lambda\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$.

- 302) St. *αἶθ αἶθ-ω* burn, *αἶθ-ος* a burning, *αἶθ-ός* burnt, *αἶθ-ων* burning, shining, *αἶθ-ήρ* (st. *αἶθερ*) upper air, *αἶθ-ρα* clear sky.
- 250 Skt. *indh indh-ē* kindle, *iddha-s* (part. = *idh-ta-s*) kindled, pure, *idh-ma-s*, *indh-ana-m*, *ēdha-s* fire-wood, *ēdh-a-s* setting on fire.
- Lat. *aes-tu-s*, *aes-tā(t)-s*, *aed-ē-s*, *aidt-li-s*.
- A.-S. *ād* (for *aid*) rokus, O.-H.-G. *eit* rokus, ignis, M.-H.-G. *eit-en* to heat, glow, O.-S. *idal*, O.-H.-G. *ital* pure, clear.
- O.-Ir. *aed* fire (Corm. Gl. p. 2).
- Pott I¹ 249, Bopp Gl., Benf. I 259 f., Grimm Gesch. 260, Fick² 21. — The rt. *lθ* may be assumed for *lθ-η* (Hesych. *εὐφροσύνη*), *lθ αρό-ς* clear (of springs cp. Lob. Path. Prol. 256), *lθ-αἶνεσθαι* (Hesych. *θερμαίνεισθαι*). — *aede-s* meant no doubt originally 'fire-place', hearth. Pictet II 264 adduces the Ir. *aidhe* house (O'R.) along with *aedh* heat. The corresponding Macedonian word — since in Macedonian the media takes the place of the aspirate (Sturz de dial. Macedon. p. 28) — seems to have been preserved in Hesych.'s gloss *ἄδι-ς ἐσχάρα* (cp. Hesych. ed. Maur. Schmidt No. 1149) and in *ἄδλας ἐσχάρα*, *βωμός* (1123) so that in this as in other instances North-Grecian and Italian forms resemble each other in sound. *ἄδῃ* (*οὐρανός Μακεδόνες* cp. *ἄδραϊά αἰθρία Μακεδόνες*) must be of the same stem; M. Schmidt aptly suggests *αἶθῃ* in connection with it: whether however it should be written *ἄδῃ* is very doubtful. It is possible that the form *ἄδῃ* is related to *αἶθῃ* as the Skt. nom. *mātā* is to the Dor. *μάτηρ*. The meaning *burn* and *shine* cross each other here as often. — If *Alt-νῃ* is related it must have originated in a dialect which is neither Greek nor Latin. — All the more certain is it that *Alθ-ι-οψ* and *αἶθ-οψ* sparkling belong to these words.
- 303) Rt. *ἀλθ ἄλθ-ο-μαι* grow strong, *ἀλθ-αίν-ω*, *ἀλθ-ή-σκ-ω* heal, *ἀλθ-ή-ει-ς* healthy.
- Skt. *ardh* succeed, flourish, further, satisfy, *ardh-uka-s* prosperous, *ṛddhi-s* prosperity, a healing plant. — Zd. *ared* grow, further.
- Bopp Gl., Benf. I 70. Cp. p. 518 and No. 523 b.
- 304) *ἄνθ-ος* germ, blossom, flower, *ἄνθ-ε-μο-ν* flower, *ἄνθ-έ-ω* bloom, *ἄνθ-η* blossom, *ἄνθηρός* blooming, *ἄνθ-ερ-εών* chin, *ἄνθ-έρ-ιξ* the beard of an ear

of corn, stalk, ἀθ-ήρ (st. ἀθερ) beard of an ear of corn, ἀθ-άρη groats.

Skt. *andh-as* herb, greens, juice, food.

Lat. *ad-or* spelt, *ador-eu-s* (?).

PW., cp. Benf. I 77, Fick² 9. — The rt. is δθ, whence perhaps comes also ἄθ-ήνη 'the blooming one' with the words connected with it Ztschr. III 153, to which no doubt ἀθ-άροι maidenly (αἱ μὴ διαπεκαρθενευμένας Hesych.) belongs. Lobeck even Rhem. 300 translates ἄθῆναι by Florentia. It is certain that ἄνθ-ήνη, ἄνθ-ήλη, ἄνθ-ήδων are related. The Homeric forms too ἄν-ήνοθ-ε, ἐν-ήνοθ-ε, ἐπ-εν-ήνοθ-ε (Buttm. Lexil. I 266) are of the same family, with an ο inserted: ἄνοθ for ἄνθ. The syllables ἄν, ἐν must however be regarded as prepositions so that ἄν-ήνοθ-ε, ἐν-ήνοθ-ε are as it were strong perfects to ἄν-ανθίω, ἐν-ανθίω to which they are related as γί-γηθ-α is to γηθίω. Cp. E. M. p. 107, Döderlein Gl. 715. The ideas sprout (shoot up) and spout (shoot out) encounter each other also in the rt. φλα, φλε, φλυ (No. 412). — The Romans themselves regarded *ador* as a primitive name of corn, cp. Paul. Epit. 3, Hor. Sat. II, 6, 89, hence *adorea* and perhaps even *adoriosus gloriosus*, old-Lat. *adosiosus* (Bergk de carminum Saliarium reliquiis prooem. Marburg. hib. 1847—1848 p. IV sq.). Still perhaps Lottner is right (Ztschr. VII 163) in connecting *ador* with the Goth. *at-isk-s* seed (Diefenbach Vergl. Wb. I 78 f.). In that case *ad-or* belongs to the rt. *ed* (No. 279). So Pott W. I 170.

305) St. ἐθ (cfεθ), ἐθ-ος, ἥθ-ος manner, custom, ἡθελο-ς trusty, ἐλ-ωθ-α am wont, ἐθ-ιζ-ω accustom.

Skt. *svadhā* will, strength, *anu svadhā-m* according to custom.

Goth. *sid-u-s*, O.-H.-G. *sit-u* ἥθος, Goth. *sidôn* to practice.

Benf. I 573. — Kuhn Ztschr. II 134 f. breaks up *sva-dhā* into the pronominal stem *sva* = Gk. *ἐ*, Lat. *se* (No. 601) and the rt. *dha* = Gk. *θε* and translates it accordingly 'a placing of oneself'. This etymology which is startling at first sight, and seems too theoretical a one for so old a word, is established by the Lat. *sue-sc-o*, *sue-tu-s*, *consue-tu-do*, words which are derived from *suu-s* without the help of a second stem. I agree therefore with Kuhn entirely in the matter, though I believe that the rt. *dha* in *sva-dhā* does not so much mean to set as to do, and that hence *sva-dhā* is to be taken as "one's own action". On this meaning of the rt. *dha* cp. note to No. 309 and Windisch Stud. II 342. How could custom be more aptly described than as the own peculiar doings, ways of a people? But for the

Sanskrit we should see neither this nor the fact that *ἔθος* and the German *Sitte* were related. Cp. Max Müller Asiatic Society March 1868 p. 24 ff. — Hesychius's *ἐθέθ-ω-κα εἰωθ-α* is testimony to the *F* in the st. *έθ*. Cp. *Tempora und Modi* p. 141 f. Hoffmann Quæst. hom. II 38 deals with the traces of the *F* in *ἵθος*. The old and with Homer exclusive meaning of dwelling (of man and beast) for *ἵθος* is striking; it reminds us of the Skt. *dhā-man* house, and accordingly on the above showing it must have meant "one's own house". Cp. Sonne Ztschr. X 115, XII 373, Froehde XII 160. I venture now with both these scholars to put *sōdā-lī-s* also here, a derivative from a lost stem *so-dā* (for *sva-dhā*) habit. On the other hand Sonne is right in leaving out *sōdes*, which is moreover of the wrong quantity. I agree still less with Froehde when he refers *ἐταρο-ς* to a stem identical with *αφεθ*. Here, as in the case of *ἐτη-ς* the most we can do is to see in both a common stem *αφε* (No. 601). — Pictet's hesitation as to this view of the Teutonic words is ungrounded (II 432); in the pronoun *sich* we have another instance of the loss of a *r*.

306) Rt. *ἐρυθ ἐρεῦθ-ω* make red, *ἐρυθ-ρός* red, *ἐρεῦθ-ος* redness, *ἐρυθρ-ιά-ω* blush, *ἐρυσίβη* mildew.

Skt. *rudh-i-ra-s* red, bloody, *rōh-i-ta-s* (for *rōdh-i-ta-s*) red.

Lat. *ruber* (st. *rubro*), *rufu-s*, *rob-igo*. — Umbr. *rufu*.

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O. N. *rjódh-r* rubicundus, *rjódh-a* cruentare, Goth. *raud-s* red, *ga-riud-jō* shamefacedness, O.-H.-G. *rōt*, *rost* red, rust.

Ch.-Sl. *rŭd-ě-ti se* blush, *rŭd-rŭ* rutilus, *rŭžd-a* rob-igo; Lith. *raud-à* red colour, *rŭd-a-s* reddish brown, *rŭdŭ-s* rust.

O.-Ir. *ruad* red (Amra p. 44).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III, 1017, Schleicher Kal. 118, Miklosich Alt-alowen. Wurzeln p. 18. — The *é* is prothetic, as in No. 143. — On the change of the final consonant in the Italian languages Ztschr. II 334 f. — The *t* of *rŭ-tŭlu-s* has just as little to do with the final consonant of the rt. as the *t* of *fŭ-tŭli-s* has with that of the stem *fud* (No. 203). Corssen Beitr. 81. — Bugge Ztschr. XX 5 ff. differs on many points.

307) Rt. *θα, θη, θῆ-σθαι* (Hom.) to milk, *θή-σαιο* he sucked, *θη-λή* teat, *θηλώ* wet-nurse, *θηλα-μῶν* suckling, nourishing, *τή-θη, τι-θή-νη, τίτ-θη* nurse, *τίτθο-ς* teat, *θή-λυ-ς* female, *θή-μιο-ν* milk (Hes.), *γαλα-θη-νό-ς* sucking milk.

Skt. *dhâ dhaj-â-mi* drink, suck, *dhâ-trî* nurse, mother, *da-dhi* sour milk, *dhê-nu-s* milch-cow. — Zd. *daēnu* female.

Lat. *fē-la-re* suck, *fē-mina*, Umbr. *fe-l-iu*, Lat. *fi-l-iu-s*, *fi-l-ia*.

Goth. *dadd-ja*, O.-H.-G. *tā-u* lacto, O.-H.-G. *ti-la* mamma.

Ch.-Sl. *doja* lacto, *doi-l-ica* nutrix, *dē-te* infans, *dē-va* virgo.

O.-Ir. *dī-th* suxit (t-pret. Z.² 456), explained by *dine-s-tar* (aor. dep.) Goid. p. 90, *dīnu* lamb, dat. *dīnit* (Z.² 257), *del* = *θηλή*, *delech* milch-cow (Stokes, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 54).

Bopp Gl. Cp. Gr. I 299, Pott W. I 176, Benf. II 270, Grimm Gesch. 404, Schleich. Ksl. 117. — The double *d* in the Goth. *daddja* = O.-H.-G. *tāju* is discussed by Müllenhoff in Haupt's Ztschr. XII 387. — Of the Latin words *fē-lā-re* undoubtedly belongs here; the form with one *l* is, acc. to Bücheler, Jahn's Jahrb. 1863 p. 780, the more approved one. The verb proves the existence of a subst. *fēla*, corresponding exactly to the Gk. *θηλή* and the O.-H.-G. *ti-la*. The connection of *fē-mina* and *fi-l-iu-s* with this rt. on the other hand was denied by Dietrich (Jahn's Jahrb. 81, 39) and is now again by Corssen (Beitr. 188, Ausspr. I² 144). In deference to Corssen's exhaustive discussion I concede that both words can be derived phonetically from the rt. *fu* (No. 417), since *fle(v)-o* for instance (No. 412) shows, that *fe(v)-o* could come from the rt. *fu*, and since *fē-nus* (cp. *ρώτος*, interst), *fē-cundu-s*, *fē-tu-s* can hardly be explained except by this root. But my etymology is, as C. admits, just as admissible phonetically, and I hold it to be the more probable one for the reason that the rt. *fu* is in no case applied specially to the action of the woman in propagation as is the case with the rt. *gen* (No. 128) and is consequently less adapted to designate the female man and beast as distinguished from the male. On the other hand the rt. *dha*-suckle 253 is precisely the one most adapted for this. The Skt. *dhā-ru-s* suckling is the intransitive to *θη-λυ-s* suckling. If we consider again that in Greek, in Zend, and in the Slavonic languages the idea woman actually was designated by a word from this root, it can hardly be doubted that this happened before the separation of the languages, and that though the Romans used a different suffix they brought their *femina* 'the suckler' with them from the East. Perhaps there is a trace of its participial force still visible in Plac. Gl. *femina alumna*, acc. to which the word would have had the active meaning

nutrix and the passive one quae nutritur. Since then the Gk. *θηλαμών* (cp. *θηλαμνοῦ νεογνοῦ* Hes.) and the Slav. words for child come from the very same source, I think the Umbr. *feliuf* (sif *feliuf* = *sues filios*) comes in better here than under the rt. *fu*. The Messap. *bilia-s*, Alban. *biļ* son compared by Stier Ztschr. VI 147 with *filii-s* are no obstacle to the above views. The stem *fil-io* would accordingly be derived from *fēla* teat, in the sense of *ὑπομαστίδιος*. It can be no objection that this original meaning is to be seen nowhere but in the Umbr. — we can hardly talk of the *sons* of a pig. In the Slavonic it is still more obliterated. — Among proper names *Τη-θύς*, translated by G. Hermann by *Alumnia*, and *Θέ-τις* seem related (Welcker Götterl. I 618). I. Bekker Hom. Bl. 222 is no doubt right in explaining *Τη-θύς* to be for *Θη-τυς* by a transposition of the aspiration. — Whether *τι-θα-σός* tame, as has been conjectured, and *τυ-θός* little (cp. *τίτη*) are related, I will not decide. — Lobeck Rhemat. 5 (cp. Pott W. I 180) conjecture safter the Greek etymologists that *θη-σθαι* is connected with *τιθέναι* (No. 309) “quia lactantes uberibus adhibentur”. — Cp. No. 310.

- 308) Rt θᾶF Hom. *θη-σαίατο* mirarentur, Dor. *θαῖ-μαι*, *θαῖ-έ-ομαι* (Ion. *θη-έ-ομαι*, Att. *θε-ά-ομαι*) stare, look, *θαν-σ-ίχιο-ν* (Hesych.) platform for sight-seers, *θαῦ-μα* a wonder, *θαῦ-ρύς θεωρία* (Hes.), *θά-α* (Dor.), *θέ-α* view, *θέα-τρο-ν* a place for seeing, theatre.

Ch.-Sl. *div-i-ti se θανμάζειν*, *div-es-a θανμάσια*, Bohem. *div-a-dlo θέατρον*, Lith. *dýv-i-tis* to wonder, *dýv-a-s* a wonder, *dýv-na-s* wonderful.

Benf. II 364, Dietrich Ztschr. X 431. Cp. Pott W. I 573, Fick 102. — For *θησαίατο* (σ 191) I. Bekker (Hom. Bl. 166, 6) reads perhaps rightly *θεσσαίατο*. — On the Doric forms (also the Lac. *ἑ-σα-μεν* i. e. *ἑ-θα-μεν*, *ἑθεωροῦμεν*) cp. Ahrens dor. p. 342 f. For the Gk. words the rt. θᾶF, θαν is clear (cp. Lobeck Elem. I 355); hence perhaps without composition *θαῖF-ρο-ς* (*θεῦροί* = *θεωροί* C. I. 2161, l. 2), *θαῖο-ρο-ς* and with interchange of quantity the Ion. *θεωρό-ς* spectator. Lobeck had already (ad. Aj. p. 404) suggested that the word was no compound. For *θανσίχιο-ν* (MS. *θανσηχι*) M. Schmidt proposes a groundless conjecture, which has not even the alphabetical arrangement to recommend it. Perhaps we have here a foundation for the reading *θωῦ-τά ἔργα* Hesiod. Scut. 165, which Sonne Ztschr. XII 277 rightly refers to *θωF-ε-τά*. *ω* takes, as it does in the Ion. *θωῶμα* the place of the *ά* of the root. Hesych. has *θηβος θαῦμα* with *β* for *φ*. — Hence Bopp's comparison of the Skt. *dhjái* (Gloss.) seems

objectionable. — In the Lith. words the vowel *y* i. e. *ī* is remarkable 254 Miklosich Lex. 160 puts them along with the Slavonic words under the rt. *div* shine (No. 269). — Benfey's older combination, which Kuhn Ztschr. IV 16 accepts, is untenable.

309) Rt. *θε τι-θη-μι* place, do, *θε-μα* propositum, *θε-σι-ς* a placing, *θε-σ-μός-ς* rule, *θε-μι-ς* law, *θε-με-λι-ο-ν*, *θε-με-θλο-ν* foundation, *θη-κη* a chest.

Skt. *dhā da-dhā-mi* place, lay, do, *dhā-ma(n)* dwelling-place, law, way, condition, *dhā-tr* creator, *dhā-tu-s* radix verbi (thema), stuff. — Zd. *dā* place, make, produce, *dā-ta-m* rule, law, *dā-man* creature.

Osc. *faa-ma* house (?), *fam-el*, Lat. *fām-ulu-s* οἰκίτης, *fām-il-ia*.

Goth. *ga-dēd-s* *θέσις*, O.-S. *dō-m*, O.-H.-G. *tō-m* do, O.-H.-G. *tā-t* deed; Goth. *dōm-s* [Eng. *doom*], O.-H.-G. *tuom* judicium.

Ch.-Sl. *dē-j-q*, *de-žd-q* (= *de-dj-q*) facio, *dē-lo* opus, Lith. *dē-mi*, *de-dū* lay, place, put away.

O.-Ir. *dénim* facio (Z.² 435).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 138, Benf. II 266, Miklos. Radd., Grimm Gesch. 405, Ebel Beitr. II 166. — On *dhāman* and the form *faama* which we may conjecture from the Osc. *faamat*, a form like *θεμα* in the meaning suggested by *θεμέλιον*, see Ztschr. f. Alterthsw. 1849 No. 43 A. u. K. Umbr. p. 91. In Skt. *dhāman* has the exact meaning of house-fellowship, family. Corssen Beitr. 184 (cp. I² 143, 800) admits that *famulu-s* belongs to *faama*, but wants to derive this word from the rt. *bhag* (Skt. *bhag*) *obtinere*, *colere*, to which he assigns with no ground the meaning to warm. (PW. under *bhag*, *bhāga-na-m*). The primary meaning of that rt. is clearly "obtinere", and we noticed it therefore under No. 160. I do not see how to get from this the "warming" family hearth. — From *fāma fāmulu-s* as from *hūmus hūmili-s*, and from *nūbe-s nūbilu-s*, though it is true the quantity is changed. But the Lat. *fāmulus* is the only testimony to the short vowel, and this need not surprise us if we consider that the same rt. appears short in the Gk. *θε-μα*, *θε-σι-ς*, and probably also in *ῥα-κ-ι ο* by the side of *ῥι-ο* = *fa-i-o*, on the origin of which see p. 64. A strong argument for the latter derivation lies in the fact that in no other way can *fa-c-io* be brought together with its passive *fi-o*, which two are related to each other as are *ja-c-io* and *eo* (Rt. *i*, *jā*), and further in the fact that *fac-io* and *fi-o* are both confined to the

Italian group, the only one which changes *dh* into *f*. Corssen, who Beitr. 25, 45, I² 143 with others derives *fio* from the rt. *fu* can give nothing but a very artificial explanation of *fa-c-io* from the rt. *bha* shine (No. 407). — Acc. to Bopp several Latin compound verbs in *-do* come, not from the rt. *da* (No. 270), but from *dha*, specially *cré-d-o*, which like the O.-Ir. *cretim* (cp. *crette-s*, *creite-s* qui credit Z.² 437, Ebel Beitr. II 157), coincides remarkably with *grad-da-dhā-mi* fidem pono, credo, a compound of *grat* fides and *da-dhā-mi* pono. It can hardly be doubted though that the Romans felt all compounds in *-do* to be of one origin; it is also worth noticing that the *u* which we found at p. 236 in *du-int*, *du-am* appears also in *cre-du-as*. (Cp. Zd. 255 *du* make.) We therefore are more inclined to assume that the two rts. *da* and *dha* grew into one in compounds in the Italian group. This helped to isolate the forms in *f*. No great weight is, in my opinion, to be attached to the fact that we have no exact analogy for the splitting up of a root in this way, since the phonetic relations of the Italian languages would favour such a result. We have at all events a remote analogy in the split between *f* and *b* (*fui* by the side of *-b-am*, *ruf-u-s* and *ruber*). Cp. Kuhn Ztschr. XIV 230, where the Lat. *fa-ber* too is brought under this head. The latter is treated by Fick Ztschr. XIX 261. — The Goth. *dōm-s* corresponds to the metaphysical use of *θε-σ-μός* or *τε-θ-μός*. — *θή-ς* (st. *θη*, fem. *θησσα*) workman wants explanation, though its origin is clear. In connection with *εὖ-θην-έ-ω* flourish, bloom the Skt. *dha-na-m* riches, *dhan-in* rich should be noticed. To these forms the Ir. *dénim* probably belongs.

310) *θελο-ς* uncle, *τή-θη* grandmother, *τη-θί-ς* aunt.

Ch.-Sl. *dě-dŭ* avus, Lith. *dė-da-s* uncle, old man, *dė-dė* m. patruus, f. grandmother, *dė-dė-na-s* cousin.

Pott II 258. — On *τή-θη* and *τη-θί-ς* ('quasi parva avia') Lob. ad Phryn. p. 134 sqq. — A comic derivative from the assumable dimin. *τηθαλλα* is *τηθαλλαδοῦς* grandmother's pet. — Connection with No. 307 is all the more probable because *τή-θη* means also nurse (Suidas, Stephanus Thes. s. v.). The rt. extends itself in these words to the meaning of caressing treatment. Cp. the Engl. to nurse.

311) Rt. *θεν* *θείν-ω* strike. — Lat. (*fen-d-o*) offend-o, *de-fend-o*, *in-fen-su-s* (?).

Pott W. II, 2, 57, Benf. II 377. — Both compare the Skt. *han* i. e. *ghan* strike, kill, and Benf. even derives from it *ni-dhan-a-s* mors, *pra-dhan-a-s*. — On another side *θαν-εῖν*, *θυή-σθ-εῖν* and again the rt. *φεν φόνο-ς* (No. 410) have been compared (the former differently treated by Grimm Gesch. 404). It is very strange that *θεινω*

should stand so isolated in Gk., and hence these comparisons must not be decidedly rejected. *θέλνω*: *fendo* = *τελνω*: *tendo*. — Corssen Beitr. 183 is right in placing also *mani-fes-tu-s*, *in-fes-tu-s* 'storming against' under this head, Nachtr. 247 *fus-ti-s*. The meaning of *fes-tuare* is irreconcilable.

- 312) *θέν-αρ* palm of the hand, sole. — Skt. *dhan-van* arch, level land, *dha-nus* arch. — O.-H.-G. *tën-ar* the flat hand, *tenni* threshing-floor, A.-S. *denu* valley (?).

Kuhn Ztschr. II 238, whose derivation from the rt. *tan* (No. 230) I cannot adopt. Grimm Gesch. 405. Pott W. II, 1, 339. — Origin in the rt. *θεν* (No. 311) is very improbable. For *θέν-αρ* does not in the least mean the flat hand with which one strikes, but acc. to Pollux II 143 τὸ ἔνδοθεν τῆς χειρὸς σαρκώδες ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δακτύλου μέχρι τοῦ λικανοῦ, the back of the hand was called in part *ἐπισθέν-αρ*, in part *ὑποθέν-αρ*. Since accordingly it is fleshy parts of the hand that are called *θέν-αρ*, it is possibly connected with *θίν*, *θί-ς* heap, sand-heap, sea-shore, bottom of the sea, in which case the primary idea would be that of a gentle rising. The PW. however compares with *θί-ς* the Skt. *dhanu-s* sand-bank, projecting mainland, island. Acc. 256 to Delbrück (Ztschr. f. d. Philol. 1. 8) *dhanvan* too seems in the Rv., in connection with *samudrasja* i. e. Oceani, to have the same meaning as *θίς* ἄλος. As far as meaning goes all this exactly suits the O.-H.-G. *dân* promontorium, N.-H.-G. *düne* down, which in Grimm's Dict. is put under *donen*, *dunen* swell up. The meaning arch in *dhanu-s* also agrees with it. The absence of the second stage of sound-change which has however taken place in *tën-ar* is accounted for Delbrück says (vide supra) by the Low German origin of the words.

- 313) Rt. *θεῖ-ω* (*θεύ-σομαι*) run, *θο-ό-ς* swift, *θοάξ-ω* move quickly, *βοη-θό-ο-ς* (cp. *βοη-θόου-ο-ς*) helping. Skt. *dhāv-ā-mi* leak, race, run, *dhanv-ā-mi* race, run.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1079, Benf. II 274. — Cp. rt. *θυ* No. 320. *θο-ό-ω* I point, sharpen has nothing to do with it (cp. *θήγω*).

- 314) *θήρ* (Aeol. *φήρ*) game, *θηρ-ίο-ν* animal, *θηρά-ω* hunt, *θήρα* the chase. — Lat. *fer-u-s*, *fer-a*, *ferox*.

Pott I¹ 270, II 278, Benf. II 328, Miklos. Lex. 223. — On *φήρ* Ahr. aeol. p. 219 and below p. 442. — All other combinations are doubtful (Schleich. Kal. 110). For the Goth. *dins* (O.-H.-G. *tior*) *θηρ-ί-ων* can be compared only on the assumption that an *r* has been lost before the *s* and the Ch.-Sl. *zvěř* Lith. *žvėri-s* fera only by starting from

a primary form *dhvar* (Grimm Gesch. 28, Miklos. Lex.). Can it be that the unauthenticated Skt. *dhár* injure and even *fer-i-o* are related? So Corssen Beitr. 177, cp. Fick² 105. There exists in Zend a rt. *dvar* run, dash down (used of things of an evil nature), which would fit in here well. With this would agree *θούρο-ς*, *θούριο-ς* raging, hurrying, which, along with *θορ-εῖν* (*θόρυνναι*, *θράσσω*) spring, rage, hurry, I have (Ztschr. II 399) connected with the Lat. *fur-e-re*. Still the meaning prevents me from thinking this comparison certain as yet, though *fur-ia* in the meaning sexual desire reminds us of several uses of the rt. *θορ* and on another side the Lith. *pa-dur-mù* impetuously favours the view that the Lat. *f* in *furo* is of dental origin. Otherwise Corssen Nachtr. 224, I² 145.

315) *θρασ-ύ-ς* bold, *θράσ-ος*, *θάρσ-ος* boldness, courage, *θαρσ-έ-ω* (*θαρά-ε-ω*) am courageous; *θαρσ-ίνω* encourage, *Θερσ-ιτη-ς*.

Skt. *dharsh dhrsh-ñô-mi* dare, *dhrsh-ja-s* bold, impudent, rash, *dhar-sha-s* impudence, *dur-dharsh-a-s* difficilis victu. — Zd. *daresh* dare, *dharshi* vehement, strong.

Goth. *ga-daurs-an* *θαράρειν*, O.-H.-G. *gi-tar* (pret. *gi-tors-ta*).

Ch.-Sl. *drüz-ŭ* *θρασύς*, *drüz-a-ti*, *drüz-na-ti* *θαράρειν*,

Lith. *dras-ù-s* courageous, *dras-à* courage.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 419, Benf. II 327, Schleich. Käl. 117, who however has doubts on account of the *z*, Miklos. Lex. s. v. — Benf. brings in the *θαρ-υ-μός* adduced by Ahrens d. aeol. 42 (*τολμ-ηρός*, *θρασύς*) with *φ* for *θ* and *ρ* for *φρ*, *φσ*. — The Macedon. *Δαφ-ών δαίμων ὃ ὑπὲρ τῶν νοσοῦντων εὐχονταί* (Hesych.) with *δ* for *θ* acc. to rule, is related (cp. note to No. 302), accordingly a god of courage. — Bréal conjectures (Ztschr. XX 79), I think rightly, that 257 the Lat. *fas-tu-s* (for *fars-tu-s*) and *fas-tid-iu-m* (for *fasti-ti-diu-m*) belong to this root. — I prefer to omit the O.-Ir. *tren* compar. *tressa* fortis, which is put here Z.² 37, because of the variation in the initial letter. Cp. Stokes Ir. Gl. 1117.

316) Rt. *θpā* *θρη-σα-σθαι* to seat oneself, *θpā-υ-ος* seat, bench, *θρη-υυ-ς* trestle, *θρό-υο-ς* seat, chair.

Skt. *dhar dhar-â-mi* hold, carry, support, *-dhara-s* carrying, maintaining, *dhar-tar* bearer, preserver, *dhur* part of the yoke, *dhur-ja-s* beast of draught. — Zd. *dar* hold.

Lat. *frē-tu-s*, *frē-nu-m*.

Benf. II 327, Fick² 99. — The idea hold, support is the connecting link between the meanings, on which light is thrown also by the Skt. *dhira-s*, *dhru-va-s* firm. — *θρη-σασθαι* Philetas in Athen. V. p. 192. As we have *μεν* and *μνη*, *τελ*, *τλᾶ* and *τλη*, *θαν* and *θνη* so here we have to do with a double root-form, Indo-Germ. *dhār* and *dhra*. *dhār* is more prevalent in Skt. and Zd., *dhra* (*θραῖ*, *θρη* = *frē*) in Greek and Latin. But there are clear traces of the other form in the Gk. *θέλ-υ-μνο-ν* foundation (*προ-θέλ-υ-μνο-ς* from the foundations, Homer) with λ for ρ (cp. p. 705) equivalent in meaning to the Skt. *dhār-u-ṇa-m* and in *ἀ-θερ-ές* (*ἀνόητον*, *ἀνόσιον* Hesych.), whence the Hom. *ἀ-θερ-ίζειν* to despise. Theognis 733 has *ἀθειρής* (cp. Bergk²) for this, perhaps too we should add the Elic *θέρ-μα* a religious peace (cp. Skt. *dhār-ma*'s law, order), which is commonly identified with *θεσμός*-ς (rt. *θε*), the Lat. *fer-me fir-mu-s* to which Corssen Beitr. 169, I² 143 f. adds other words besides, some of which I think doubtful. Leo Meyer had already (Gött. G. A. 1850 p. 469) put *for-ma* under this root and compared it with the Skt. *dhār-i-man*, for which grammarians give the meaning form. Corssen Beitr. 171 has added *for-ti-s* old Lat. *forc-ti-s* ("frugi et bonus"), cp. *fortu-m*, *horc-tu-m* ("pro bono dicebant") (Paul. Epit. 102). It comes probably from the expanded rt. *dhār-gh*, which occurs in the Skt. *dar-h* to make firm (mid. be firm), in the Zend *dare-z* of like meaning, and in *derez-ra* firm, and the Ch.-Sl. *drŭž-a-ti* hold, rule (cp. note to No. 167). — The metaphysical meaning 'to fasten on something, consider' which is to be recognized in these words, but also in the use of the Skt. *dhār* is moreover associated with some more obscure words from the rt. *dhra*: *ἐνθρεῖν φυλάσσειν* (Hesych.), *θρη-σκω νοῶ*, *θραῖ-σκειν ἀναμυμήσκειν* (to cling to it): it is also impossible to separate the New Testament *θρη-σκο-ς* (or *θρη-σκό-ς*) pious, from these words, or the derivatives used as early as Herodotus's time *θρησκ-εύ-ειν*, *θρησκηγή*, especially as Hesych. explains the by-form *θρε-σκή*, by *ἀγνή*, *πάντα ἐύλαβονμένην* (cp. religio, religiosus No. 538), and *θρε-σκό-ς* by *περιττός*, *διδασκαλῶν*, and *θρέξατο* by *ἐφυλάξατο*, *ἐσεβάσθη*. *θρη-σκο-ς* is therefore the converse of *ἀ-θειρ-ής*, in Theognis, where the conjunction of *θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος* is noticeable. Cp. Lobeck Rhe-mat. 66.

- 317) Rt. *θρε* *θρέ-ο-μαι* cry aloud, *θρό-ο-ς* noise, *θρη-νο-ς* dirge, *θρῦ-λο-ς* (*θρύλλο-ς*) murmuring, tumult, *θόρυ-βο-ς* noise, *τον-θρύ-ς* murmuring, *τον-θορ-ίζω* murmur.

Skt. *dhraṇ-ā-mi* make a sound (intens. *dan-dhraṇ-mi*)? 258

Goth. *drun-ju-s* φθόγγος, N.-H.-G. *droenen* drone.

Pictet Ztschr. V 323, Benf. II 265, Ztschr. II 228, Schweizer

Ztschr. f. Alterthsw. 1857 p. 343. Otherwise Pott W. I 1028. — It is true that the Skt. *dhraṇ* is unauthenticated. — *ἡρώνας· κηρήν Ἀδωνες* (Hesych.) forcibly suggests the O.-H.-G. *treno* drone (Fick² 105).

- 318) *θυγάτηρ* (st. *θυγατερ*), — Skt. *duh-i-tā* (st. *duh-i-tar*), Zd. *dugh-dhar*. — Goth. *dauh-tar*, O.-H.-G. *toh-tar*. — Ch.-Sl. *dŭš-ti* (st. *dŭš-ter* for *dŭg-ter*), Lith. *duk-tė* (st. *dukter*) daughter.

Bopp Vgl. Gr. I 299, Pott W. III 868, Schleich. Kal. 115. — I agree with Grassmann Ztschr. XII 126 in regarding *dhugh-atar* as the primitive form. Of the two aspirates the first is preserved in Gk. the second in Skt. and Zd., and the Gothic form points to a *dh* in an earlier language. Lassen's etymology then from the Skt. *duh* (for *dhugh*) milk — 'the milker' — is not impossible; Bopp prefers to give the meaning "suckling", as we did above to *filius* (No. 307). Cp. Pictet II 353, with whom I agree in preferring Lassen's interpretation. Quite otherwise Schweizer Ztschr. XII 306, otherwise again Benfey preface to Fick¹ VII.

- 319) *θύρα*, *θύρ-ε-πο-ν* door, gate, *θύρασι* foris, *θυρί-ς* door or window aperture, *θυρ-εό-ς* door-stone, *ἄξιδος* hinge, axle-tree.

Skt. *dvāra-m*, *dvār* f. door, gate; Ved. *dur* (f.) door, *dur-ja-s* belonging to the door, to the house, *durjā-s* (nom. pl.) dwelling. — Zd. *dvare-m* gate, palace.

Lat. *for-ē-s*, *foris*, *foras*. — Umbr. *vero* gate.

Goth. *dauir* *θύρα*, O.-H.-G. *tor*.

Ch.-Sl. *dvŭr-t* *θύρα*, *dvor-ŭ* aula, Lith. *dūr-ys* (pl.) fores.

O.-Ir. *dorus* porta, limen (Z.² 238), a u-stem, dat. pl. *doirsib* (Z.² 787).

Bopp Gl., Pott II, 1, 15, Benf. II 276, Schleich. Kal. 115, Stokes Ir. Gl. 124. — The shortest Gk. form is contained in the Arcad. *θύρ-δα* discussed under No. 263 b. — Greek, Latin, and Teutonic point to an initial *dh*, Slavo-Lithuanian does not oppose it. I conclude therefore the primary form to have been *dhur*, *dhraṇ*, and the Skt. to have lost the aspirate (cp. Grassmann Ztschr. XII 95). — *ἄξιδος* comes from *ἄξιδος* for *ἄξιδος*, and corresponds therefore to the Skt. plur. *dur-jās* for *dvār-jās*, for which the PW. conjectures the primary meaning door-post; the Umbr. and Osc. *vero* has lost its initial consonant (Corssen Beitr. 177). Otherwise Pott W. I 1010. The rt.

is obscure, for the only certain meaning for the Skt. *dhvar* is bend, cause to fall. The meaning curve, turn oneself, which I and others formerly assigned to it would have to be got from *hvar* curvum esse, curvare, in which the *h* may have arisen from *dh*. Pictet II 249 starts from *dvar*, which is unauthenticated, and which, besides the meaning stop, which suits our word, has three others which it is difficult to reconcile with it, and is hence on our etymological principles of no use to us. Bugge Stud. IV 328 tries another course.

320) Rt. *θυ θύ-ω* rush, rage, sacrifice, *θύ-ν-ω* (*θνά-ω*, 259 *θνάξ-ω*) rage, rave, storm, *θύ-νο-ς* press, crowd, *θύ-ελλα* stormwind, *θνά-(δ)ς*, *θυι-ά-ς* a Bacchante, *θυ-μό-ς* courage, passion, feeling. — *θύμα θυ-σία* sacrifice, *θύ-ος* incense, *θυή-ει-ς* fragrant, *θύ-μο-ν* (*θύ-μο-ς*) thyme.

Skt. *dhû dhû-nô-mi* shake, move swiftly hither and thither, fan into a flame, *dhû-ma-s* smoke, *dhû-li-s* dust, st. *du-dh* (= *du-dhu*) to be vehement, wild. — Zd. *dun-man* mist, vapour.

Lat. *fû-mu-s*, *sub-fi-o* fumigate, *sub-fi-men*.

O.-H.-G. *tun-s-t* storm, press, crowd, Goth. *daun-s*, odor, O.-H.-G. *toum* vapor, fumus, A.-S. *du-s-t* dust.

Ch.-Sl. *du-na-ti* spirare, *dy-mŭ* fumus, *du-chŭ* spiritus, *du-ša* anima, Lith. *dû-mai* (pl.) smoke, *du-mà-s*, *du-mà* thought, mind, feeling.

Bopp Gl. Pott II² 462, W. I 1067, Benf. II 271 ff., Grimm Gesch. 404, Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 157. Cp. above p. 62, 114. — The primary meaning was that of a violent movement, and from this spring three modifications: 1) rush — excite, 2) smoke — fumigate, 3) sacrifice; the metaphysical meaning comes from 1. (Cp. No. 36.) With respect to the third meaning Aristarchus's doctrine that *θύσαι* in Homer does not mean *σφάξαι* but *θυμιάσαι* (Lehrs Aristarchus p. 92) is important, as it helps us to see clearly the transition from 2 to 3. Cp. Theophrastus *περὶ εὐσεβείας* ed. by Bernays p. 40: *ἐκ τῆς θυμιασεως θυσίας ἐκάλουν*. — The intimate interconnexion of these different uses is shown by the differing meaning of the Indo-Germ. *dhû-ma-s* whose correlative comes under the head of the 2nd modification in 4 families of speech, under the 1st only in Gk. and Lith. and there alongside of the 2nd. Plato Crat. p. 419 already guessed the physical meaning of *θυμός* — *θυμός ἀπὸ τῆς θύσεως καὶ ζήσεως τῆς ψυχῆς*. — I cannot accept the wider combinations of Kuhn Ztschr. III 434. On the other hand there is to be seen in Gk. an expansion of the rt. by *σ* in *θύσ-*

τη-ς, θυσ-τά-ς (= θυιάς), θυσ-θ-λα (pl.) (cp. the Ch.-Sl. *dych-a-ti* flare with *ch* = *s*), perhaps too in θυσ-αρο-ς tassel [cp. Eng. *bob*], θε-ειο-ν sulphur, sulphur fumes (contr. θεῖο-ν) comes without doubt from the second meaning and is to be derived from a lost θε-σ-ος. — The Skt. *dhūp* expanded from *dhū* and = Gk. *ρύφ-ω* is discussed under No. 251. Pott compares moreover the Lat. *fāv-u-s* honeycomb (?), *favilla*, *fū-nu-s*, *fī-mu-s* and *foe-t-eo*. On the latter words cp. Corssen Beitr. 179. — The Lat. *tūs* is clearly borrowed from the Greek and proves nothing at all as to the Latin substitute for the aspirate. — The Skt. *hu* sacrifice belongs to No. 203.

321) Rt. *kuθ* *κεύθ-ω* (*κύθ-ον*, *κέ-κνθ-ον*) hide, conceal, *κεῦθ-ος*, *κενθ-μών* hidden depth.

Skt. rt. *gudh* *gudh-jā-mi* veil, clothe (unauthenticated) *guh* *guh-ā-mi* veil, conceal, *guh-ā* ambush, hollow, *guh-ā* secretly, *guh-ja-s* celandus, *gōh-a-s* ambush. — Zd. *guz* conceal.

Lat. *custō(d)-s*.

A.-S. *hȳd-an* hide.

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Corn. *cudhe* *cuthe* celare (Lex. Cornu-Brit. p. 76, Z.² 142), Cymr. *cuddio* (Spurr. Dict.).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 782, Ebel Beitr. II 160. — The initial *g* is softened in Skt. and Zd. from *k*, while, acc. to Albr. Weber (Omina u. Portenta p. 343) the Skt. forms *kūh-a-s* deceiver, hypocrite, *kūh-ū* new-moon, *kūh-ā* mist have preserved the original sound; the *k* at the end of the rt. is weakened in Skt. as in other cases from *dh*. — The derivation of the Goth. *guth* God again advanced by Ebel Ztschr. V 236 can hardly be reconciled with the above. Cp. too Leo Meyer Ztschr. VII 15. — On *custō(d)-s* cp. my essay on the traces of a Lat. o-conjugation Symbola Philol. Bonn I p. 280, Corssen Nachtr. 133, somewhat otherwise I² 355.

322) *μέθ-ν* wine, *μεθύ-ω* am drunk, *μεθύ-σθ-ω* make drunk, *μέθ-η* drunkenness, *μέθ-ν-σο-ς* drunk.

Skt. *madh-u* something sweet, sweet drink, honey, *madhu-s* sweet, Zd. *madhu* honey.

O.-S. *med-o*, O.-H.-G. *met-u* mead.

Ch.-Sl. *med-ŭ* (m.) honey, wine, Lith. *mid-ù-s* honey.

O.-Ir. *med* gen. *meda* (u-stem, Z.² 239), *mesce* ebrius (Z.² 67), *mesce* drunkenness; Cymr. *medw* ebrius (Z.² 130).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 245, Stokes Corm. Gl. Transl. 116. — The

change in the meaning is noticeable: it was originally as in Skt. the more general one of a pleasant drink. Cp. Pictet I 408, Ztschr. V 323, Hehn 89. — Ir. *mesce* stands for *medce* like *usce* for *udce* (No. 300).

323) *μισθός* pay. — Zd. *mīzhda* pay. — Goth. *mīzd-ō* *μισθός*. — A.-S. *meord* [Eng. *meed*]. — Ch.-Sl. *mīzda* (f.) *μισθός*.

Pott W. I 148, Grimm Gesch. 413, Schleich. Ksl. 126, Diefenb. II 67, Benf. II 33. — Pott Ztschr. XIII 349 justly calls these words of unknown origin. Justi Handb. des Zd. p. 233 regards the word as a compound of the rt. *dhā*. Then we might state the following proportion; *μισ-θός*: *μεθ* (No. 286) = *ἔσθω*: *ἐδ*, *μεθ* of course in the sense of measure. Another combination worth notice is given by Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Philol. I 10, who goes to the Zd. *myazda* flesh used in sacrifice. — The Lat. *metelli* (Fest. p. 147) also deserves to be considered, 'in re militari quasi mercenarii', Gloss. Lab. *metellus* *μίσθιος*, cp. *met-i-ri* No. 461.

324) Rt. *ὅθ ὠθ-έ-ω* (*ἔ-ω-σα*) thrust, *ἐν-οσί-χθων*. *ἐνν-οσί-γαιο-ς* Earth-shaker, *ἐν-οσί-φυλλο-ς* shaking its leaves.

Skt. rt. *vadh* (perf. *va-vādh-a*) strike, *apa-vadh*, *prati-vadh* strike back. — Zd. *vad* strike, *vādhay* strike back.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 251. — *apa-vadh* is just like *ἀπ-ώσε*: A 97 (Arist.). The rt. *vādh*, as it is now written in the PW. (no longer *bādh*), has such similar meanings, that it cannot be a separate rt. from *vadh*. — Delbrück Ztschr. XVI 266 connects with the Skt. *vadh-as* storm, Zd. *vad-are* instrument for striking, the A.-S. *veder*, Germ. *Wetter* storm, weather, which accordingly has arrived gradually at its neutral meaning of weather from its original one of thunderstorm or rain-storm. — *ōd-i* (*ōd-iu-m*) may be considered to be = *repuli*; for *ōdi* (e. g. *profanum vulgus*) and *arceo* are synonymous; *o* = *va* as in 261 *ornare* by the side of Skt. *varṇas* colour (also gold). Pott it is true objects (Ztschr. IX 211) to such a comparison, noticing the absence of the *re*- in *ōdi*. But that a root is sometimes used in fuller meaning which is elsewhere to be seen only when definitive prepositions help to give the expression, is shown by *κέρηφε* (No. 36) and *θαν-εῖν*, which will be discussed at p. 501. Pott holds fast by the comparison of *ōdi* with the Gothic *hat-an* hate. But the loss of an initial *c* before vowels is as Corssen Beitr. 1 shows, of rare occurrence, and besides the Gothic word is associated with other words which, like *krassaba* vehement and those which Diefenbach adds Wtb. II 601, take us far from the Latin form. — On the initial in Gk. see Ebel

Ztschr. IV 166. — I do not venture to place ὄθ-ο-μαι under this head on account of the same difficulties which prevented Buttmann Lexil. I 270 from doing so, especially on account of ὄθη (Hesych. φρονίς ὄφα), ὄθιων (ib. φρονίζων), ὄθμα (Nicand. ὄμμα). Cp. Fick² 179.

325) οὐθ-αρ (st. οὐθα(ρ)τ). — Skt. *údhar*, *údh-as*, *údh-an*.

— Lat. *úb-er*. — A.-S. *úder*, O.-H.-G. *útar* udder (Germ. *Euter*). — Lith. *udr-oju* suckle.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 106. — The Lithuanian form controverts Kuhn's assertion (Ztschr. I 369) that the *r* is secondary, for the Slavonic languages show no instance of *r* instead of *s*. With Benfey I 261 I take *údh-ar* to be the primary form and consider the *τ* in *οὐθατ* as accessory. — What is the case with the Lat. *úber* abundance and the adj. *úber* abundant? Have we here a metaphor as in *οὐθαρ ἀρούρης* (I 141), or are both meanings developed from one root which we do not know? This question is thoroughly answered by Walter Ztschr. X 77. He separates, no doubt rightly, the adj. *úber* with its subst. *úber* = *ubertas* from *úber* udder, deriving the former from *uib-er* and the rt. *aidh* (Skt. *édh* flourish, be happy), the latter from the rt. *udh*. Otherwise Corssen Beitr. 190, I² 151, Roth Ztschr. XIX 221, who again connects the two words *uber* and tries to establish *vadh*, *vandh* to stuff full as their root. — Perhaps the Ir. *úth* mammula (Stokes Ir. Gl. 102), and the Welsh *uod* 'pap' (Spurrell Dict.) belong here.

326) Rt. πενθ πενθ-ερός father-in-law, brother-in-law, son-in-law, πενθ-ερά mother-in-law, πεισ-μα string, rope.

Skt. *bandh* *badh-nâ-mi* bind, fetter, unite, *bandha-s*, *bandh-a-na-m* band, union, *bandh-u-s* union, connexion, relation, *bandhu-râ* relationship. — Zd. *bañd* bind, *bañda* (m.) band.

Goth. *binda* bind, *band-i* δεσμός.

O.-Ir. *co-beden* f. (gen. *coi-bedna*) conjugatio, *con-bod-las* conjunctio (Z.² 990), *coibde-lach* necessarius, amicus (Ir. Gl. p. 166).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 251, Benf. II 94. — With Grassmann Ztschr. XII 120 (cp. above p. 52) we must consider *bhandh* to be the Indo-Germ. root, which by the regular loss of the aspirates in Zend and the Teutonic languages became *band*. In Gk. it was hardened into 262 πενθ and then, owing to the dislike felt to the conjunction of two aspirates at the beginning of two consecutive syllables, became πενθ.

The Latin *of-fend-ix* strap, knot, *of-fend-i-men-tu-m* (Fest. p. 205), clearly belong here, as is pointed out by Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 127. The comparison of *fū-ni-s*, for *fud-ni-s* (cp. *fus-ti-s*) and *fī-lu-m* (cp. No. 157) is open to many doubts.

- 327) Rt. $\pi\theta$ $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta$ - ω persuade, $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta$ - \omicron - $\mu\alpha\iota$ obey, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa\omicron\iota\theta$ - α trust, $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma$ - $\tau\iota$ - ς faith, $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta$ - $\acute{\alpha}$ persuasion, $\pi\epsilon\iota$ - $\sigma\alpha$ obedience.

Lat. *fid-o*, *fid-ē-s*. *fid-u-s*, *Dius Fidius*, *foed-us*.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 251, Benf. II 95. — The aspirates have behaved as in the case of No. 326: the rt. is *bhidh*. So Corssen Beitr. 227, Grassmann Ztschr. XII 120. Both conjecture justly that the Graeco-Italic rt. *bhidh* is weakened from *bha(n)dh*, and that its primary notion is 'unite'. The use of the Skt. compounds *ni-bandh* and *nir-bandh* and *bandh-aka-s* a pledging, promise is analogous. Fulda Unters. 158 points out that $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ in Homer constantly requires the addition of $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$, which however is entirely dispensed with in the case of the middle 'obey', and the intransitive perf. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\iota\theta\alpha$ = confido. Here we must supply the connecting links let oneself be bound, join oneself, feel oneself fast bound, as also in the Lat. *fidere* = $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Pott's objections (W. I 1088) to this view are of no great weight. — Th. Mommsen Röm. Forsch. I 336 connects *foedus* with *spondeo* and $\sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\eta}$. But on this hypothesis the *oe* cannot be explained. The expression *fundum fieri* give security, which is compared by Mommsen, admits of being derived from the rt. *bhandh* in the sense of make oneself bound. — *foedus*: bind = *pāx*: rt. *pak* (No. 343). — Quite otherwise Fick² 380, Bugge Stud. IV 338.

- 328) Rt. $\pi\upsilon\theta$ $\pi\upsilon\nu\theta$ - $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ - \omicron - $\mu\alpha\iota$, $\pi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta$ - \omicron - $\mu\alpha\iota$ search, ask, $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma$ - $\tau\iota$ - ς , $\pi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ - $\sigma\iota$ - ς , $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma$ - $\mu\alpha$ question, $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta$ - $\acute{\eta}\nu$ enquirer, spy.

Skt. rt. *budh* (*bódh-ā-mi*, *budh-j-ē*) to awake, remark, become aware of, *bódh-ajā-mi* awaken, give to know, inform, *bud-dhi-s* (for *budh-ti-s*) insight, perception, view. — Zd. *bud* remark, awaken.

O.-S. *an-biod-an* bid, let know, Goth. *ana-biud-an* $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$, *faúr-biud-an* forbid, and bid, O.-H.-G. *piot-an* offer, present [Eng. *bid*].

Ch.-Sl. *būd-ě-ti* vigilare, *bud-i-ti* expergefacerere; Lith. *bund-ù* inf. *budėti* (intr.), *būd-in-u* (trans.) wake, *bud-rù-s* wakeful.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 251 f., who rightly gives the idea wake, awake, as the primary one, whence in Greek the notion of wakeful perception (*πυθ-έ-σθαι* become awake, clear), in Skt. and Zd. rather the continuous one of being awake, and therewith of knowledge. With Homer the derived meaning enquire (e. g. ι 88) was only coming into use, and hence Aristarchus explained *πυθέσθαι* by *ἀνοῦσαι* (Lehrs Arist. 2 148). It is strange that *bud* in Zend means also smell, in compounds of the causative actually fumigate. — Like the two previous roots this one had an aspirate at both ends originally: *bhudh* (Grassmann Ztschr. XII 120). Hence the Delphic name of a month 263 *Βύσιος* is remarkable; it is explained by Plutarch quaest. Graec. c. 9 as *Πύσιος* “*ἐν ᾧ πυσιῶναι καὶ πυνθάνονται τοῦ θεοῦ*”, and is found in another passage in this dialect with *β* for *π* (Mataire dialecti p. 140a). — On the meanings of the Teutonic words which may be referred to the rt. *bhudh* see Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Ph. I 9. — Benary's comparison of the Lat. *pūtare* (Lautl. 193) is mistaken; as *am-putare*, *putator*, *putamen*, *lanam putare* (cp. also Paul. Epit. 216) show, *putare* is a derivative of *pūtus* clean (No. 373), and accordingly means primarily ‘to clear up’.

329) *πυθ-μήν* (st. *πυθμεν*) bottom, stock of a tree, *πύνδ-αξ* bottom. — Skt. *budh-na-s*, Zd. *bu-na* bottom. — Lat. *fundu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *bodam* O.-N. *bot-n* [Germ. *Boden*]. — Ir. *bond*, *bonn* solea, n. pl. *buind* (Ir. Gl. 96, p. 141).

Pott I² 252, Benf. II 67, Kuhn Ztschr. II 320, Grassmann XII, 114, with whom I regard *bhudh* as the stem. — On *πύνδαξ*, a kind of diminutive with an added strengthening *ν* which in its turn accounts for the *δ* cp. Lobeck Proleg. 447 and below p. 516. — With Corssen Beitr. 226 I agree in so far as he rejects the derivation proposed by others from *budh-na* for *bradh-na* (rt. *bradh* more correctly *vardh* grow), but when he goes himself to the unauthenticated rt. *bhund* with a lingual *d*, which is made to mean sustentare I can follow him just as little as I can Pott and others, who want to connect these words with No. 328. Our stem *bhu-dh* seems to me to be a formation from the shorter rt. *bhu* grow, and that accordingly ground and root get their name from their being the ‘place of growth’ and ‘a growth’ respectively; cp. O.-Ir. *bunad* gen. *bunid* origo, st. *bunata* (Z.² 223, 801). So the Skt. *bhū* earth comes from the rt. *bhu*. Cp. Corssen I² 145. — *βυθ-ό-ς*, *βυσσό-ς*, *βόθο-ς* are discussed under No. 635.

II

A Greek π corresponds to an Indogermanic p , Sanskrit p or ph , Zend p or f , Latin and Slavo-Lithuanian p , German f or (in the middle of a word) b . In Old Irish p either disappears (as is always the case when it is initial) or is replaced by c , ch .

- 330) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ from, $\tilde{a}\psi$ forth, back. — Skt. *apa* away, forth, back, as a prep. with abl. away from. Zd. *apa* with abl. from, *apa-na* distant. — Lat. *ab* (\acute{a} , *af-au-*) *abs.* — Goth. *af* $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$, $\acute{e}\xi$, O.-H.-G. *aba*, *fo-na* far, from.

Bopp Vgl. Gr. III 492, Pott I² 435. — The connection of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ with the locative form Skt. *api* Gk. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ cannot be mistaken (cp. $\tilde{a}\nu\tau\alpha$ and $\tilde{a}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$ No. 204). — $\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omega$ in $\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ deceive (subst. $\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$) corresponds to the Skt. and Zend *apara* (derived from *apa*) = Goth. *asaf* later, otherwise, different (Benf. I 129) The second element in the word is rt. $f\pi$, whence $\delta\psi = vox$; there is the Ionic lengthening of \tilde{a} into η , as in $\eta\pi\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\omega\sigma\eta\gamma\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ &c. 264 The verb therefore means properly 'to speak otherwise' in a bad sense, that is otherwise than one believes it to be, and the $\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ is $\delta\varsigma\ \chi'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \varphi\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\ \delta\tilde{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\pi\eta$ I 313. Weber (Ind. Studien II 406) has a conjecture on the origin of the particle. Cp. *supra* p. 80.

- 331) St. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha$ $\tilde{A}\rho\pi\text{-}\nu\iota\alpha\iota$, $\tilde{a}\rho\pi\text{-}\eta$ a kind of bird of prey, $\tilde{a}\rho\pi\text{-}\alpha\tilde{\xi}(\gamma)$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\text{-}\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ grasping, greedy, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\xi}\text{-}\omega$ rob, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\text{-}\eta$ hook, rake, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\text{-}\acute{\eta}$ robbery.

Lat. *rāp-io*, *rāp-ax*, *rap-idu-s*, *rap-tor*, *rap-īna*.

For Gr. γ = Lat. c cp. p. 522. — The rough breathing seems to be unorganic or a reminiscence of $\rho\alpha\pi$. Otherwise explained by Pott Ztschr. VI 334, I² 216. — Pott I² 258 and Corssen Beitr. 154 connect *rap-io* with the Skt. *rup lump-āmi* rumpo, irrumpo, perdo. This root underlies the Gr. $\lambda\upsilon\pi$ and Lat. *rumpo* (No. 341) but it shows so many meanings analogous to these of our root, that we must certainly assume an early duplicate form *rap rup* (cp. *supra* p. 58 f.). The rt. *rup* in Zend means to rob, and may unquestionably be compared with the Goth. *bi-raub-ōn*. More from the Teutonic languages in Diefenb. Wtb. II 164.

- 332) ἄρπ-η sickle. — Lat. *sarp-o* prune, *sar-men*, *sar-mentu-m* twigs, O.-H.-G. *sarf*, *scarf* sharp. — Ch.-Sl. *srŭp-ŭ* sickle.

Grimm Gesch. 302, Schleich. Ksl. 121, Kuhn Ztschr. II 129, IV 22 f. Corssen Beitr. 32, Nachtr. 70. For *sarp-o* cp. Fest. p. 322, 348. — The Germ. *scarf* by the side of *sarf* makes it probable that we must assume with Kuhn a rt. *skarp*, which in the Graeco-Italic period became *sarp*, and in the Greek ἄρπ, and not improbable that also *καρπ-ό-ς*, *carp-o* (No. 42) grew out of this by the loss of *s*. Grimm compares also the Macedon. month Γορπιαῖος (ὁ Σεπτέμβριος Sauid.) and identifies it with the Ch.-Sl. *srŭpŭnŭ* July (Miklos. Lex. 877). But I do not find any evidence for the postulated *γορπή* = ἄρπη, and September would have been too late a harvest-month even for Macedonia. — With the assumed *skarpa* Kuhn further connects Skt. *çalp-a-s* and O.-H.-G. *happá*, N.-H.-G. *hippe*: *çalp-a-s* is the name of the weapon with which Rudras was wounded, as Uranus with the ἄρπη (Hes. Theog. 175). Otherwise Pictet II 104.

- 333) Rt. *ἔλπ* *ἐλπ-ω* cause to hope, *ἐλπ-ο-μαι* I hope (Pf. *ἔ-ολπ-α*), *ἐλπ-ί-ς*, *ἐλπ-ωρή* hope, *ἐλπ-ί-ζω* I hope.

Lat. *volop*, *volup*, *volup-i-s*, *volup-tá(t)-s*.

The *F* of *ἔλπ* is established by *ἐολπα*, *ἐέλπετο* — cp. also Hesych. *μολπίς* *ἐλπίς* with *ὀλπίς*. Hoffmann Quaest. Hom. II § 148. We have also the form *Velparun* = *Ἐλπήνωρ* on an Etruscan mirror (Denkmäler, Forsch. u. Ber. 1864 p. 153). — *volup* Ennius Annal. 247 (Vahlen) '*multa volup*'. The word is probably shortened from *volup-i-s* which with its inserted subsidiary vowel quite corresponds to the Gr. *ἐλπίς*. Schweizer Ztschr. III 209. The same stem occurs in the superl. *ἄλπ-ν-ιστο-ς* (Pind.) the most lovely and in *ἔπ-αλπ-νο-ς* desired (cp. *τερεν-νό-ς*), which in their meaning approach still more 265 nearly the Latin words. There is also *ἀλπαλαῖον* (Hesych. *ἀγαπητόν*), for which we should perhaps write *ἀλπαλείον* (cp. *ἀρπαλέος*, *ταρβαλέος*) — Doric for *ε* Ahrens Dial. Dor. 113. — For the shorter rt. of this stem see above p. 77.

- 334) *ἐμπί-ς* gnat. — Lat. *api-s*. — O.-H.-G. *imbi* bee.

Pott II¹ 74, Benf. II 75, Förstemann Ztschr. III 55, 59, Lottner XI 166. The O.-H.-G. *bīa* N.-H.-G. *biene* and Lith. *bi-tė*, *bi-t-is* bee are also referred to this form, by assuming a loss of the initial vowel. The neglect of the correspondence of mutes is explained by the nasal. A connection with *πίνω* is more easily asserted than proved.

- 335) *ἐπί* on, to. — Skt. *api* (*pi*) as adv. further, also, as prefix to, after. Zd. *aipi* as adv. also, even,

as prefix, to, as prep. with acc. after, on, with instrum. to, with loc. at the side of. — Lat. *ob*. — Lith. *apẽ* about, over (with acc.), *-pi* (after gen.) with, *api-*, *ap-* in the meaning of the Germ. *be-*.

Bopp Vergl. Gr. III 490, Pott I² 506. — It is worth noticing that *api* as a preposition with a case following it, does not occur in Skt., while in its not very common use as a prefix, e. g. in *api-dhāna-m* cover (cp. *ἐπι-θε-μα*), *api-ga-s* = *ἐπι-γονο-ς* it closely corresponds to *ἐπι*. The adverbial use of *api* reappears in Gr. *ἐπ-εί*, where *ἐπι* is the anticipated particle of the apodosis, in the sense of 'then' (Elucidations of the Greek Grammar [E. T.] p. 215). In the case of Lat. *ob* the meaning *ad* (cp. *obviam*, *obire*, *obdere* = *ἐπιθεῖναι*, *ob-oedio*, cp. *ἐπανοῶν*, *opportunus*) came out more clearly in the earlier language (Fest. p. 178). Cp. Corssen II² 1026. — Lith. *ap-* in compounds: cp. *ἐπιχρυσος* gilded over, *obaurare* (Appul.), Lith. *ap-dukšinu* I gild. — With regard to form *ap-i* is related to *ap-a* as a locative to an instrumental (cp. *ἀπό* No. 330) but both have crystallized into adverbs, just as the Lat. abl. *apud* (old by-form *apor*) which is hence in meaning connected with *ἐπι*. Corssen I² 197 now agrees with Pott in regarding *apud* as a compound of *api* and *ad*, but without convincing me. — As to the origin of the word we may note the Skt. *api-tva-m* distribution, share.

336) *ἐπ-οψ* (st. *ἐπ-ον*) hoopoe. — Lat. *up-up-a*.

Kuhn Ztschr. III 69. — The form is reduplicated, in Greek by means of the *ε* usual in the perfect, in Latin as in *to-tondi* by the same vowel, *up-up-a* for an older *op-op a*.

337) *ἐπτά*, *ἑβδομο-ς*. — Skt. *saptan*, Zd. *haptan* seven, *sap-ta-mas* the seventh. — Lat. *septem*, *septumu-s*. — Goth. *sibun*. — Ch.-Sl. *sedmŭ*, Lith. *septyn-i* seven, Ch.-Sl. *sedmyj*, Lith. *septinta-s*, *sẽk-ma-s* the seventh. — O.-Ir. *secht* septem, *sechtmad* septimus (Z.³ 303. 310).

Bopp Gl., Schleich. Kal. 187 &c. — For the weakening in the ordinal cp. *ᾠδοος* and p. 525. The change of the labial into a *k* in the Lith. *sẽkma-s* is highly irregular. Ought we to consider *sak*, *sap* follow as the root (p. 453) Kõlle in the Gött. Nachr. 1866 p. 318 notices that the Turkish word for seven means follower.

338) Rt. *ἐπρ ἔρπ-ω* (Impf. *εἶρπ-ο-ν*) I go, creep, *ἐρπ-ύ-ξω* 266 I creep, crawl, *ἐρπ-ετό-ν* creeping thing, *ἐρπ-η(τ)-ς* tetter (on the skin), *Σαρπηδών(?)*, *ῥερ-ηξ* shoot (?).

Skt. rt. *sarp*, *sarp-â-mi* serpo, eo, *sarp-a-s* serpens.

Lat. *serp-o*, *serp-en(t)-s*, *serp-ula*. — *Pro-serp-ina* (?).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 259, Benf. I 62. — *ἔρπειν* is far from meaning only creep. But the proper meaning appears in all three languages to be that of an even motion along the ground. — Lat. *répo* however probably arose by metathesis from *srép-o*, for *sr* is not an allowable combination of sounds. So the Zd. *rap* go, which Justi identifies with Skt. *sarp*. Lottner (*Ztschr.* VII 188) quotes Lett. *raht* creep. The question whether *Proserpina* is a genuine Lat. form, or borrowed from the Gr. *Προσεφόνη* has been discussed with reference to the old form of the gen. *Prosepnaïs* (Ritschl Suppl. prisc. latin. I p. XIV) by Usener Rh. Mus. XXII 436, Grassman *Ztschr.* XVI 106, Zeysz XVII 436; but I fail to find anywhere a decisive argument.

339) Rt. λαμπ λάμπ-ω I shine, gleam, λαμπ-τήρ lamp, λαμπ-ά(δ)-s torch, λαμπ-ρό-ς gleaming, λάμπ-η scum, λάπ-η scum, slime. — Ὀ-λυμπ-ο-ς (?).

Lat. *limp-idu-s*. — Lith. *lėp-s-nà* flame.

Bopp on the language of the Old Prussians p 40. — The comparison of Skt. *dip* gleam, is quite baseless. — The *υ* in Ὀ-λυμπ-ο-ς is Aeolic. — Lat. *limp-idu-s* is for *lemp-idu-s*. As the root appears without the nasal in λάπ-η, perhaps also *lėp-or*, *lėp-idu-s* (cp. *luculentus*) — which cannot be connected with Gr. λεπ-τό-ς —, and even *lėp-us* as the light, gray animal (a Sicil. λέκορις quoted by Varro L. L. V § 101, might belong here). *Lanter-na*, only in late times *lāterna* (Bücheler Rhein. Mus. XVIII 393, Schmitz XIX 301) is evidently derived from λαμπτήρ. The *s* in the Lith. word is inserted (Schleicher Lith. Sprache I 120).

340) Rt. λιπ λίπ-α, λίπ-ος fat, λιπ-αρό-ς fatty, shining, λιπ-αρό-ής persevering, eager, λιπαρό-έ-ω I hold fast, entreat, ἀ-λείφ-ω I anoint, ἄλειφαρ, ἄλειφα salve.

Skt. *lip* (*limp-â-mi*), Ved. *rip* besmear, *anu-lip* anoint, *lėp-a-s*, *lėp-a-na-m* ointment.

Ch.-Sl. *lėp-i-ti* conglutinare, *lėp-ũ* viscum, *lėp-ũ* decorus, Lith. *limp-ũ* inf. *lėp-ti* stick, *lip-ũ-s* sticky.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 258, W. I 608, Schleich. Ksl. 121. — λίπα ἀλείφειν in Thuc. I 6 and elsewhere removes all doubt as to the vowel elided in the Hom. λίπ', though Kissling goes wrong *Ztschr.* XVII 201. In ἀ-λείφ-ω we may easily recognize prothetic *â* and aspiration. The latter perhaps also occurs in λιμφό-ς σκυφοάντης, φειδ-

αῖός (dirty fellow), *λυφεύειν ἀπατᾶν* trick (cp. Germ. anschmieren) Hesych. — Lat. *lippus* Pauli Ztschr. XVIII 10 maintains to be a genuine Latin form for *lipu-s*. But *adept* is borrowed from *ἀλειφα* (Benf. II 122) with *d* for *l* as in *Capitodium* (Corssen Nachtr. 276). Cp. *ἀλείφσαι· στέατι, ἀλεφάτισον· ἄλειφον* Hesych. — Müllenhoff regards also O.-H.-G. *lēbara* jecur and *libir-meri, ge-liber-ūt* coagulatum, concretum as related, while Pauli (Körpertheile 18) connects *lēbara* 267 with the Hom. *λαπάρη*, flank. — The meaning passes from that of fat into that of brightness on the one hand, and to that of sticking on the other. Plato Crat. 427 b: τὸ *λυπαρὸν καὶ τὸ κολλῶδες*. Fick² 169 connects the Goth. *bi-leiþ-an* to cleave, to remain, with this root, not with Gr. *λείπω* (No. 625). The great difference in meaning will not allow me to recognize any connection with Lat. *liqu-eo*: this is related rather to the Zend *ric* pour out.

341) Rt. *λυπ λυπ-ρός* troublesome, *λύπ-η* trouble, pain, *λυπ-έ-ω* trouble, *λύπη-ρός* grieving.

Skt. *lup* (*lump-ā-mi*) break to pieces, beat, damage, *lup-ta-s* destroyed, *lup* decay.

Lat. *ru-m-p-o* (?).

O.-N. *ryf* rumpo.

Lit. *rup-ē-ti* trouble, *rup mán* it troubles me, *rup-ù-s* anxious.

Pott I¹ 258, Benf. II 4. — Many difficulties still present themselves in this grouping, on individual points. Still we may perhaps derive the notion of troubling and of troublesome from the more physical idea of breaking as above under No. 148 and No. 284. With regard to this, it is worth noticing that in Homer we find only *λυπ-ρός* as an epithet of poor soil, while *λύπ-η* with its derivatives does not occur till later. For the interchange of *r* and *l* see p. 537 ff. Cp. on No. 331.

342) Rt. *νεπ ἄ-νεψ-ιός* sister's son or brother's son (fem. -ā), *νέπ-οδ-εs* offspring, descendants.

Skt. *nap-tar*, *napāt* scion, grand-child, fem. *napti* daughter, grand-daughter, Zd. *naptar*, *napāt* descendant, *napt-i* (f.) kinship, *naptya* (n.) family.

Lat. *nepō(t)-s*, fem. *nept-i-s*.

O.-N. *nefi* brother, O.-H.-G. *nefo* nepos, cognatus, O.-N. *nift* sister, O.-H.-G. *niftila* neptis. — Goth. *nith-ji-s* m. *nith-jō* f. *svγγενής*.

Ch.-Sl. *netij* filius fratris vel sororis, Bohem. *neti* (st. *neter*) niece.

O.-Ir. *necht* neptis (Z.² 68), Corn. *noit* neptis (Z.² 158):

Ir. *niae*, gen. *niath* filius sororis (Z.² 255, 256),

Cymr. *ney*, *nei*, plur. *neyeynt*, *nyeint* fratris vel sororis filius (Z.² 293).

Bopp Gl., Pott II² 821, Ebel Ztschr. I 293, Beitr. II 168, Kuhn Ind. Studien I 326, Miklos. Lex. 444, Benf. II 56, Sâmavêda Wörterb. 106, where proofs are given of the more general meaning of the Skt. word, offspring, child, e. g. *napât apâm* child of the waters. Precisely the same connection occurs in Zend. — Schleich. Kal. 125 and Miklos. Lex. explain the Goth. and Slav. forms by the loss of the labial. — *ἀ-νεψ-ιός* is for *ἀ-νεπ-ιός* and is rightly explained by Ebel Ztschr. I 293 and Max Müller Oxford Essays (1856) p. 21 as 'fellow-nephew' (Mitenkel), *con-nepot-iu.s.* As to the much-discussed *νέποδες* (δ 404 *φῶναι νέποδες καλῆς Ἀλοσύδνης*) I start from the fact that Alexandrine poets used the word in the sense of *ἀπόγονοι*: Theocr. 268 XVII 25 *ἀθάνατοι δὲ καλεῦνται εἰσι νέποδες*, Cleon Sic. Bergk Poet. Lyr. ³ p. 666 *βριαρὸι Γοργοφόνου νέποδες*, Callim. ap. Schol. Pind. Isthm. II 9 *ὁ Κεῖος Ἰλλίχου νέπους*. They certainly would not have ventured to do this, had there not been an old tradition in favour of this meaning. *κατὰ τινα γλῶσσαν οἱ ἀπόγονοι* says Eustath. on Od. p. 1502, 52. Hence we must not be misled by the opposite views of other grammarians in the Scholia to the Od. in Apollon. Lex. &c., but we must assume an ancient *νέποδες* = *nepôtes*, the δ being explained perhaps by the resemblance in sound to *πόδες*. Is the gloss of Hesych. *νεόπται νίων θυγατέρες* possibly a corruption of *νέπται*? The difference in quantity between *νέποδες* and *nepôtes* is the less surprising, inasmuch as we find side by side in the Eastern languages the three stems *napât*, *napat* and *napt* (*napt-i*). — As to the root very various conjectures have been made, among others by Spiegel Ztschr. XIII 370 ff., Pictet II 357. — Corn. *noit* and Ir. *necht* correspond just as Corn. *seyth* and Ir. *secht* seven. Ir. *niae*, a stem in *t* and Cymr. *nei*, a stem in *nt* remind us of the Gothic and Slavonic words. According to O'Davoren's Gloss. p. 108 the Ir. *necht* has also the meaning 'daughter': Ir. *niae* means also sister (Z.² 256 *im orba mic niath* circa hereditatem filii sororis).

343) Rt. *παγ πήγ-νυ-μι* (*ἐ-πάγ-ην*) fix, *πήγ-μα* joined work, stand, *πηγ-ός* firm, strong, *πάγ-ος*, *πάχ-νῃ* rime, frost, *πάγ-η* trap, snare, *πάσσ-αλο-ς* peg, nail. Skt. *pâç-a-s* snare, noose, *pâça-jâ-mi* bind, *paç-ra-s* fat, stout. — Zd. *paç* bind.

Lat. *pac-i-sc-or*, *pāx*, *pac-i-o(n)*, *pac-tio(n)*, *pang-o* (*pāg-o*), *pig-nus*, *pā-lu-s* — (*con*, *dis*) *-pe-sc-o*?

Goth. *fah-an* catch, *fulla-fah-jan* *ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν*, *fagr-s* *ἔθρεος*, O.-H.-G. *fuog-a*, *ga-fuogi* aptus, *ga-fag-jan* satisfacere, *fah* (Germ. *fach*) department.

Pott II, 2, 551, Benf. II 90. Ind. lect. Kil. aest. 1857 p. IX where I believe I have proved that *pak* was the root form, and *pag* weakened from it. — From the former is derived *πάσσαλο-ς* (for *πακ-ζαλο-ς*). In Latin both occur side by side (Corssen I² 393), the Gothic forms presuppose *k*. As even in Skt. *paḡ-ra-s* the soft sound appears, the weakening of the form is apparently very old. Following Kuhn Ztschr. I 461 I once connected with this group Skt. *pāgas*, with which *Πήγασος* is compared; but according to the Pet. Dict. the word means brightness, glitter, and hence is far removed. — We must assume the fundamental meaning to be that of binding fast, from which the ideas of catching (cp. *πάγη*), making firm (freezing) and joining are easily derived. Some also derive from this root Skt. *paḡ-u-s* = Lat. *pec-u*, Goth. *faith-u* (possessions), O.-H.-G. *fih-u*, O.-Pr. *pek-u* and connect them with. Gr. *παῦ* flock (Pott W. I 205, Kuhn Ztschr. II 272): but the last word, whose meaning differs, and which the Greek laws of sound do not allow us to connect with them, cannot be separated from the root *πο ποι-μήν* (No. 372), and has therefore absolutely nothing to do with the present root. — Cp. *ᾱ-παξ* under No. 599.

344) *παί-ω* strike. — Lat. *pav-io*, *pavī-mentu-m*, *de-pūv-ēre*. 269

Benf. II 77. — The *u* of *depuvere* (Paul. Ep. p. 70, 3 from Lucilius Pf. *depāviti*) is weakened from *a* as in *con-tubern-iu-m*. Is *παί-ω* related to *παί-ω* just as *πτόλις* to *πόλις*? — Whether Skt. *pav-i-s* tire of a wheel, ferrel of a spear and *pav-ira-m* a weapon, *pav-iru-s* thunderbolt are related, the isolation of these words makes it hard to determine. — Further combinations with regard to the Latin words in Pott W. I 1113, Corssen I² 358.

345) *παλάμη* flat hand. — Lat. *palma*, *palmu-s*. — A.-S. *folma*, O.-H.-G. *volma* flat hand. — O.-Ir. *lám f. manus* (st. *lámá* Z.² 241).

Pott I² 109, Grimm Gesch. 396. — With the meaning 'span' which *palmus* also has, is connected *παλαιστή*, Att. *παλαστή* (*τετάρων δακτύλων μέτρον* Hesych.). Pauli Körpertheile p. 21 (cp. Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Phil. I 145) assumes that the word is connected with Skt. *pāṇi-s* (m.) hand, where the *ṇ* points to the loss of *r*, and derives it from rt. *par*, *πλα* (No. 366): Kühn 'Metathesis' p. 50 from rt. *pal* to be flat (No. 353). — From the meaning grasp come *παλαμά-ο-μαι*,

Παλαμάων, Παλαμήδης (Pott Ztschr. V 277). — Stokes Ir. Gl. 34 compares Ir. *lám* with λαμβάνω.

- 346) παρά, παρὰ, πάρ, πὰ by the side of, to the side of.
— Skt. *parā* away, from, forth, towards, *para-m* beyond, *paré* thereupon, further, *paréna* further, gone by, *para-tas* further, away, Zd. *para* before, besides. — Lat. *per*, Osc. *perum* without. — Goth. *fra*, *fair*, O.-H.-G. *far-fer*, N.-H.-G. *ver*-. — Lith. *par*- back, *pèr* through, throughout.

Bopp Vergl. Gramm III 501, where also an explanation is given of the incontestably related forms *περί* Skt. *pari* &c., Grimm Gr. II 724, Pott I² 457. — Skt. *parā* like *paréna* bears the plainest marks of being an instrumental, which we must also assume to be the case with *παρά*: by the side of this we have the Epic *παρὰ*, which, as being evidently a locative, corresponds to the Skt. and Zd. *paré*. Another case again, the accusative, occurs in Skt. *param*, Osc. *perum*, where the meaning 'exceeding', 'without' in *perum dolum mallo*m is established by Kirchhoff (das Stadtrecht von Bantia p. 23) and Lange (die Osc. Inschrift der tab. Bantina p. 16). The shortest form of *παρά* is *πά* in inscriptions from Knidos (Wachsmuth Rh. Mus. XVIII 570). From the fundamental meaning by the side of, which, if viewed in relation to motion gives the other meanings towards, beyond, past, the various significations of the particles here brought together, may be derived. The Gr. *παρά* in its temporal use with the accusative, e. g. *παρά πάντα τὸν βίον* corresponds completely with the Lat. *per* (cp. also *parum-per*, *paulis-per*): in the same way *παρά τοῦτον γίνεται ἡ σωτηρία* = *per hunc servamur*, cp. *per me licet*; *perhibere* answers to *παρέχειν* just as *παρалаμβάνειν* to *percipere*, *perire* and the old Lat. *perbitere* to *παρήκειν*, *pervertere* to *παραιρεῖν*, *perjurium* to *παράνομος*. The use in *malam partem* may however be recognized also in the Skt. *parā*, e. g. in *parā-i* to go away, separate, *parā-dā* prodere, perdere. There is a striking agreement between the Lit. *pèr* and the Latin, for which cp. Schleicher Lit. Gr. p. 282 ff., '*pèr* through, of 270 spaces traversed', 'to denote the means, only with persons': and yet the same Lith. *pèr* in uses such as *pèr mēr* beyond measure may be compared again with the Gr. *παρά* (*παρὰ μέτρον*). The grouping above rests on these evident analogies. — Fritsch too (Vergleichende Bearbeitung der griech. u. lat. Partikeln 2. Theil. Giessen 1858 p. 24) compares Lat. *per* with *παρά*. Cp. No. 347, 356, 357, 359. — Rau 'de praep. *παρά* usu' Stud. III.

- 347) πάρος before, προ-πάροι-θεν before. — Skt. *puras*

ante, Zd. *para* before. — Goth. *faúra*, O.-H.-G. *vora* before: Goth. *faúr*, O.-H.-G. *furi* for.

Cp. No. 346. Kuhn Ztschr. III 240. — *πάρος* looks like a genitive-form from a stem *παρ*, and corresponds so far to the Skt. *paras*. But this is connected by its meaning with *pará*, while *pur-as* (gen.) *pur-á* (instrum.) mean in front, before. In Zend *para* with acc. instr. and abl. means before, with dat. without, *paró* sooner, *parè* before. Hence *puras* is probably weakened from *paras* and radically identical with No. 346.

348) *πα-τήρ* (st. *πατέρ*). — Skt. *pi-tā* (st. *pitar*). Zd. *pita* (st. *patar*). — Lat. Umbr. *pa-ter*. — Goth. *fa-dar*, O.-H.-G. *fatar*. — O.-Ir. *athir* pater, gen. *athar* (Z.² 262).

Bopp Gl. &c. — The rt. is preserved in the Skt. *pā* nourish, protect; the specifically Eastern *i* in *pi-tar*, recurring in the Lat. compound *Juppiter* is a weakening from *a*. On the doubled *p* cp. Corssen Ausspr. I² 211, Pauli Ztschr. XVIII 8. — We may notice the correspondence of *πιτ-ε-ja-s*, *πάτεω-s* and *patruus* father's brother to which O.-H.-G. *fataro* uncle, A.-S. *faðhu* aunt on the father's side (Pictet II 367) also belong; and of Skt. *πιτ-ja-s* paternal = *πάτεω-s*, *patr-iu-s*.

349) *πάρο-s* path, step, *πατέω* step. — Skt. *patha-s* way, path, st. *path*, *panth*, *pathi*, *panthan* way, Zd. *pathan* way. — Lat. *pon(t)-s*, *ponti-fex*. — Ch.-Sl. *pa-tŭ* way.

Bopp Gl., Pott II¹ 241. Benf. II 93. — I stated in Ztschr. I 34 my conjecture, that *πόρο-s* also meant properly path (like *ὄρεα* *οἰκεῖσθαι*) and was related to *πάρος* as *πένθος* to *πάθος*. Cp. Kuhn Ztschr. IV 76, Pictet I 115. In the Pet. Dict. the meaning water is also given for *páthas* and *pátha-m*. — On the older meaning of *pon-s* way cp. Cic. ad Att. I 14. 5, Lange Röm. Alterth. II² 457. — It is hard to determine the relation of the A.-S. *pād* path, to these words. According to Grassmann Ztschr. XII 134 (cp. Tobler IX 245) the *p* remained unchanged here, while in O.-N. *fatt* ibam and O.-H.-G. *fendo* pedes it experienced the regular modification. — Stokes Ir. Gl. 13 identifies Ir. *ath* ford with *πάρος*,

350) *πατ-έομαι* (*ἐ-πάσ-σα-το*) eat, *ἄ-πασ-το-s* without food. — Goth. *fōð-jan* τρέφειν, *fōð-ein-s* τροφή. — Ch.-Sl. *pit-a-ti* τρέφειν, *pit-omŭ* fattened.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *pā*, which rt. with the meaning support probably

271 underlies these words which are extended by *t*, and certainly the Lat. *pa-sc-o-r* (cp. Skt. *gô-pa-s* cowherd), *pa-bu-lu-m*, *pas-tor*, *Pâles* (cp. Preller Röm. Mythol. 365) perhaps also Gr. Πάν, Lat. *pâ-ni-s* (Messapian *πανός*), Lith. *pé-na-s* fodder, *pe-nù* nourish, *pē-tu-s* (plur.) noon: while Gr. *πά-ο-μαι* acquire, *πέ-πᾶ-μαι* belongs to No. 377. The Lith. words remind us also of the Lat. *pe-n-us* (*omne quo rescimur* Cic.), *penâtes*, *penes*, *peno-tro*; the idea stores, store room, furnishes the intermediate step to the latter. — Pott W. I 198 ff., Benf. II 72, Schleich. Ksl. 119. — The Ch.-Sl. verb shows that Grassmann Ztschr. XI 33 is wrong in doubting the expanded verbal stem *pat*. — We may notice for the formation of the present *πάσσεται* *ἐσθίει* (Hesych.). — Stokes Beitr. VII 33 compares O.-Ir. *caithim* esse. *c* occurs also elsewhere in Irish for *p*.

351) St. *παν πανύ-ω* make to cease, *πανύ-ο-μαι* cease, *πανῦ-λα*, *πανσωλή* rest, *πανῦ-ρο-ς* small.

Lat. *pau-lu-s*, *pau-cu-s*, *pau-per*.

Goth. *fav-ai* (plur.) few, O.-H.-G. *föhê*, A.-S. *feāra*, Eng. *few*.

Grimm Gesch. 396, Kuhn Ztschr. I 515. — The second element in *pauper* must be undoubtedly compared, as Pott II¹ 481 saw, with *opi-paru-s*, *parēre*, *parare*. Kuhn Ztschr. X 320. But *parrus* presents a difficulty, for it lies very near to Gr. *παῦρος* (cp. *nervus* and *νεῦ-ρον*), but on the other hand it can hardly be separated from *paru-m*, *par-cu-s*, *par-co* (Corssen Beitr. 457). — For *paulu-s* Corssen II² 531.

352) *πελ-ό-ς*, *πελ-ιό-ς*, *πελ-λό-ς*, *πελιδνό-ς* swarthy, pale, *πολ-ιό-ς* gray. — Skt. *pal-i-ta-s* gray. — Lat. *pall-e-o*, *pall-idu-s*, *pullu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *falo* (*fallow-ér*). — Ch.-Sl. *pla-vŭ* albus, Lith. *pāl-va-s* fallow, yellowish, *pil-ka-s* ash-gray.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 120, Benf. II 81, Schleich. Ksl. 120. — The meaning of the Lat. *pullu-s* has the clearest analogy in the Macedon. *πέλλη-ς*, fem. *πέλλη*, which is explained by *τεφρώδης* (Sturz de dial. Maced. p. 45) and from which the name Πέλλη is derived, though others, it is true, prefer to connect it with *οἱ πέλ-αι λίδ-αι* (= *fel-e*). — Corssen Nachtr. 232 assumes for *li-ce-o*, *liv-or*, *liv-idu-s* an adjective stem *pli-vo*, identical with the Ch.-Sl. *pla-vŭ*. The common fundamental meaning is 'pale'; the loss of the *p* is as in *la-tus* (No. 367b). To these he adds (I² 533) also *ob-liv-i-sci*, which according to this view means properly 'to darken oneself'. Otherwise Leo Meyer Ztschr. XIV 81. Hehn 241, 245 connects *πέλεια*, *πελειάς* dove and *palmu* with these words.

- 354) *πέλλα* fell, hide, leather, *πέλας* hide, *έρυσι-πελας* inflammation of the skin, *ἐπί-πλοο-ς* caul, *ἐπι-πολ-ή* surface.

Lat. *pellī-s*, *pulv-īnu-s*, *pulv-īnar*.

Goth. *-fill*, *thruts-fill* leprosy, O.H.-G. *fēl*, Goth.

fillein-s *δεγματινός*.

Lit. *plēvē* skin, caul.

Pott I¹ 264, Benf. II 83. — The fundamental meaning of this stem, confined as it seems to the European languages, must have been that of surface. Now as this conception is very near that of plain, we might compare the Lat. *pala-m* on the open field (cp. Germ. *auf der Hand*) and so far the opposite to *arcānum* and *secretum*, Ch.-Sl. 272 *polje* field (Mikl. Lex.) and also the O.H.-G. *fēld*, though here the suffix is different. In *pala-m* then would be the same petrified case-form, as occurs in *cla-m*, *perpera-m*, *olī-m*, in a locative sense. Nos. 102, 367b, 368 are related. — Corssen II² 161 now separates *pulvinar* from these words.

- 354) Rt. *πεν πέν-ο-μαι* work, am in need, *πέν-η(τ)-ς*, *πεν-ι-χρό-ς* poor, *πεν-ία* poverty, *πενέσται* serfs, *πόνο-ς* work, *πονέ-ω* work, suffer, *πον-ηρό-ς* troublesome, bad. — *πείνα* hunger, *ἵ-παν-ία* need (?).

Lat. *pénúria*?

O.H.-G. *spannan*, Goth. O.H.-G. *spinnan*, O.H.-G. *spanna*.

Ch.-Sl. *pīn-a* (inf. *pē-ti*) crucify, Bohem. *pīn-ou-ti*,

Ch.-Sl. *sū-pē-ti* compedibus adstringere, *pā-to* compes, Lit. *pīn-ti* twist, *pān-ti-s* cord to tie the feet of cattle.

Schleicher Ksl. 120, Benf. 360. — According to him we must assume a root *span*, preserved in its purest form in *σπάν-ι-ς* want, as in O.H.-G. *spanan* to entice, urge on, *spannan* strain, be strained, with a loss of the *v* in *σπά-ω* draw (*σπά-σ-μα*, *σπα-σ-μός*) *spa-tiu-m*, but with a loss of the initial consonant in the form *πεν*, acquiring here-with a less physical signification. From the fuller root-form *σπα* the Dor. *σπά-διο-ν* = Att. *στάδιον* (Ahrens Dor. 109) race-course is derived. — In *pénúria* the *ē* seems to be diphthongal, and the word is most closely connected with *πείνα* (Pott W. I 247). — Thus Rt. *πεν* (f. *πεν*): *σπα* = *τεν* : *τα*, *γεν* : *γα*. Add *πέ-πον-θ-α*, *ἔ-πα-θ-ο-ν* p. 84. For the loss of an initial *s* see p. 683. Cp. Pott W. I 382, Corssen Nachtr.

109, I² 479, where *inter alia* he translates *sua sponte* from one's own impulse, and compares the O.-H.-G. *span-s-t* incitement, Cp. No. 362.

- 355) πέος, πόσ-θη. — Skt. ved. *pas-as* membrum virile.
 Lat. *pēni-s*. — M.-H.-G. *visellin* penis. — Lit.
pis-à (*pyz-dà*) cunnus, *pis-ti* coire cum muliere.

Pott W. II 2, 430, cp. W. I 203, Aufrecht Ztschr. I 288, who derives πέ-ος from πει-ος, *pē-ni-s* from *pes-ni-s*, and compares also O.-H.-G. *fas-al* foetus. In the first edition of this work II 263 I showed that the σπέος which has found its way into some lexicons with this signification, does not anywhere occur, and hence it is rightly omitted in Steph. Thesaurus. It rests only on the stupid etymology in the Et. M. πέος, οἶμαι, κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ σ ὅτι σπᾶ καὶ ἐκτείνεται. — Corssen Nachtr. 296.

- 356) περά-ω (περήσω) press through, πόρο-ς way, way through, πορ-θ-μός-ς ferry, πορεύ-ω convey, procure, πορίζ-ω procure, ἐμ-πορο-ς passenger, merchant, πείρ-α trial, attempt, πειρά-ω attempt.

Skt. *par*, *pi-par-mi* carry over, conduct, further, surpass. Zend *par* bring over.

273 Lat. *por-ta*, *por-tu-s*, *ex-per-i-o-r*, *per-itu-s*, *peri-culu-m* *par-a-re* (?).

Goth. *far-an* go, *far-j-an* convey, O.-H.-G. *ar-far-u* = *erfahre* I experience [originally *eundo assequi* Grimm].

Grimm Gesch. I 397, Pott W. II 1 395. — Pott rejected any connection with Skt. *kar* even in II¹ 329. Cp. Ztschr. III 413. — Here only the indubitably equivalent words are compared. — *πειρα* = *περ-ια* (Aeol. *πέρρα*). The verb *πείρω* pierce through, bore through (*πε-παρ-μένο-ς*) is generally given as the stem-verb, because of *πείρε κέλευθον* (β 434) and similar phrases: but as this word cannot be separated from *περόνη* spike, pin, *πόρπη* needle, tongue, *πειρά* edge, *πηρό-ς* mutilated, the meaning is very remote: I exclude it the more readily from our present group, because it recalls the Ch.-Sl. *por-ja* (Inf. *pra-ti*) *σχίζω*, though I do not on that account wish to deny the possibility of any relation between the roots. — On the other hand this group is evidently connected with

- 357) πέρᾱ ultra, πέρᾱν trans (comp. *περαι-τέρω* ulterius) *περαίν-ω* bring to an end, *περαιό-ς* on the farther side, *περά-τη* land on the farther side, *Πειραιεύ-ς*.

πέρας, πείραξ goal, end, ἄ-πειρέσ-ιο-ς, ἄ-περεῖς-ιος unlimited, infinite.

Skt. *para-s* on the farther side, distant, another, *para-m* (adv.) out over, to the farther side, *para-ma-s* the farthest, outermost, *pāra-s* the farther bank, *pār-a-m* goal, end.

Ch.-Sl. *polū* ripa ulterior (?).

O.-Ir. *ire* compar. *ireiu* ulterior (Z.² 277. 275).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 108, Mikl. Lex., Ebel Beitr. I 311. — To the adjectival meaning of the Skt. *para-s* are akin Lat. *peren-die* (cp. Skt. *paré djav-i*) on another day, *per-egre* in another land, *per-per-am* ἄλλος in a bad sense, while *perjuriu-m* has been already mentioned under *per*, παρά (No. 346). Cp. Corssen I² 776. There is evidently a radical connexion with the forms there collected, as with No. 356, but in Greek the vowel of the stem-syllable separates παρά from πέρα, and this is unmistakably accompanied by a difference of meaning. — The O.-Lat. *polteo pro ulteriore* (Fest. p. 205) reminds us of the Ch.-Sl. *polū*; still I place both here only conjecturally. — In the same way the Osc. *pert* which is explained by 'the other side' (Ebel Ztschr. V 417, Corssen XIII 189) may be just mentioned. — O.-H.-G. *fer-no*, Goth. *fairra* far is certainly also related (cp. No. 360).

358) περά-ω (fut. περά-σω) carry over, sell, πέρ-νη-μι, πι-πρά-σκ-ω sell, πρί-α-μαι buy, πρᾶ-σι-ς ἀγορά-σία Hesych. — πρα-τία-ς ὁ τὰ δημόσια πωλῶν Hesych. — πόρ-νη meretrix.

Skt. *par* (*pri-j-é*) *ā-pr-ta-s* busy, *pāra-jā-mi* (compounded with *vi*, *ā*) employ.

Benf. II 34, Ztschr. VIII 1, where he compares also Skt. *paṇ* (*paṇ-é*) exchange, purchase, wager, *paṇ-a-s* wager, bargain, pay, *paṇ-ja-s* purchaseable &c. The lingual *ṇ* points to the loss of *r*, so that 274 *pana-tē* and *πέρα-ται* correspond. — Bopp Gl. s. v. *kṛ*. Cp. Ztschr. III 414 f. where I have compared also the Lit. *per-k-ū* buy as a form expanded by the addition of a *k*; the word *prék-i-s* price which is certainly related, is closely related to the Lat. *pret-iu-m*, but as here the form in *t* seems to be the only legitimate one, the resemblance does not extend beyond a community of root. — *περάω* in its relations to *πι-πρά-σκω* &c. is discussed by Lobeck Paralipp. 401. The form *ἐ-πρα-σεν ἐπραγματεύσατο* (Hesych.) attaches itself to the meaning of Skt. *ṛj-ā-pāra-s* business: I regard as an expansion of this *πρά* the stem of *πράσσω* (Ion. *πρίσσω*, *πρῆξις*) whose meaning in Homer is much more material than is the case in later usage. Cp. No. 273. I. Bekker

Berliner Monatsber. 1865 p. 91. The older form of the stem was *πῶα*, preserved in *πῶαός* C. I. No. 1702 l. 4, from which *πῶα* arose by softening (cp. p. 661). — With No. 356 (cp. 357) *πῶα* was originally identical; *πῶαμαι* Pott W. I 251 well translates 'I bring to myself': it was only by degrees that transfer and traffic (*Wandel* and *Handel*) parted off into distinct forms of similar origin. — Perhaps we may connect with this group O.-Ir. *crenas* qui emit, *ar-ro-chiuir* redemit, Corn. *pernas* emat, Armor. *prenet* redemptus (Z.² 432, 450, 516, 532).

- 359) *περί* about, over, very, *πέρι-ξ* round about, *περι-σός-ς* excessive, *-περ* however much. — Skt. *pari* as adv. round about, as prep. with acc. about, against, with abl. from, compounded with adjectives very. — Zend *pairi* as adv. round, as prep. with acc. about, with instrum. and abl. for, over, in comp. very. — Lat. *per-* before adjectives. — O.-Ir. *ér- aer-* intensive particle, *er-chosmil* persimilis (Z.² 864).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 108, I² 483, who in Lat. *pari-ε(τ)-s* assumes this preposition with the meaning around, compounded with the rt. *i*. — As *περί πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων* in Homer, so Skt. *pari-laghu-s* very light, Lat. *per-mag-nu-s* (cp. *περι-μήκ-ης*). Pott also adds *Περι-θοος*, whose *ει* he holds to have been produced as in *εἰνί* and the *αι* in Zend, by anticipation (Vorklingen) of the *i* (Umlaut). An unusually careful discussion of the whole of the material here coming under consideration is given by Sonne Ztschr. XIV 1 ff. The most remarkable coincidences between the Vedic and Homeric language result from this: e. g. *περί-οιδε* = *pari-véda*, *περί-εστι* = *parj-asti*. — The particle *περ*, in form equivalent to the apocopated Aeol. *περ* = *περί*, Hartung Partikeln I 327 ff. recognizes in its connexion with *περί*. — Cp. *παρά* (No. 346) and *πάρος* (No. 347). In Skt. the use of *pari* is less sharply distinguished from that of the forms quoted under *παρά*. In C. I. No. 11 we find *πὰρ πολέμω* in the sense of *περί πολέμου*, with the original *α* preserved, as in *Ἰαργον*, and the augm. *ᾶ* (Ahrens Dial. Aeol. 226). — The Irish particle ended in a vowel, as is shown by the aspiration of the following consonant, probably in *a*. Phonetically the prep. *air* agrees with the Zend *pairi*, but in its meaning it corresponds with *πρό*.

- 359b) *περην-νός-ς* (also *πέρκο-ς*) spotted, blackish. — Skt. *prç-ni-s* spotted, pied (especially of cows).

A. Fick Orient und Occident III 108. Pott W. II 2, 441. — 275 The Gk. word has the especial meaning 'sprinkled with dark spots',

and hence is often used especially of fruit which is getting dark and ripe, but no one who examines the glosses of Hesychius, *περναζει μελανίζει ποικίλλει, ἢ πεπαίνεται, περναίνειν διαποικίλλεσθαι, περνόν μελάνον ποικίλον, περνός γλαυκός μέλας καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, περνώματα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου ποικίλματα, πρακνόν μέλανα, περνόν ποικιλόχρουν ἔλαφον*, will doubt the fundamental meaning here stated, nor that *πέρκ-ας ἑλάφους, πρόξ* (St. *προν*) and *προκά-ς* hind or fawn or roe, for the meaning of the word is disputed, belong here. — By the side of the words with *ç* we find in Sanskrit others equivalent in meaning, but presenting *sh* in the place of *ç*, and regarded as related, *prshata-s*, spotted, gazelle, *prshant* dappled, *prshatī* dappled cow. In the case of several of these words we have the by-meanings spot, fleck, drop of water (as with *prshata-s*):— hence it seems probable that sprinkle is the fundamental meaning of the root, and that *πρώξ*, drop of water (Hesych. *πρόξ*) has also the same origin. Finally *Πρόκνη* is probably the pied swallow. — With *περν-ός-ς* Benf. II 82 connects the Lat. *spurc-u-s*, whose meaning is related to that of the Greek word as the M.-H.-G. *smuz* to *smitzen*, to throw upon. Cp. above p. 113. We should thus be brought back to a rt. *spark*, which Fick identifies with the Skt. *sparç* tangere, conspergere, the meaning to bespot linking the two. As to meaning the Lat. *sparg-o'* (whose *g* might be softened from *c*), M.-H.-G. *sprengen* spargere, *sprengel* tuft for sprinkling with, and Skt. *parsh* (for *park-sh?*), Zend *paresh* besprinkle, come nearer: to these we may add Bohem. *prš-e-ti* drizzle, rain (Miklosich Lex. s. v. *prŭch-* p. 716). — On the connection with rt. *spar* and on by-forms with *l* cp. No. 389.

360) *πέρυνσι* (Dor. *πέρυντι, πέρυντις*) last year, *περυνσι-νό-ς* of last year. — Skt. *parut* *πέρυνσι, parut-tna-s* *περυνσινός*. — M.-H.-G. *vért, vèrrent, vèrn* anno superiore. — O.-Ir. *in-uraid* 'last year', *onn-urid* ab anno priore.

Pott I¹ 108, II¹ 266, 587, Benf. I 312, Stokes Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 97. — The Skt. word is clearly a compound of *para* alius (No. 357) and *vat* = *ἔτος* (No. 210). Hence we have here one of the few cases (cp. p. 41) in which compounds date from a time earlier than the separation of the languages. — For the Doric forms see Ahrens Dial. Dor. 64. — With the M.-H.-G. *vért* however we must also compare the Goth. *fairni-s* old, *fairnjo jēr* the old year (Diefenbach Goth. Wtb. I 353). — The passage, from which I have taken the first of the Irish words, runs: *ind ord-nasc do-ratus-sa duit-siu in-uraid, in mair latt?* the ring which I gave you last year, have you still? (T. B. Fr. p. 150). — *uraid* is for **paruti*, with in cp. *in-diu* hodie, *in-nocht* hac nocte (Z.² 609). — For the second (*onn* = *ó inn*) Z.² 611.

- 361) *πηλό-ς* mud, *πήλ-ινο-ς* of mud, *προ-πηλακ-ίζ-ω* defile, insult. — Lat. *pā-lú(d)-s*, *palus-tri-s* (?).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 242, II¹ 493, 580, Ztschr. VIII 179. — Benf. II 81 connects these words with those discussed under No. 352. Perhaps he is right in explaining the length of the first syllable from 276 a form *παλφο-ς* (cp. *γούνα* = *γονφα*) to which the Skt. *palva-la-s* pool, pond, points. — *πηλακ-ίζ-ω* presumes a noun formed like *βῶλαξ*, though its actual occurrence cannot be proved. However Hesych. has *πάλ-νο-ς* *πηλό-ς*. — Is *pāl-ú(d)-s* compounded with the st. *ud* = *ύδ* (No. 300), meaning thus muddy water? Corssen Beitr. 110 attempts another explanation of *palu-s* by connecting it with *καλύπτειν*, but the meaning of the latter, i. e. scatter, is too far removed. This comparison seems now doubtful to me, especially as the Skt. *palala-m* formerly pressed into its service, according to the PW. means not mud, but bruised grains, pap, dirt: and hence has nothing to do with these words.

- 362) *πῆνο-ς*, *πήνη*, *πην-ίο-ν* (Dor. *πᾶνίο-ν*) weft, woof, *πην-ίζ-ομαι* reel, weave, *πηνί-τι-ς* weaving woman.

Lat. *pannu-s*, *pannu-vellu-m*, *pānu-s* weft.

Goth. *fana* *ῥάκος*, O.-H.-G. *fano* linteum, vexillum.

Ch.-Sl. *pon-java* linteum, *o-pona* aulaeum, velum.

Grimm Gesch. 396. — These words are probably connected with No. 354. — Miklosich Lex. 624. — *pannuvellum* Varro l. l. V § 114 with the commentators. In the case of *pānu-s*, which also means swelling, it may be doubted whether it is not a Doric word borrowed. No importance is to be attached to the doubled *n* in *pannus* (cp. *quattuor*) and we need not on that account assume a formation originally distinct from *πῆνο-ς* and *pānu-s*. Of Greek words the river-name *Πην-ειό-ς* (cp. *ἄρν-ειό-ς*) thread (?) and *Πηνελόπεια* probably belong here: the latter Pott has already (II¹ 261) connected with *πήνη*, and Welcker also (Ep. Cyclus II 15, Götterlehre I 659) explains it 'weaving-woman'. I divide it *Πηνελ-όπ-εια* and regard the first part as an offshoot from *πῆνο-ς*, like *πιμ-έλη*, *κυψ-έλη*, *θυμ-έλη*, *νεφ-έλη* (by the side of *νέφος*), the second as a feminine nomen agentis, formed, like *θυσ-αριστο-τόκεια*, from the rt. *δπ*, preserved in Lat. *op us* = Skt. *ap-as*, and perhaps in *φύλ-οκ-ι-ς* (race-work?), *ἄρό-οψ* and in *Παν-οκ-εύς* father of *Ἐπειός*. Other traces of the rt. *δπ* are discussed in Studien I 1, 261. The word would thus mean 'worker in weaving', 'clothes-worker' (cp. τ 142).

- 363) Rt. *πι* *πί-ων* (st. *πιον*), *πιαρό-ς*, *πιερό-ς*, *πιαλέο-ς* fat, *πῖαρ*, *πινό-τη(τ)-ς*, *πιμ-έλη* fat, *πιαίν-ω* fatten.

Skt. rt. *pī* (*pjāi*) *paj-é* swell, be swollen, make to swell, *pī-na-s*, *pī-van*, *pīvara-s* fat (adj.), *pīvas* fat (subst.), *pīnv*, *pīnv-ā-mi* swell. Zd. *pivañh* (n.) fat.

Lat. *o-pī-mu-s*?

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 578, Benf. II 76, Kuhn Ztschr. I 375, with whom I cannot agree in the identification of the suffixes. Clearly the 'unmarried' feminine *πίειρα*, as Döderlein calls it (Gloss. 2250) corresponds to the Skt. *pīvari*. — Pott places *pingui-s* also here: in that case the *g* must be accessory: but I regard it as a nasalized form which has arisen out of *pengui-s* = *παχύ-s*. Cp. p. 510, Corssen Nachtr. 88. *ō-pīmu-s* seems to be formed from *ob* (*ō* = *ob*) and a lost stem *pīmo*, whose expansion is *π-μ-ῥῆη*, like *obs-coenu-s*.

364) *πίλο-s* felt, felt hat. — Lat. *pilleu-s* (*pīleu-s*). — 277 O.-H.-G. *fil-z*. — Ch.-Sl. *plŕstŕ* coactile.

Pott I¹ 109, Grimm Gesch. 398, Mikl. Lex. — According to Fleckeisen 'Fifty Articles' p. 35 we must write *pilleus* with *ll*, but this can hardly have any etymological significance. How it is related to the Lat. *pīlu-s* hair is not quite clear. Corssen I² 525 propose an extensive combination, which is however too hair-splitting for me. *Pilleus* might also be a borrowed word, so as to correspond to a lost adjective equivalent in meaning to *πίλιο-s*.

365) *πίνο-s* dirt, *πιναρό-s* dirty, *σπί-λο-s* spot, *ἄ-σπι-λο-s* spotless. — Old Bohem. *spi-na*, New Boh. *špína* smut.

Schleicher Ksl. 120. — Other combinations in Benf. II 77, rejected in favour of that here given in Ztschr. III 416. The Slavic form points to a root *сп*, from which *πί-νο-s* as well as *σπί-λο-s* have been derived. Cp. also *πίνακος*, *νοῦρά*, *τὰ τμήματα καὶ ἀποκαθάρματα τῶν ξύλων*, *σπίδος κηλὶς* (Heesych.). There is no authority for the opinion, maintained by Corssen Beitr. 564, that *πίνος* means gloss of fat.

365 b) *πίσ-ο-s* pea, *πίσ-ινο-s* of pease. — Lat. *pis-u-m*, *Piso*.

Pictet II 288, Pott W. II, 2, 431. — Both derive the word from rt. *pis*, whence the Skt. *pish* grind, pound; from this come *pish-tiká* a kind of groats, Lat. *pīns-o* *pīs-o* pound, *pīs-tor*, *pī-lu-m*, *pīlumnu-s* (Symbola Phil. Bonn. I 277) Ch.-Sl. *pš-eno* *ἀλφιτον*, *pš-enica* triticum (Miklos. Lex. 760). Hehn 141 is probably right in adding the Ch.-Sl. *pēs-ŭkŭ* sabulum, calculus, and in conjecturing 'globule', 'grain-fruit' to be the primary meaning, one which is easily derived from the rt.

pis. For *πίσω* and its relation to *pinso* cp. p. 489. — Lottner Ztschr. VII 21, Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Phil. I 144 add to this group also O.-H.-G. *fesa* chaff.

366) Rt. *πλα πί-μ-πλη-μι* (Inf. *πιμ-πλά-ναι*) fill, *πλή-θ-ω* am full, *πλέ-ω-ς*, *πλή-ρ-ης* full, *πλή-θ-ύ-ς*, *πλή-θ-ος* crowd. — *πλοῦ-το-ς* fulness, riches.

Skt. rt. *par pi-par-mi*, *pr-nā-mi* fill, *prā-na-s*, *pūr-na-s* plenus. — Zd. *par* fill up, *perena* full.

Lat. *im-ple-o*, *plē-nu-s*, *plē-be-s*, *pō-pulu-s*.

Goth. *full-s* πλήρης, *fulló* πλήρωμα, O.-H.-G. *fol:* folc folk.

Ch.-Sl. *plū-nŭ* plenus, *plū-kŭ* turba, populus, *ple-me* tribus, Lith. *pil-ti* fill, *pil-na-s* full, *pil-ka-s* heap, crowd.

O.-Ir. rt. *pal ro-chom-all* implevi (Beitr. II 395), *com-alnid* impletis, *ma-chom-alnit* si explent (Z.² 436, 442); rt. *pla lán* plenus (Z.² 776), *lín* numerus, *pars* (Z.² 238, 364), *linmaire* plenitudo (Z.² 780), *fo-línfea* supplebit (Z.² 459).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 249, II 1, 358, who also compares *am-plu-s*, Benf. II 85, Ebel Beitr. II 162. — Lottner Ztschr. VII 19 calls attention to the *l* common to all the European languages; the first inclination to which, however, is found in the Vedic *palu-s* = *puru-s* many, with the unauthenticated rts. *pul* magnum esse, *púl* colligere 278 (cp. No. 375). These words with their ramifications are certainly related, and elucidate the meaning of *populus*, *folc*. Cp. No. 247. — The root-form *πλα* here assumed has at its side a metathesized *πελ*, like *γεν* by the side of *γνα*, *τεμ* by *τμη*, *μεν* by *μνα*. Pictet II 111 adds *πλή-μνη* nave 'le plein de la roue'. For the secondary *θ* in *πλή-θ-ω* &c. cp. p. 66: the suffix of *ple-bé-s* belongs to the series of formations with *b* (*her-ba*, *mor-bu-s*) which I have discussed in Jahn's Jahrb. Vol. 69 p. 95. — For Umbrian forms of this root cp. Aufrecht & Kirchh. II 414. — Lobeck El. I 245 explains *πλέ-θρο-ν* as '*spatium expletum, dimensum atque descriptum*', connecting with it *ἀ-πέλ-ε-θρο-ν* (*ὁ ὅτι ἐστι μετρήσαι*), *πλή-θρο-ν* (*εἶδος μέτρον* Hesych.) and *ἄ-πλε-το-ν* '*quod mensuram excedit*'. Otherwise Hultsch Metrologie 31, who resorts to the rt. *πελ* turn, in the sense of the Lat. *vorsu-s*. But *ἀπέλεθρος* at any rate cannot be arrived at thus. — On the roots *πλα* and *πρα* cp. Stud. IV 228.

- 367) Rt. *plāγ* (for *πλακ*) *πλήσσω* (*ἐ-πλήγ-η-ν*, *ἐξ-ε-πλάγ-η-ν*) strike, *πληγ-ή* blow, *πλάζω* strike, drive off (*ἐπλάγχθη-ν*, *πλαγνός*).

Lat. *plang-o*, *plang-or*, *planc-tu-s*, *plāg-a*. — *plec-t-ere* punish?

Goth. *flēk-an* κόπτεσθαι, lament [Scot. *fleech*].

Lit. *plak-ù* strike, *plēk-ti* flog.

Benf. II 98. — In the Ind. lect. aest. Kil. 1857 p. VI I have shown that *plak* is the root-form, from which *πλαγ* arose by weakening. For the connection of *πλήσσω* with *ἐπλάγχθη-ν*, *παλιμπλαγχθείς* and *πλάζε* (Φ 269) cp. Philologus III p. 2 ff. Cp. Lobeck Elem. I 237. Rumpf Jahn's Jahrb. 1866 p. 97. — Lobeck (as also Ahrens Formenl. p. 117) justly assumes a root *πελ*, from which come also *πλησίον* and *πέλας*, *τειχεσι-πλή-τη-ς*, *ἄ-πλᾶ-το-ς* with the fundamental meaning of striking or hitting against something. This more physical meaning still occurs plainly in *δασ-πλή-τι-ς*, which Welcker Götterl. I 699 translates by 'hard-hitting' as an epithet of the *Ἐρινός*. The shortest form of the root, originally *par*, occurs in Zend, where it means to fight, and in Church-Slavonic and Lithuanian, with the meaning of 'to strike' in *pra-ti*, Lith. *pēr-ti*. To this belongs the proper name *Πάρι-ς*, translated *Ἀλέξανδρος*, champion, and the Vedic *pari-par-in* opponent (Ztschr. I 35, V 394). I am not disconcerted by Oscar Meyer's differing combinations (Quaest. Homer. p. 16), where the translation of the word is neglected. From *πελ* we also arrive at *πόλ-ε-μος* (cp. *ἄν-ε-μος*), *πελ-ε-μ-ίζω* (cp. No. 98 and Fick Ztschr. XIX 263). On the vowel which appears here as in *πέλας*, *πελάζω* see p. 718. — From this *πελ*, *πλα* we get *plak* by means of an accessory *k*, and thence *πλαγ*, as from *πᾶ πᾶγ* (No. 358). I conjectured some time ago that *πέλαγ-ος* was of the same origin and meant beating, tossing (hence *ἀλός ἐν πελάγεσσιν* ε 335). The explanation suggested by Lobeck Proleg. 306 and recently by Walter Ztschr. XII, 420 from *πλάξ* board, in the sense of *aequor* is less suited to the usage of the word, which commonly denotes the sea especially in its dangerous character. The stem *πλακ* (No. 102) is thus a form which was retained for certain meanings, by the side of which the later forms here discussed, having separated from the others only on Greek soil, went their own distinct way. O.-H. G. *fleg-il* is probably regarded with justice as borrowed from *flagellum*, but the Goth. *flēk-an* [Scotch 279 *fleech*] points to an ante-German *plag*, so that this weaker form by the side of the stronger is shown to be very ancient. Cp. J. Grimm Wörterb. under *fluchen*, Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Philol. I 145, Corssen I² 395.

367 b) πλατύς flat, broad, πλάτος breadth, πλάτη blade of the oar, plate, πλάτ-ανος plane. — πλαθ-ανο-ν, πλαθ-άνη pastry board.

Skt. rt. *prath* (*prathē*) spread out, *prthu-s* (compar. *prath-ija-s*) broad, wide, *prath-as* breadth. — Zd. *frath-anh* breadth.

Lith. *platù-s* broad.

O.-Ir. *lethan* broad (Z.² 776), *lethit* latitudo (Z.² 805).

Pott I¹ 93, Bopp Gl., Benf. II 98, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 40, Ebel Beitr. I 310. — The verb πλασσω with a dental stem (πλάσ-μα, πλασ-τό-ς) probably belongs here, so that the fundamental meaning is *extendere*, *expandere*, a meaning well adapted for working in soft masses; hence also ξμ-πλασ-το-ν plaster. — From Latin we may compare *lāt-us* with a lost *p* (cp. *lanx* under No. 102, O.-Ir. *lethan* Ebel Beitr. VI 226) to which belong *Lātium* plain and *lat-er* brick, properly plate, but certainly not *lātu-s*, for which, from Fest. p. 313 '*stlata genus navigii latum magis quam altum*', we must assume an initial *stl* (cp. under No. 227): though perhaps *planta* sole of the foot does, the meaning approaching that of πλάτη: Corssen however I¹ 637 explains it from *plānc-ta*. *plā-nu-s* so far as form goes might belong here as well as to No. 102. *plautu-s* with an older form *plo-tu-s* [or perhaps rather a rustic form Roby Lat. Gramm. § 250] (*planis pedibus* Fest. 239) can hardly be from *platu-u-s*, as Ebel Ztschr. V 392 holds. The derivation of *plau-tu-s* from *plan-tu-s*, attempted by Joh. Schmidt (Voc. I 179) is wholly wanting in analogies from Italian languages. I pass over the Teutonic words compared by Pott, because they — e. g. O.-N. *flat-r* flat — do not agree in their final letter. Otherwise Grassmann Ztschr. XII 107. — Cp. also No. 215, 353.

368) πλίνθος brick. — O.-H.-G. *flins* stone. — Bohem. *plita* sandstone, Lith. *plytā* brick.

Pott II¹ 444, Benf. II 99. — θ here corresponds to an older t. Does πλίνθος belong to the series of forms in νθ (νάκινθος &c.) discussed by Pott Personennamen p. 451? It might easily be derived from the πέλ-αι rocks mentioned under No. 352, with the syncope of the ε (cp. ξπλετο). — The connexion with No. 367 can hardly be a direct one. Still both stems might be related to the shorter forms treated of under No. 353, which appear to go back to a rt. πλ. — Miklosich Lex., Hehn 77 and Joh. Schmidt Vocal. 80 hold the Slavo-Lithuanian words to be borrowed from the Greek. — Corssen I² 114 compares also the Lat. *lat-er*. [Grimm Wörterb. s. v. doubts the connection of *flint* with πλίνθος, both on the ground of irregular correspondence of mutes, and also because of the different meaning: but see Fick² 377.]

369) Rt. πλυ πλέ-ω (πλεύ-σομαι) sail, float (by-form πλώ-ω), πλό-ο-ς voyage, πλω-τό-ς fit for a voyage, seaworthy, πλώ-τη-ς floater, sailor. — πλύν-ω wash, πλῦ-μα dish-water [πλῦ-μα Bekker in Arist. H. A. IV 8 l. 27: cp. Lidd. & Scott s. v.] πλυ-τό-ς washed, πλυν-τήρ washer.

Skt. rt. plu (plav-ê) float, sail, hover, spring, â-plu 280 bathe oneself, wash, pláva-jâ-mi cause to float, bathe, wash, plav-a-s boat, floating, flood.

Lat. plu plu-i-t, pluv-ia, O.-Lat. per-plov-ere cause to flow through, be leaky: Umbr. pre-plo-tatu overflowed.

Goth. flô-du-s ποταμός, O.-H.-G. flew-in fluito, lavo. fliu-z-u fluo.

Ch.-Sl. plov-a, plu-ja (Inf. plu-ti) πλέ-ω, plav-î (fem.) navis, Lith. pláu-j-u (inf. pláu-ti) wash, plai-ti-s catarrh, plu-s-ti to begin to float, overflow.

O.-Ir. luam celox, luath velox, im-luad agitatio, imm-luadi exagitat, im-luadad saltabat (Z.² 22, 224, 275, 437, 445, 876).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1128, Benf. II 96, Grimm Gesch. 397. — The root denotes movement in water and of water under four main heads: 1) float (flood, wash) — 2) sail — 3) flow — and 4) rain, and only in Skt. and Old Irish motion generally. With the meaning fluctuate may be connected plúma, becoming in German *Flaum*. — For πλύν-ω = πλυ-νι-ω cp. Ztschr. VI 89. To the stem πλυν belongs also πλυν-τήρ (ms. πλυ-τήρ, but cp. πλύντρια) which Hesych. considers equivalent to πλυσμός [or rather πλύνός L. and S.]. It seems therefore to have meant wash-trough, = Lat. *linter* (trough, boat, washing-boat), old Lat. *lunter* (Bücheler Rh. Mus. XI 298). In Prisc. V p. 151 Hertz πλυντήρ or πλύντηρ (Aeol.) is to be read. — *pateram per-plov-ere*, *pertusam esse* Fest. p. 250; Corssen Ausspr. II¹ 20, where *plóra-re* (which reminds of the Homeric *δακρυπλώειν*) is also discussed, and explained as a denominative from a lost adj. *plóru-s* from *ploveru-s*. (Otherwise I² 361.) For the Umbrian word Aufr. and Kirchh. II 414. — πύελο-ς is put for πνεελο-ς to avoid labdacism. — The Lith. *plai-k-ti* swim is expanded by the addition of a k.

370) Rt. πνυ πνέ-ω (πνεύ-σω) blow, breathe, πνεῦ-μα, πνο-ή breath, πνεύ-μων (St. πνευμων) πλεύμων

lungs, *πε-πνυ-μένο-ς, πινυ-τό-ς* intelligent, *πινντί*, understanding, *ποι-πνύ-ω* puff.

Lat. *pul-mo* (st. *pulmōn*).

O.-H.-G. *fnē-h-an* anhelare, *fnast* anhelitus.

Ch.-Sl. *plūsta* (neut. plur.), Lith. *plaučiai* (pl.) lungs.

Pott W. I 1124, Benf. I 605, Grimm Gesch. 398, Walter Ztschr. XII 402 with my reply XIII 396. — *fnē-h-an* and the Slavo-Lith. words point to a stem-form expanded by a *k*, which is possibly more closely connected with *πνίγ-ω* (f. *πνυ-κ-ω*). For it is not improbable that *πνίγω* starts from the fundamental idea 'I make to breathe hard' (Benf.). Cp. Goth. *hvar-ja* (No. 36). Otherwise Corssen Nachtr. 117. — *πινυ-τό-ς* (*πινντός* *ἐμφρων*, *πνύτο* *ἐπνευσεν*, *ἐνόησεν* Hesych.) with a 'supporting' *ι*, like the Lat. *p-i-tu-ita* compared with *πνύ-ω* (No. 382). Cp. p. 720. The breath is here as in the Lat. *animus* a symbol of the life of the soul. — In the case of *pulmo* it may be supposed that there has been borrowing, still we should rather in that case expect *plumo* and instead of the long vowel a short vowel in the suffix (*pul-min-is*). — The replacement of *n* by *ē*, which shows itself in a remarkable manner in three families of speech, is explained 281 by the rarity of the sound-group *pn* and the frequency of *pl*. — Pauli 'Körpertheile' 15 adopts an entirely different explanation, identifying *πλεύ-μων* and *pul-mo* with the O.-H.-G. *flou-m* 'fat of the intestines' (and also dirt), and thinks that the lungs are called so from their floating on the surface (No. 369) and that *πνεύμων* is a later form, arising in an endeavour to secure resemblance to *πνέω*. Cp. p. 443.

371) Rt. πο, πι Aeol. *πῶ-ν-ω, πῖ-ν-ω* (fut. *πῖ-ομαι*, aor. *ἔ-πι-ο-ν, πῖ-θι*, perf. *πέ-πω-κα*) drink, *πό-το-ς, πό-μα, πῶ-μα, πό-σι-ς* drink, *πό-τη-ς* drinker, *πο-τήρ-ιο-ν* cup, *πῖ-νο-ν* barley-drink, beer. — *πι-πί-σκ-ω* give to drink, *πῖ-σ-ος* meadow, *Πῖσα* *πῖ-σ-τρα* watering place [also, drink].

Skt. rt. *pā- pā-mi, pi-bā-mi (pi-vā-mi)* drink, *pāja-jā-mi* give to drink, *pā-tra-m* drinking vessel, *pā-na-m* drink, draught, *pi-ta-s* drunken, having drunk.

Lat. *pō-tu-s, pō-ti-o(n), pō-tor, pō-c-ulu-m, pōtare*. — *bi-b-o*.

Ch.-Sl. *pi-ti* bibere, *pi-vo* (st. *pives*) *πόμα, na-poi-ti* ποτίζειν, Lith. *po-tà* tippling, *pẽ-na-s* milk.

O.-Ir. *ibim* bibo, *ní-ib* non bibit (Z.² 430).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 188, Benf. II 74, Schleich. Ksl. 119, Stokes Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 93. — We must assume *pa* as the original root, but by the side of it in all families of language the weaker form *pi* also presents itself. Cp. No. 475. — Lat. *bi-b-o* perhaps by a weakening which, just as in *Boblicola* (Corssen Ausspr. I² 129) proceeding from a letter in the middle of the word attacked the initial consonant by assimilation (cp. Skt. *pi-bā-mi*). We have further *vini-bu-a* (Non. p. 81), *ex-bu-res* (quasi epotae Paul. Epit. 79), where *bu* appears to have arisen from *po* (Corssen Nachtr. 176). *Im-bu-o* is a sort of causative to *im-bibo*: cp. Ch.-Sl. *po-jā* (inf. *poi-ti*) give to drink. A similar weakening in *Βίσα*, the later form for the fountain *Πίσα* (Lob. Proleg. 419) mentioned by Strabo VIII p. 356: for *Πίσα* see also Aug. Mommsen Philol. VIII 724. The etymology is as early as Strabo. For the Aeolic forms *πῶ-ν-ω* &c. see Ahr. d. Aeol. 131.

372) *ποι-μήν* (st. *ποιμεν*) shepherd. — Skt. *pā-ju-s* guardian, Zd. *pā-yu* protector. — Lith. *pė-mū* (st. *pė-men*) shepherd.

Pott W. I 245, Benf. II 73, Sonne Ztschr. XII 278. — By the discovery of the Vedic *pā-ju-s* light is thrown upon the origin of the words. *pā-ju-s* is derived from the rt. *pā* protect, and hence means shepherd: to this belongs *πῶ-ν* for *πῶ-νυ* herd, to which, as being a neuter, the passive meaning was attached. From *πῶ-νυ* came *ποι-μήν* as *δαιτυ-μῶν* from *δαιτυ*. The Lith. *pė-mū* also points by its *ē* to an *i* once present in the stem-syllable. *πῶ-ν* was formerly compared (very incorrectly) with Lat. *pec-u* = Skt. *paç-u*, Goth. *faith-u* (No. 343) with which it has nothing to do, for *κ* does not drop out between vowels.

373) *ποινή* penalty, *ἄ-ποινα* ransom. — Lat. *poena*, *pūnio*, *paenitet*.

Pott W. I 1107 with a not improbable derivation from st. *pu* (Skt. to purify), whence *pū-ru-s*, *pū-tu-s* and the causative of *putu-s puta-re* to make clean (hence *amputare*, *lanam putare*), then to bring to cleanness, to make clear (cp. the nautical expression 'to clear out') and according to a genuinely Roman conception, to reckon, think (cp. *I reckon*, a favourite expression with the Americans for *I suppose*). The form quoted by Pott and Benfey (II 77) *poesma* rests only 282 on a false reading in Fest. p. 205. Corssen Beitr. 78 is probably right in assuming an original form *pov-ina* (*pov* by expansion (*Zulaut*) from *pu*) and in referring *paenitet*, which according to Corssen I² 327 is well established, to a *paeni-ti*, arising from *pav-ina* = *pov-ina*, a form which differs from *pūni-tio* only as *poti-tur* from *poti-tur*. — Mommsen Roman History I 26 (E. T.) is certainly right in holding *ποινή* to be a 'Graeco-Italic conception'. Pott gives no reasons for

his epithet 'borrowed', which he attaches to the Lat. *poena*. — *ἀ-ποι-να* seems to be *ἀπ-ποινα*, *ἀπό-ποινα* (Pott II² 391). In its meaning of counting out it touches closely on *putare* (*computare*). Even in Aesch. Prom. 222 *κακαῖσι ποιναῖς ταῖςδ' ἐμ' ἀντημέφατο* we have a trace of the neutral conception 'recompense'.

- 374) πόλι-ς town, dim. πολί-χ-νη, πολί-χ-νιο-ν, πολί-τη-ς.
— Skt. *pur*, *puri-s*, *puri*, *pura-m* town, citadel.

Bopp Gl., &c. — The derivation from the root *πλε* (No. 366) conjectured also by Pott II¹ 118, Benf. II 86 has been discussed above, p. 82. It is noteworthy that in Sanskrit as in Greek the notion of stronghold comes into prominence, and on account of this Pictet II 290 perhaps rightly compares the Lith. *pil-i-s* castle. — The stem *πολισσα* in *πολισσοῦχος* must be traced back to *πολι-κ-ια* with a double hypokoristic suffix, and the same *k*, aspirated by the influence of *ν* (cp. *λύχ-νο-ς*), occurs also in *πολί-χ-νη* (cp. *κύλιξ κυλί-χ-νη*). — *πολι-ε-θρο-ν* (cp. *θύρ-ε-τρο-ν*) seems to go back to a verbal stem (cp. Hom. *πολί-ξ-ω* build). — For the *τ* of *πόλις* see p. 489.

- 375) πολύ-ς (by-stem πολλο) much (comp. *πλε-ί-ων*, sup. *πλετ-στο-ς*), πλή-ν besides.

Skt. *puru-s* much (Ved. *pulu-s*), *pul-a-s* wide. Old-Pers. *paru-s* much.

Lat. *plūs*, *plūr-imu-s*, *plēri-que*.

Goth. *filu* πολύς, *filu-sna* πλήθος, O.-N. comp. *flei-ri*, sup. *flest-r*.

O.-Ir. *il* multus, n. pl. *ili*, an *i*-stem (Z.² 236, 858), *ilar* multitudo (Z.² 780), *lia* plus, plures (Z.² 277).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 361, Benf. II 85, Ebel Beitr. I 310. — For the Vedic form *pulu-s* cp. Max Müller Ztschr. V 141. The unmistakable connection with rt. *πλε* (No. 366) shows itself with especial clearness in the comparative forms developed from the shorter stem *πλε*: *πλε-ιον* = Lat. *ple-(i)os* (*pleores* = *plures* Carm. Arv.) whence also *plérique*, while the old Latin forms *plous*, *plousima*, *plourime*, *plisima* presuppose the form *plo-(i)os* (Corssen Ztschr. III 283, Leo Meyer Gött. Anz. 1861 p. 967). — The *u* in Skt. is a specifically Indic weakening from *a*, and *paru* the original form: *πολλο* = *πολφο* goes back to *par-va*. — *πλήν* is only an adverbialized *πλέον* (cp. *ἐμπλήν* Archil.).

- 376) Rt. πορ *ε-πορ-ο-ν* gave, brought, *πέ-πρω-ται* is given, determined, *πορσύν-ω* afford, prepare.

Lat. *par-(t)-s*, *por-ti-o-(n)*, *par-a-re* (?), *por-tá-re*.

Ebel Ztschr. V 417. — The development of the meaning of μέγος (No. 467) shows that the fundamental idea of *pars* is share, 211 portion. — I conjecture that the root appears also in the Lat. *par-i-o*, *pe-per-i*, which has its nearest analogue in the Lith. *per-iù* brood, hatch. We have a similar transition of meaning in the O.-H.-G. *bir-u* pario = Gr. φέρω (No. 411) and in the German word *trächtig* (bearing, pregnant) and there is a like relation between to bring and to bring forth. Hence *parentes* (on the aorist form of which see Studien V 439) are οἱ παρόντες. Thus we may without any violence place in this group also the poetic πέρ-ι-ς juvenca (x 410). But πέρ-τι-ς, πέρ-τα-ξ have the same meaning, words which Benf. I 583 compares with the Skt. *prthu-ka-s*, *prathu-ka-s* young. We may therefore assume derivation from the same root, by the aid of a dental consonant, and connect them with παρθένος maiden, and somewhat more distantly with O.-H.-G. *far* taurus, which Grimm Gesch. 32 derives from *fars*, whence *fersa* cow. The form πέρδης has no adequate support, and therefore cannot be used to derive πέρης from πέρτις, which would anyhow be dangerous. — Corssen Beitr. 78 connects with *portio*, *o-porte-t* for *ob-porte-t* it falls to me as my share. — A connection with No. 356 is probable. — Fick indeed (* 118) compares this group with the Skt. *pi-par-mi* (No. 366) which besides meaning 'fill' also means 'deal out lavishly, bestow'. But the notion of lavishness is wholly wanting to the Graeco-Latin words.

377) πόσι-ς (for πότι-ς) husband, πότ-νια the holy, δεσ-πότης master, δέσ-ποινα mistress, δεσπότης lordly, δεσπόξ-ω am lord.

Skt. *pa-ti-s* lord, husband, *pa-t-ni* lady, wife, *pat-jé* am lord, share.

Lat. *com-po(t)-s*, *im-po(t)-s*, *pot-is* (*potis-sum*, *possum*), *pot-ior*, *pot-ens*, *pot-es-tá(t)-s*, *pot-i-ri*, — Osc. *potiad* possit.

Goth. *-fath-s* lord, *brúth-fath-s* bridegroom.

Lith. *pà-t-s* husband, male, self, *pa-ti* wife, *pàt* precisely, very, *vėsz-pat-s* lord, ruler.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 238, Benf. II 75. — The root is *pa* (Skt. *pá pámi*). guard, protect, from which come also *pá-la-s* ruler, Bohem. *pá-n* lord; and also Gr. *πά-ο-μαι* acquire, *πέ-ναι* possess. The close connection of the notions to be master and to possess, which recur in all words of this rt., is shown by the proverbial use in Theocritus XV 90 πασάμενος ἐπύρασε. A noun *pa-ti-s* formed from this root is preserved in four families of speech. The Lat. *potis*, identical

even in the *o*-sound, Corssen Ztschr. III 279 regards as a comparative like *magis*, *satis*, because of *potis-sent* and similar forms; still in these forms *potis* might also be explained as a plural (= *poteis*, cp. *divi qui potes* Varro l. l. V § 58, Křiváala Ber. d. Wiener Acad. 1870 p. 141 ff.). Another form direct from the rt. is *Po-ta Vica*. *Pota* was the old name of *Victoria* (Preller Röm. Myth. 609). As in Skt. a secondary verbal-stem has been formed in Latin from which come *pot-ens* and *pot-i-ri*. For the Oscan form see Corssen Ztschr. XI 356. — Of the compound *δεσ-πότης*-s and its feminine, originating as the Skt. *pat-ni* shows in *δεσ-ποτ-νία* no less than five explanations have been given, which agree only in translating the second part of the
 284 two words by master, mistress, viz. 1) from the mythical *Dása-patni*, traditionally 'mistress of the foes' (Kuhn Ztschr. I 464, Max Müller V 151) but according to Benfey (IX 110) and the Pet. Dict. 'having the demons as rulers', and hence strange to the meaning of the Greek words; 2) from Skt. *gás-pati-s* 'master of the family' (Benfey u. s.) with an inconceivable change of sound; 3) from Skt. *sadas-pati-s* (Sonne Ztschr. X 136) literally 'master of the seat' (*sadas* = *ἔδος*), i. e. of the settlement, a sense which is not quite established for the word, besides the unusual loss of the initial syllable: 4) from the Skt. *dam-pati-s* 'master of the house' (Benfey u. s. Pet. Dict., Fick² 87) so far as the sense goes, excellent, but without giving a sufficient explanation of the syllable *δεσ-*, which is far enough from *δέμο*, *δῶ*; 5) from the Zend *dānhu-paiti* master of a district (Pott W. I 240), so far satisfactory that Zd. *h* points to an older *s*, but not without difficulties arising from the meaning and derivation of the former word (Skt. *das-ju* barbarian, non-Aryan).

378) Rt. *πῦρ πύ-μ-πρη-μι* (inf. *πυμπρά-ναι*), *πρή-θ-ω* burn, *ἔ-πρη-σ-εν* (Hom.) blew, caused to stream, *πρη-δαίν* (st. *πρηδον*) burn, sore, *πρη-σ-τήρ* flash of lightning, storm. *πρη-μάλνω* blow fiercely.

Ch.-Sl. *pal-i-ti* burn, *pla-my* (gen. *pla-men-e*) flame, *pe-pel-ti* ashes, Lith. *pel-ena-i* (plur.) ashes.

Sonne Ztschr. X 104, Walter XII 377. — Both consider *par* as the root, and the Skt. roots *prush*, *plush* burn as derivatives with a dulling of *a* to *u*. The special connection of the ideas blow, cause to stream out, and burn is discussed in Studien IV 228 (cp. Buttm. Lexil. I 105). — Cp. Pott W. I 249.

379) *πραῖ-ος*, *πραῦ-ς* (Ion. *πρη-ῦ-ς*) gentle, *πρα-ό-τη(τ)-ς* gentleness, *πραῦ-ν-ω* make gentle.

Skt. rt. *pri* (*pri-ṇā-mi*) delight, gladden, rejoice,

pri-ja-s dear, valued, friendly, *pri-ti-s* joy, *prê-man* love. — Zd. *fri* love, prize, *fry-a* loved, friend. Goth. *fri-j-ôn* ἀγαπᾶν, *frijônd-s* φίλος, O.-H.-G. *frâ-o*, *frô* strenuus, laetus.

Ch.-Si. *pri-ja-ti* providere, curare, *pri-ja-tell* friend.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 208 (cp. W. I 580). — The well-established form *πρῶ-ς* is of importance for this combination. Before *v* the *i* has been entirely lost. — Still there is no completely corresponding analogy for the derivation of *πράτ-ο-ς* from *πρi*. *πρi* seems to come from *πρι* as *αιθ* (No. 302) from *rt. idh*; and to this was added the suffix *v*, *πραγ-υς*, while *πρῶ-ς* followed the rule of adjective-stems in *o*.

380) *πρό* before, *πρό-τερο-ς* prior, *πρῶ-το-ς* (Dor. *πρᾶτος*) primus, *πρό-μο-ς* the foremost, *πρύ-ταυι-ς* (Aeol. *πρό-ταυι-ς*) prince, headman, *πρ-lv* sooner, before, *πρω-τ* early, *πρῶ-ην* (Dor. *πράν*) before that, the day before yesterday, *πρό-σσω*, *πρό-σω*, *πόρ-σω*, *πόρῳ* forwards, forth, afar.

Skt. *pra-* (only a prefix) fore-, *pra-tha-ma-s* primus, 285 *pūr-va-s* prior, *prâ-tar* mane. — Zd. prefix *fra*, *frâ* fore-, forth-.

Lat. *prôd*, *prô*, *prae*, *pr-ior*, *pris-tinu-s*, *pris-cu-s*, *prî-mu-s*, *pran-diu-m*, *porro*. — Umbr. *pru* = *pro*, *pre* = *prae*, *per-ne*, *per-naio* anticus, *-per* for (?).

Goth. *fru-ma* first, *frum-ist* in the first place: O.-H.-G. *fur-iro* prior, *fur-isto* princeps, *fruo* early.

Ch.-Sl. *pra-*, *pro-*, *prě-* fore, *prü-vyj* primus; Lith. *pra-* fore-, by-, *pro-* through, for, *pîr-ma-s* primus, *pîrm* (prepos.) before.

O.-Ir. *ro*, *ru* 1) verbal particle, *ro-char* amavit, 2) intensive particle *ro-már* nimis magnus (Z.² 411, 864); *air*, Old Gaul. *are-* (primitive form **ari* = *pari*) ante *prae pro propter* (Z.² 622); *ar*, *air* conj. nam, enim (Z.² 713) cp. Eng. *for*; *rem-ren* ante, *rem-am* ante me (Z.² 641) cp. Lith. *pîrm*.

Bopp Vergl. Gr. III 499, Pott I² 541, Benf. I 137 f., Schleicher Kal. 119, 121, Grimm Gesch. 397, Diefenbach I 352 ff., Ebel Beitr. I 311. — Cp. *πρά*, *πᾶρος* No. 346, 347, between which words and

many of those here quoted the line of demarcation vanishes. All conjectures as to their origin are extremely uncertain, but we may perhaps with Bopp regard the form *prā* (Zend *frā*) as an instrumental case, accompanied by the Lat. *prō-d* as an ablative; for which *prae* (*pra-i*) would supply the locative. Corssen I² 781 adds much more, but rightly rejects the assumption of an ablative **prae-d*, formed from the locative which Zeyss Ztschr. XVI 373 supports solely by the gloss of Festus *praedotiunt praeoptant*, changing the first word into *praedoptant*. [Corssen reads *praepotiunt praepotant*.] *πρίν* = *πρὸ-ιν* is for *πρὸ-ιον*, as the Lat. *pris-* = *prius* for *pro-ios* comparative, *primu-s* superlative of *pro*. Corssen's differing view (Beitr. 434), according to which the locative form *prae* is the basis of all the Latin words, appears to me improbable, if only because it would do away with the identity of *pris-* and *πρίν*. — *pran-diu-m* properly that early in the day (*die-s*). — Pott compares also *pru-ina* hoar-frost, as meaning originally early frost: we might derive it from *provina* and compare this with *πρω-ί* for *πρω-ῖ*, and as to form merely with Skt. *pūr-va-s* for *pra-va-s*. — Hom. *πρόσω* (adv.) from the stem *πρὸ-τιο* (suffix *τιο* = Skt. *tja* cp. *ὑπ-τιο-ς* No. 393), shortened to *πρό-σω*, by metathesis *πρό-σω*, by assimilation *πρό-σω*. — On the difficult *porro* Pott I² 272, Corssen Beitr. 402. Perhaps the Umbrian post-position *-per* for, which Aufrecht identifies with *περί* is also only a phonetic modification of *pro*, as in Italian.

381) *πρὸ-τί* (*πο-τί*), *πρό-ς* (*πό-ς*) to, beside, *πρόσ-θεν*(ν) in front, before.

Skt. *pra-ti* (prefix and prep. with acc.) contra, versus, O.-Pers. *pati-sh* against, Zend *paiti* as adv. further, as prep. and postp. with all oblique cases on to, to, at.

Ch.-Sl. *pro-ti*, *pro-ti-va* ad, Lett. *pretti*, Lith. *prėse* towards, against.

Bopp Vgl. Gramm. III 500, Schleich. Kal. 120, Pott I² 268. — On the three Homeric forms *πρὸτί*, *ποτί*, *πρός* I. Bekker Hom. Bl. 497. *ποτί* is also Doric, and there is also Arcad. *πός* (Inscription of 286 Tegea, l. 5. Michaelis Jahn's Jahrb. 1861 p. 586). The Cretan *πρὸτί*, also with elision *πρῶτ'*, shows that the *ρ* may be transposed, and its entire loss is not to be wondered at in so light a particle. Cp. *ῥῥατ-ος*, *σκατ-ός* for *ῥῥατ-ος*, *σκατ-ός* and Lat. *pēdo* by the side of *πέδω* (No. 292), *ἐγνακῆ*· *ἐπικαρκία*, *βάδιστοι*· *βραδύτατοι*, *δακάζει* (i. e. *δρα-σάξει*)· *ὑποπρεύει* Hesych., Engl. *speak*, Low Germ. and Dutch *sprek-en*. Hence we rejected on p. 80 Pott's attempt to divide *ποτί* from *πρὸτί* (I² 272). His objection that 'the identity of *ποτί*

and *πρός* is disproved by the fact that *πρὸς* and *πρός* both make their appearance equally in the same Doric dialect and in Homer' is baseless. For as to Doric, according to Ahrens D. Dor. 358 the occurrence of *πρὸς* is not at all established. But what would it prove, even if different branches of Dorism had decided in favour of different forms? And is *πρὸς* also to be regarded as a distinct preposition, because the Cretan branch of Dorism made use of this form? In Homer moreover we confessedly find peculiarities of the most different dialects. Who would think of separating *πλόνγες* from *τέσσαρες*, *ἔμμεν* from *ἐμῖν*, or doubting the identity of *σύν* and *ξύν*, of *ἐνί*, *ἐνί*, *ἐν*, *ἐν*? — Following Corssen's explanation (Beitr. 87) we may regard *port* (Umbr. *pur* Anfr. and Kirchh. II 271) as the Latin representative of this preposition, occurring with different phonetic modifications in *pol-lingo*, *por-ricio*, *pos-sideo*, *pō-no* (for *posino*). On the other hand, after the objections of Pott I² 191 and Corssen u. s., I retract my earlier opinion, that *red-* is to be compared with *prati*, as not demonstrable. It is remarkable that this *red-* will not admit of any etymology whatever. — *πρὸς-τί* is certainly to be derived from *πρό* (No. 380).

382) Rt. πτυ, πυτ, πτύ-ω spit, πτύ-αλο-ν spittle, πῦτ-ίζ-ω spue, spirt, ψύττω spue.

Skt. *shṭiv*, *shṭiv-ā-mi* spuo.

Lat. *spu-o*, *spu-tu-m*, *pitu-ita*.

Goth. *speiva* spuo, O.-H.-G. *spīwan*, *spīhan* [Mod. G. *speien*] spue.

Lith. *spīau-j-u*, *spīau-d-au* spue, Ch.-Sl. *plju-ja* πτύω.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1362, 1367, Benf. I 416, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 33, Grassmann XI, 11, 17, 34. — I assume *spju* as the original form, preserved in Goth. and Lith. Thence we get in Ch.-Sl. by the rejection of the initial *s* and the insertion of the *l* common before *j* *plju*, in Latin by the loss of the *i* *spu*, in Skt. by the shifting of the organ and the weakening of the *u* into *v* *shṭiv*. — Gr. πτυ is therefore for σπju. For τ originating by assimilation in ι cp. χθές = (g)hjas (No. 193): the form ψύττω is due to metathesis and the rejection of the *j*. In *οἶαι πύσαι Πάφιοι* [cp. M. Schmidt, Hezych. s. v., Ztschr. IX 367] the labial has entirely disappeared. πῦτίζω is probably a frequentative for πτυ-τίζω (cp. πειτῆ-τίζω. *pitu-ita* seems to point to a verbal-stem *pitu* for *sputu*, to be compared with *metu-o*, *futu-o*, unless indeed it is borrowed, so corresponding to a lost πτυιτῆ (cp. on No. 370). — The root appears aspirated, perhaps by the influence of the original *s*, in the Doric ἐπι-φθύ-σθ-ω *despuo*. Bugge Ztschr. XX 37 has a different view on the course of the phonetic changes. — Cp. p. 688.

- 287 383) Rt. $\pi\upsilon$ $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\text{-}\omega$ make to rot, $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ rot, $\pi\upsilon\theta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$ (st. $\text{-}\delta\omicron\nu$) rottenness, $\Pi\upsilon\theta\text{-}\acute{\omega}$, $\Pi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omega\nu$ (?), $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\text{-}\nu$ pus, $\pi\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omega$ bring to a head.

Skt. $\pi\acute{u}j\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}$ putresco, foeteo, $\pi\acute{u}j\text{-}s$, $\pi\acute{u}\text{-}ti$ pus, $\pi\acute{u}\text{-}ti\text{-}s$, $\pi\acute{u}ti\text{-}ka\text{-}s$ putidus. — Zd. $\pi\acute{u}$ stink, $\pi\acute{u}\text{-}ti$ rottenness.

Lat. $\pi\acute{u}s$, $\pi\upsilon s\text{-}c\acute{u}n\text{-}u\text{-}s$, $\pi\upsilon r\text{-}u\text{-}l\text{-}ent\text{-}u\text{-}s$, $\pi\upsilon t\text{-}eo$, $\pi\upsilon t\text{-}er$ (st. $\pi\upsilon\text{-}tri$), $\pi\upsilon t\text{-}i\text{-}du\text{-}s$.

Goth. $f\acute{u}l\text{-}s$ [Mod. Germ. *faul*] foul, O.-N. $f\acute{u}i$ putredo, $f\acute{u}ki$ foetor.

Lith. $\pi\acute{u}\text{-}v\text{-}\grave{u}$ (inf. $\pi\acute{u}\text{-}ti$) rot (intrans.), $\pi\acute{u}\text{-}d\text{-}au$ make to rot, $\pi\acute{u}\text{-}lei$ pus.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1117, Benf. I 270. — On the ϵ of *put-e-o* Ztschr. II 335, where *foeteo* also — a word which has nothing to do with this root — is quoted (cp. No. 320), Grassmann Ztschr. XII 87, Corssen Beitr. 79. On the θ in $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\text{-}\omega$ see above p. 66.

- 384) $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\xi$ with the fist, $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}s$, $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha\chi\text{-}\omicron\text{-}s$ boxer, $\pi\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\mu\acute{\eta}$ fist, boxing.

Lat. $\pi\upsilon g\text{-}nu\text{-}s$, $\pi\upsilon g\text{-}\acute{u}l$, $\pi\upsilon g\acute{u}ll\text{-}u\text{-}s$, $\pi\upsilon g\acute{u}ll\text{-}ari\text{-}s$.

O.-H.-G. $f\acute{u}\text{-}st$ fist.

Ch.-Sl. $\pi\epsilon\text{-}st\check{i}$ pugnus.

Bopp Gl. and Schleich. Ksl. 120, Benf. II 78 compare Skt. *mushṭi* fist, whose *m* then must have originated in a *p*. But where are there analogies for this? The *st* in the northern languages reminds us of the *st* of *mashṭu-s* mist (No. 175). — $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\xi$ looks like an abbreviated dat. pl. It seems probable that $\pi\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\acute{\omega}\nu$ cubit is of the same origin — perhaps with an amplifying suffix — from the similar use of $\pi\upsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\eta}$ (whence $\Pi\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$) and $\pi\upsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ as a measure (Pollux B 158). As the fist is the firmly closed hand, it is natural to regard $\pi\upsilon\chi\text{-}\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}s$ (Hom. $\pi\upsilon\chi\text{-}i\text{-}\nu\acute{\omicron}\text{-}s$) as related. The *g* in the Latin would then be weakened from *k*. Fick Or. and Occ. III 116 conjectures the like weakening for Skt. $\pi\acute{u}g\text{-}a\text{-}s$ band, troop, $\pi\acute{u}g\text{-}a\text{-}s$ heap, mass, which are connected in meaning. — Of Latin words perhaps *pug-ū* hand-dagger and *pug-na* *pug-nā-re* belong here (so Dietrich, Jahn's Jahrb. 81, 40), though in both cases we might also refer them to *pungere*. — In German and Slavonic the guttural has fallen out, as in Goth. *vaur-stv* $\xi\gamma\gamma\omicron\nu$ (No. 141, cp. also No. 538).

- 385) $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho$ (st. $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho$) fire, $\pi\upsilon\rho\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\acute{\omicron}\text{-}s$ fever, $\pi\upsilon\rho\text{-}\acute{\alpha}$ funeral pile, $\pi\upsilon\rho\text{-}\acute{\sigma}\acute{\omicron}\text{-}s$ brand, torch, $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\text{-}s$ flame-coloured.

— Umbr. *pir* fire, Lat. *prū-na* glowing coals. —
O.-H.-G. *fiur* fire — Bohem. *pýr* glowing embers.

Pott W. I 1103; the connection he supposes with *pū* purify (Skt. *pá-rakas* fire) as Plut. Quaest. Rom. 1 τὸ πῦρ καθαίρει shows, is not inconsistent with the Greek view. — Fick Or. u. Occ. III 111 attempts to establish a link between fire and the root *pū* by means of the intermediate notion of brightness, and Grassmann Ztschr. XVI 184 tries to prove for the middle form *pav-antē* in the Rig V. the meaning 'they blaze'. Otherwise in the Pet. Dict. (cp. Delbrück Ztschr. f. D. Philol. I 146). Certainly from the fundamental idea of brightness that of purifying, purity (*pū-ru-s*, *pu-tu-s*) might be easily derived. — The 288 relation of the Skt. *prush*, *plush* burn, which in its turn again reminds us of the rt. *πα* (No. 378) still needs explanation. According to Corssen II² 1004 *prū-na* is for *prus-na*. — For πῦρ in Simon. Amorg. according to Herodian π. μόν. λέξ. 12, 19 πύρ. On the Umbr. *pir* see Aufr. and Kirchh. I 36, II 112.

386) πῦρό-ς wheat, πύρ-νο-ς wheaten bread, πῦρήν kernel, stone of fruit. — A.-S. *fýrs* lolium. — Ch.-Sl. *pyro* ὄλυρα, Bohem. *pýr* couch-grass, Lett. *párji* wheat, Lith. *púrai* winter wheat.

Kuhn Weber's Ind. Studien I 356 f., Pott I¹ 109, Hehn 400. — The first assumes the idea of corn to be the fundamental one, tracing it back to the Skt. *push* to nourish. This seems to me doubtful, because of πυρήν. — The Syracusan by-form σπυρός (Cramer Anecd. I p. 362, 18) would lead us in quite a different direction, if this were not quite isolated. Cp. also Benf. II 86. The Skt. *pura*, yellow barleria according to Wilson, used to be added here, but according to the Pet. Dict. the meaning of *pura* is too diversified to give safe ground. — Many other combinations, destitute of any secure foundations, are given by Pictet I 266.

387) πῶλο-ς foal, πωλ-ίο-ν young foal, young. — Lat. *pullu-s*. — Goth. *fula(n)*, O.-H.-G. *folo* πῶλος.

Grimm Gesch. 396, Pott I¹ 193, W. I 247, where also (*Marci-*) *por*, *pu-er*, *pu-era*, *pu-su-s*, *pu-sa*, *pū-pu-s*, *pū-pa*, *pū-pilla*, *pu-tu-s* boy, Skt. *pô-ta-s*, *pô-ta-ka-s* young, *pu-tra-s* son are compared. — Benfey II 73 adds also πᾶ-ι(δ)-ς, which he is certainly right in explaining, with O. Müller ad Fest. p. 399, as παF-ι(δ)-ς, on the ground of the forms ποῦς, παῦς occurring on vases (ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΟ ΠΑΤΕ, ΚΑΛΕ ΗΕ ΠΑΤΕ Revue Archéol. 1868 p. 347). Lat. *pu-er* is for an older *por-er* (Schwabe de demin. 40), and hence resembles the Gr. παF-ι-ς in the stem-syllable. — Thus we should be brought to a root

pu beget (cp. *púbes*). Cp. Kuhn Weber's Ind. Studien I 357, Corssen Beitr. 248. It is natural to compare with this, besides the Skt. *pu-tra-s* already mentioned, which from its active suffix must be taken as begetter, continuer of the family, also Skt. *pumans* man, and Lat. *pum-īlu-s*, *pumil-io*, mannikin, dwarf. Like *πῶ-λο-ς* for *πῶF-λο-ς*, *pó-mu-m* might be for *pov-mu-m* grown (otherwise Corssen I² 342 [connecting it with No. 350 'the nourishing']) similarly *πο-ία*, *πία* grass, and even *pa-páv-er*, reduplicated because of its quick growth, *prae-pu-tiu-m* foregrowth. The Skt. *push* increase, breed, nurture, may be regarded as an expansion of this root. Perhaps *ποιέ-ω* is also to be added, as a derivative from a *ποιο* (cp. *παιδο-ποιό-ς* = *πῶF-ιο*) like *νοέ-ω* from *νόο-ς*, *ποθέ-ω* from *πόθο-ς*. It is true that *ποιέω* even in Homer is used for various activities, but it always remained the especial verb for denoting physical and intellectual creation. An erroneous etymology was discussed on p. 70. The attempt (Or. u. Occ. III 114) to connect *ποιεῖν* with *pú* purify will satisfy no one.

- 388) *σάλπ-ιγξ* (st. *σαλπ-ιγγ*) trumpet, *σαλπίζ-ω* sound the trumpet. — Lith. *szvilp-iù* whistle (vb.), *svilp-inė* whistle (subst.) (Lett. *szvilp-a*) (?).

Pott I¹ 226 'although in no other instance *sz* corresponds to 289 a Gr. σ'. The suffix is individualizing, as in *φόρμιγξ*, *λάτγξ*, *κιάς-ιγξ*: in the stem *σαλπ* has arisen from *σFαλπ*. Ought we to consider M.-H.-G. *swal*, *swalwe* cithara and *swal*, *swalewe* hirundo as from the same root, or to refer them to Skt. *svar* sound (*σῶριγξ* No. 519)? Schleicher regards the Lith. word, which only means to whistle with the mouth, as onomatopoeic.

- 389) Rt. *σπαρ σπαίρ-ω*, *ἀ-σπαίρ-ω* writhe, quiver. — Skt. *sphar*, *sphur*, *sphur-ā-mi* mico, vibro, tremo. Zd. *cpar* go, tread with the feet. — Lith. *spir-ti* strike out, hit, fell, *spar-dý-ti* strike out.

Pott W. II 1, 420, Benf. I 577 f. — The fundamental meaning of the rt. is that of a quick movement. But this develops itself mainly in two directions. In the first place it is referred to the feet. So in the verbs quoted above, on which Kuhn Ztschr. III 324 is to be consulted. We may add O.-H.-G. *spor(n)* [in the Cape Colony *spoor*] vestigium, *spor-ón* calcitrare, *spur-n-an* calcitrare, offendere, impingere, (Engl. spurn), *far-spirn-an* to strike with the feet. It is probable that the Lat. *sper-no*, *a-spernor* are connected with this meaning, either so that the fundamental meaning was strike away with the foot, or so that we may immediately connect it with the Germ. *sperren*, *absperren* (bar off, reject). The latter view, that of Pott, perhaps deserves the preference because of Enn. Trag. v. 244 (V).

ius atque accum se a malis spernit procul. The Skt. *spar-i-tar* enemy also belongs here, and perhaps *spur-iu-s*. — In the second place the *rt.* is used of a motion of the hand. Here we may place *σπειρ-ω*, *σπερ-j-ω*, and also O.-H.-G. *spriu* chaff, and inasmuch as the usage had become fixed to denote a scattering motion, dispersing a mass into small parts, without any limitation to the hand as the original source of the motion, the O.-H.-G. *spruojan* sputter, drizzle. — I can see no kinship with *σπάρ-το-ν* rope, but this certainly agrees with the Lith. *spar-ta-s* band (Nesselm.), and we may add *σπειρα*. — The common nature of these two ramifications of the meaning comes out most strikingly in Germ. *springen* spring, and *sprengen* burst, *besprengen* sprinkle (O.-H.-G. *springan*) [cp. Eng. *spring a mine* &c.]. Both verbs belong to a root expanded by *k*, *spark*, *sprak*, which met us before under No. 359 b. Walter Ztschr. XII 407. Add *σπαράσσω* (st. *σπαρᾶν*) tear, drag, with an inserted *α*. — From the primary root *spar* by the weakening of the *r* comes *spal*, preserved in *πα-σάλ-η* fine meal, or with *ι* for *σ* (cp. *εἰ-μι*) *παι-πάλ-η*. After the loss of the initial *s* we have *pal*, preserved in *πάλ-η*, *poll-en*, *pul-vi-s* and *παλ-ύν-ω* strew, bestrew. This phase of the root may also occur in *pāl-ea* chaff, which recalls both O.-H.-G. *spriu* and Skt. *pal-a-s*, *pal-āla-s* straw, *pal-āva-s* chaff. As *pal* also is expanded by a *k*, we have *pal-k*, *pal-a-k* preserved in *παλάσσω* akin in meaning to *παλ-ύν-ω*. Both verbs mean to besprinkle, scatter, the former also to strew. We may add *παλεύειν* to decoy, of birds which are lured. *πάλλειν* in its intransitive use, *ἡ καρδία πάλλει*, *παλ-μός-ς* beating of the pulse &c., comes so near to *ἀ-σπαίρ-ω*, that we can hardly help referring it, as well as *πάλο-ς* lot, *παλάσσειν* to cast lots, to this same *παλ*. Corssen Beitr. 308, 319 Nach. 296 mentions what is perhaps still to be added from the Latin, but with considerable differences of opinion, discussed Especially in I² 476, 526.

- 390) *σπλήν* milt, *σπλάγγ-vo-ν* entrail. — Skt. *plīhan* (also 290 *plīhā*, *plīhan*) lien. — Lat. *lien*. — O.-N. *lungu* (nom., stem *lungan*), O.-H.-G. *lungā*, *lungina* lung. — Ch.-Sl. *slez-ena*, Lith. *bluž-ni-s* milt. — Ir. *selg* f. milt (Gild. 215), st. *selgā*.

Bopp Gl., Pott II¹ 270, Benf. I 602 f., Kuhn Ztschr. IV 13, Stokes Ir. Gloss. 1012, Bugge Stud. IV 340, Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 32. — The fundamental form is *splagh-an*: in Skt. and Lat. the *s* has fallen away and the stem-vowel is accidentally weakened in the same manner, in Slavonic and Irish the *p* has fallen out, while Ch.-Sl. *z* normally replaces the guttural, in Lith. after the loss of *s p* has been weakened into *b*, finally in the Teutonic languages of the three consonants only the third has remained. — In *σπλάγγ-vo-ν* the gut-

tural of the root appears united with an prefixed nasal, the origin of which is the nasal suffix. The remarkable loss of χ between two vowels in $\sigma\lambda\eta\eta\nu$ for $\sigma\lambda\alpha\chi\text{-}\epsilon\nu$ finds an analogy at most only in η he said (No. 611).

- 391) $\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ sleep. — Skt. *svap-na-s* somnus, rt. *svap* dormire. — Zd. *qap* sleep, *qaf-na* (m.) sleep. — Lat. *som-nu-s*, *sōp-or*, *sōp-i-o*. — O.-N. *svēf-n* somnus [O.-Eng. *swevene* dream, A.-S. *swefen*], O.-H.-G. *swebjan* sopire. — Ch.-Sl. *sŭ-nŭ* (for *sŭp-nŭ*) somnus, *sŭp-a-ti* dormire, Lith. *sáp-na-s* dream. — O.-Ir. *suan* sleep (F. A. 123).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 259, Grimm Gesch. 303. — $\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ for $\sigma\nu\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ from the shorter form preserved in the Skt. participle *sup-ta-s* and elsewhere; while *sōp-or* is for *svōp-or*, *sōp-i-o*, like the Skt. causative *svāpa-jā-mi* with addition of sound in the stem-syllable. — I have omitted Goth. *slēp-an*, O.-H.-G. *slāfan* &c. as not akin, because of the *l*: their analogues O.-H.-G. *slaph*, *sleep* &c. are quoted by Diefenbach (Goth. Wtb. II 268). So Lottner Ztschr. XI 164. — Zd. *qap* with normal change from *svap*. *svap-na-s* is one of the not very numerous nouns which have been preserved completely and with unchanged meaning, without any other than the normal phonetic changes, in all the families of speech. The Lithuanian has shifted the meaning from *somnus* to *somnium*, for which Bugge Ztschr. XX 40 points out analogies from the O.-N. [cp. too O.-Eng. *swoeten*, e. g. Piers the Plowman, Prol. 11].

- 392) $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ over, $\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\theta\epsilon\nu$ above, $\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\varsigma$ pestle, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ upper rope. — Skt. *upari* as adv. above, thereon, as prep. with loc., acc., gen. over. Zd. *upairi* as adv. above, as prep. with acc. and instrum. over. — Lat. *s-uper*. — Goth. *ufar* $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, *ufarō* thereon.

Bopp Vergl. Gr. III 493, Pott I¹ 109, I² 677. — Evident as is the kinship of these words, there are many hitherto unsolved difficulties in the way. For instance, as to the form, the *s* of *super* is unexplained; for while the Greek rough breathing appears before every *v* and therefore may be an unorganic addition, the Latin *s* cannot possibly be 'a purely phonetic prefix'. Hence Pott conjectures in this *s* a trace of a prefixed preposition, and in fact now the Goth. *us*, as the Graeco-Italic representative of which we are to learn to recognize *ex*. Are we to suppose that *super* and *sub*, from *es-uper*, 291 *es-ub* stand for *ens-uper*, *ens-ub* (*ēvs*, *sls*), so that in *in-super* we should

have from a later period in language the same prepositions compounded, which had formed an alliance long before? — From the side of the meaning, the interchange between above and below is surprising; for *ὑπ-ατο-ς* (cp. *ὑποῦ*, *ὑψηλός*, *ὑψιστος*) corresponds to the Lat. *sum-mu-s* for *sup-mu-s* (cp. *suprād*, *suprē-mu-s*) and to the O.-H.-G. *oba* over, whilst in form it belongs rather to *ὑπό* than to *ὑπέρ*, and conversely, while the Skt. *upa-ma-s* the highest may be compared with Lat. *sum-mu-s*, the Skt. *upa-ra-s* the lower cannot be connected in meaning with Zd. *upa-ra* the upper, with *superu-s* and *ὑπέρα*. Attempts to solve this difficulty are made by Pott I² 646. In any case, *ὑπέρ* has originated from *ὑπερι* by metathesis of the *ι*. *ὑπερηφανέων* (A 694), *ὑπερήφανο-ς* (Pind. *ὑπεράφανο-ς*), *ὑπερηφάνεια* are to be explained by supposing that *ὑπερη* contains the adjective stem *ὑπερο* with epic lengthening (cp. *νεη-γενής*, *ἐλαφη-βόλο-ς* and 'Elucidations' p. 165, E. T.): *ὑπερήφανο-ς* means therefore 'appearing, showing oneself excessive': cp. *τηλε-φανής*, *λευκο-φανής*. Thus we can dispense with the forced attempts of Döderlein Gloss. 2192, Düntzer Ztschr. XII 2, and Fick² 17, who wishes to connect *-ηφανο-ς* with Skt. *āhana-s* rank, luxuriant. For *ὑβρι-ς* p. 528. Probably O.-Ir. *for*, Corn. *war*, *oar*, Cymr. *guor* super (Z.² 628, 675) for an original **u(p)ar* belong here (Ebel Beitr. I 309).

393) *ὑπό*, *ὑπαί* under. — Skt. *upa* as adv. thither as prep. with acc. towards, with loc. to, on, with instr. with (in the sense of accompanying). Zd. *upa* with acc. to, with loc. over. — Lat. *sub*, *sub-ter*. — Goth. *uf* sub, O.-H.-G. *oba* super. — Ch.-Sl. *pa*, *po* secundum, post, *po-dŭ* sub, Lith. *pa*, *po* under, after, with.

Cp. No. 392. Weber Ind. Studien II 406. — *upa* denotes in Skt. according to the Pet. Dict. 'the opposite of *apa* far, away', and thence attains the meaning (among others) of 'under' in the sense of subjection, and 'over' in the sense of mounting. *sus* for *sub-s* in *sus-tuli*, *su(s)-r(i)g-o*, *sus-cip-io*, *sus-que de-que*, *su(s)-(vo)-rsu-m* arrives, perhaps by reason of its *s* which seems to have an ablative force, at its meaning of 'from below' i. e. 'towards a place above'. Pott I² 161: cp. Corssen II² 580. — Also *ὑπ-τιο-ς*, equivalent to *sup-inu-s* upturned, open, bent back, is akin. The suffix is the same as in the Skt. *upa-tja-s* 'lying underneath' (cp. *περι-σός* No. 359, *πρό-σσω* No. 380). — If Ir. *for* is for **u(p)ar*, *upa* occurs also in O.-Ir. *fo*, Cymr. *guo* sub (Z.² 627. 661; Ebel Beitr. I 309).

B

A Greek β corresponds only in a very few cases to an Indo-Germanic b , which in those cases is represented in Sanskrit, Latin, and Slavo-Lithuanian by b . No example is found of the Teutonic p which was to have been expected. (Cp. Grassmann Ztschr. XII 122.)

- 394) $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ strange, foreign, $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\text{-}\iota\zeta\omega$ speak, behave like a foreigner. — Skt. *barbara-s* stuttering, curly, foreign. — Lat. *balbu-s*, *balbu-ti-o*.

292 The fact that the Skt. *barbara-s* ought, as it appeared, to be written with a v was formerly an objection to the comparison of the word instituted by Kuhn Ztschr. I 381 ff. But acc. to the Ptsb. Wtb. V 1644 the δ is better. The only meaning established for this word is curly, the only meaning for its derivative *barbara-tá* is a 'roughness' in the pronunciation of r (Max Müller Ztschr. V 141, XVI 453). — On the other hand $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ occurs first in $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varphi\omega\nu\omicron\iota$ B 867. Pictet Ztschr. V 330, Orig. I 57 compares $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ rumble (of noises in the bowels), the Persian *barbar* chattering, foolish, and Irish analoga. Without doubt then the Greeks named the Barbarians from their strange-sounding language.

- 395) $\beta\lambda\eta\text{-}\chi\acute{\eta}$ a bleating, $\beta\lambda\eta\chi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ a bleating sheep, $\beta\lambda\eta\chi\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ bleat. — Lat. *bála-re*, *bálá-tu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *blá-z-u* bleat. — Ch.-Sl. *blě-ja-ti*, *ble-k-a-ti*, *ble-k-ot-a-ti* balare.

Pott W. I 265, Benf. II 70, Schleicher Ksl. 122. — The rt is in the syllable *blá*, softened into *bála*, lengthened by different consonants. The χ seems to have arisen from the inchoative $\sigma\chi$, cp. p. 700.

- 395 b) $\beta\omicron\lambda\beta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ onion, bulb. — Lat. *bulbu-s*, *bulb-ósu-s*, *bulb-atío*, *bulb-ulus*. — Lett. *bumbul-s* knob.

Benf. II 304 with much that has no connection. — That the Lat. *bulbu-s* is not borrowed seems to me probable on account of its derivatives.

- 395 c) $\beta\omicron\mu\beta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\kappa\omicron\mu\phi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\zeta$ (Hes.) i. e. bubble. — Lat.

bullā, bullire, bullare, bullatū-s. — Lith. *bumbul-s* bubble.

Pott I¹ 213.

- 396) *βραχύ-s* short (compar. *βράσσων*), *βράχε-α* shallows, *βραχύ-τη(τ)-s* shortness, *βραχύ-ν-ω* shorten.

Lat. *brev-i-s, brevi-a* shallows, *brevi-tā(t)-s*.

Pott W. III 942, Benf. II 71. — On the comparative *βράσσων* (K 226), to which the corresponding superlative *βράχ-ιστο-s* occurs in Pindar, and its older form *βραχ-ίων* perhaps preserved in *βραχίων* upper arm (Pollux B 138 *ὅτι ἐστὶ τοῦ πήχεως βραχύτερος*), cp. Ind. lect. kil. aest. a. 1857 p. IV and p. 659. — *brevi-s* : *βραχύν* = *lēvi-s* : *ἐλαγύν* (No. 168). The comparison of the Ch.-Sl. *brŭz-ŭ ταχύς* is open to objection because the meaning does not agree. All the same *brŭz-ĭja* shallows is remarkably like *βράχ-εα brevia* in sound. — Fick² 132, Ascoli Ztschr. XVII 269 refer the Gk. and Lat. word to a rt. *bargh* which occurs in Skt. as *barh* (also *varh*) with the meaning tear out, tear off. In this case then *βραχύ-s* like *curtu-s* would properly mean torn off.

- 397) *βύ-α-s, βύ-ξα* screech owl. — Lat. *bū-bō(n).* —

O.-H.-G. *ūwo* bubo. — Lith. *gva* screech-owl.

Benf. II 62, Förstem. Ztschr. III 50. — *βύξα* is most likely for *βυ-ια*, hence *Βύξ-α-s* (st. *Βυξ-α-ντ* = *βυξ-α-Feντ*) and *Βυξ-άντ-ιο-ν* = *Uhlenhorst* (near Hamburg) (?).

Φ

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Greek φ corresponds to Indo-Germanic and Sanskrit *bh*, Zend *b*, Latin *f* and (in the middle of a word) *b*, Teutonic, Slavo-Lithuanian and Old-Irish *b*.

- 398) Rt. *ἀλφ* aor. *ἤλφ-ο-ν* I won, *ἀλφ-άν-ω* win, *ἀλφει-βοῖαι* winning oxen, *ἄλφῃ-μα* wages.

Skt. rt. *rabh* seize, take, *ā-rabh* take hold of, undertake, fashion, *rbhu-s* clever, apt, artist, fashioner, *rbhu-mat* apt.

Lat. *lāb-ōs* (*lāb-or*), *labōrio-su-s, labōro*.

Goth. *arb-aith-s* κόπος, O.-H.-G. *arabait* (Germ. *Arbeit*), Goth. *arbaid-jan* κοπιᾶν.

Bohem. *rob-i-ti* laborare, Ch.-Sl. *rab-ŭ* (*rob-ŭ*) servus, *rab-ota* work, Lith. *lob-a* work, task, *lobi-s* possession, property.

The original form of the rt. is *arbh*. The meaning lay hold of, operate, work appears clearly throughout. I was led to connect the above words by the use given in the PW. I 1058 of the Skt. *ṛbhu*, which is there referred to the rt. *rabh* (cp. too Miklosich Radices s. v. *rabū*; otherwise Kuhn Ztschr. IV 109). On the connection of the Teutonic, Latin, and Slavonic words see Grimm Wörterb. s. v. 'Arbeit', and Schleicher Ksl. 131. Cp. Pott I¹ 259, Pictet II 397. A connection of the Indian *Ṛbhus* with the Teutonic *Elfs* — O.-H.-G. *alp*. gen *alb-es*, A.-S. *ālf* — elaborately maintained by Kuhn (vide supra) is possible even if we accept this etymology. — Homer's ἀνέρες ἀλφῆσαι, in spite of K. Fr. Hermann's ingenious derivation from ἄλφι and the rt. ἔδ which is also supported by Döderlein (Gloss. p. 28), are no "eaters of meals", as I. Bekker Hom. Bl. 113 properly translates the word supposing that to be its derivation, but are to be taken in the sense in which the old Grammarians took the words — that of earners, workers (cp. ὄρεη-σ-τή-ς), "qui victum quaerunt, qui quaestum faciunt, the laborious side of the earning process being considered, and contrasted with the easy life of the Gods" (Bekker p. 112). With this agrees Aesch. Sept. 770, where the ἀνδρῶν ἀλφῆσαι ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθεῖς becomes nothing less than comic if we understand it of bread or meal eating men. — Fick² 166 differs in many respects.

399) ἀλφός a white rash. — Lat. *albu-s*, Umbr. *alfu*, Sabine *alpu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *elb-is* swan, *Elba* (the river).

Pott I¹ 112, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 109, who is doubtless right in comparing also ἄλφι, ἄλφι-το-ν barley meal, for ἄλφι : ἀλφός = Goth. *hwait-i* oats : *hveit-s* white. — Corssen Ztschr. III 263 connects also the Oscan town-name *Alafa-terna*, another name of Nuceria. Nearer still are *Alba Longa* and *Albunea*. Paul. Epit. 4 "*Albula Tiberis fluvius dictus ab albo colore*", so that *Alba*, Ἀλφειός (cp. Πηνειός No. 362) and *Elbe* are perhaps one and the same. By the same author the *Alpes* too were explained to be so called "*a candore nivium*". Others 294 it is true prefer the derivation from a Keltic word, for "*Gallorum lingua alti montes Alpes vocantur*" Serv. ad Georg. III 474. Even *Albis* and *Alba* are derived by Mahn (Etymol. Unters. Berl. 1859 p. 19) from the same source; to the former the meaning mountain-stream is given, to the latter that of mountain, with but small pro-

bability in both cases. — As an adj. we find ἀλφός in Hesych. — ἀλφούς λευκούς —, as a substantive it denotes the same skin disease which is elsewhere called λευκή or λεύκη, Lat. *vitiligo*. The Lat. *albigo* is similar. — The by-form ἀλωφός-ς (ἀλωφούς· λευκούς Hesych.) is discussed at p. 719.

- 400) ἀμφί about, ἀμφίς on both sides, διαμφίδιο-ς (Aesch.) different. — Skt. *abhi* as adv. hither, near, as prep. with acc. to, against, round, over, *abhi-tas* on both sides, about, round about. O-Pers. *abish* at hand. Zend *aibi*, *aiwi* as adv. over, moreover, as prep. with dat. or loc. over. — Lat. *amb-*, *am-*, *an-*, Umbr. *am-*, *an-*, *amp-r*, Osc. *amf-r*. — O-S. *umbi*, O-H-G. *umpi*. — Ch-Sl. *obŭ* trans, per, *o* circa. — O-Ir. *imb-*, *imne*, *imm* circum, *impe* from **imb-se* circum id (Z.² 654), O-Gallic *ambi-* (Z.² 64).

Bopp Vgl. Gr. III 490, Schleicher Ksl. 124, Pott I² 579. — The meaning of the Skt. *abhi* is considerably at variance with the rest, but the PW. I 328 rightly gives it, on the ground of the word *abhi-tas*, the very same primary meaning assumed by Buttmann in the Lexilogus (II 217 ff.) for ἀμφί and ἀμφίς. We may therefore regard the connection with ἄμφο as proved. Cp. Lottner Ztschr. VII 21. The *s* in ἀμφίς may be compared with that in ἐξ *ex*, ἄψ *abs*, Lat. *sus-* for *subs-* &c. (see above p. 39), and is represented by *r* in the Umbr. *amp-r*, *amb-r*, Osc. *amf-r*, Aufr. and Kirchh. I 159. For Mommsen's derivation of it from a different source is artificial. The Osc. *r* from *s*, which is to be seen here, is a proof rather that this change is not unknown in Oscan, and therefore we have no reason for abandoning, as Mommsen would (Unterit. D. 225) the derivation of the Italian passive *re* from *se* on account of the Oscan. The rhotacism which is so common in the two other Italian languages occurs but seldom in Oscan, and never as it appears between two vowels. We have however a second clear instance of it in *hafiert*, which even M. allows, and endeavours in vain to account for by the supposition of Roman influence. Zeyss Ztschr. XVI 381 tries to identify this Old-Italian *amfr-* with the first part of the Latin *anfr-actu-s*, acc. to which it belongs not to *frangere* but to *agere*. The close proximity of its use to the meaning of *amb-äge-s* seems to me to prove this. — It is noteworthy that the preposition has lost its individual meaning in Skt. more than in any other language. — Corssen Beitr. 316 regards *annu-s* as a weakening of *am-nu-s*, whence *soll-emni-s* "quod

omnibus annis praestari debet" Fest. 298, accordingly originally circle, whence again *annu-lu-s*. Even *omni-s* may have something to do with the root.

- 401) ἄμφω, ἀμφοτέροι both. — Skt. *ubhāu* (st. *ubha*) both, *ubha-ja-s* on both sides. Zd. *uba* both. — Lat. *ambō*. — Goth. *bai* (neut. *ba*), *bajōths* both, O.-H.-G. *beidē*. — Ch.-Sl. *oba* ambo, Lith. *abù* both, *abe-jó-ju* I doubt.

295 Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 111, Schleicher Ksl. 124. Cp. No. 400. — Boehtl. and Roth PW. p. 993 derive the Skt. *ubhāu* from the rt. *ubh* (*ubh-ā-mi*, *umbh-ā-mi*), for which they quote the meaning "hold together" and — when compounded with prepositions — "bind". Since however *ubhāu* cannot be separated from the words compared here, and since *a* never arises from *u*, the only way of defending the comparison is to suppose the *u* of the above rt. to be a dulled *am*. In this way we should arrive at *ambh* as the common rt. for all these words. — On the Skt. *u* from *am* see Kuhn Beiträge I 355 ff.

- 402) νέφος, νεφ-έλη cloud, ξυν-νέ-νοφε it is cloudy, νεφώ-ω make cloudy.

Skt. *nabh-as* mist, vapour, cloud, atmosphere, *nabhas-ja-s* misty.

Lat. *nūb-ēs*, *nūb-ilu-s*, *nēb-ula*.

O.-N. *nift-heim-r*, O.-H.-G. *nēb-al*.

Ch.-Sl. *neb-o* (st. *neb-es*) caelum, Lith. *debes-ì-s* cloud.

O.-Ir. *nél*, acc. pl. *niúlu* nubes (Z.² 20), *nimb* drop (Corm. Gl. 32, Transl. 122).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 107, 199, Grimm Gesch. 408, Benf. II 54, Schleich. Ksl. 124. — All combinations resting on displacement of the initial are very unsafe (Buttm. Lexil. II 266). The verb-stem *neφ* is given by Hesych. also in the simple perf. *νένοφε νενέφωται* (Lobeck Rhem. 39). In *núbes* we get *ú* instead of *e*: it is explained by Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 179 to be the effect of the nasal that appears in *nimbu-s* (for *nembu-s*). — Lith. *d* for *n* as in *devyni* nine. — Bugge Stud. IV 337 sees in the Skt. *nīh-āru-s* mist, which he derives from **nabh-āra-s* a complete analogy to *neφ-έλη*, *neb-ula*, O.-H.-G. *nēb-al*. It seems to me not impossible that the Lat. *Nep-tū-nus* (cp. *Portū-nus deus portarum* Paul. Epit. 56, *For-tūna*) belongs here; by the side of this Spiegel Ztschr. XIII 372 puts the Zd. *nap-ta* moist. Perhaps this too comes not from the rt. *nap* but from *nab*, i. e. Indo-Germ. *nabh*. So too now Grassmann Ztschr. XVI 167. — Cp. Corssen

I² 456, and on *Neptūnu-s* 434. — The Ir. *nél* is for **nebl* (Stokes, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 126), like *dér* tear for **decr* (No. 10), *fén* carriage for **fegn* (No. 169).

- 403) *ὄμφ-αλό-ς* navel, boss of a shield. — Skt. *nābh-i-s* navel, nave, relationship, *nābhi-la-s* the lower part of the stomach, pit of the navel. — Lat. *umbil-icu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *nab-a* nave, *nabulo* navel. — O.-Pr. *nabis* nave, navel, Lith. *bám̃ba* navel. — O.-Ir. *imbliu* gen. *imlenn* navel (Stokes, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 93).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 108, Benf. I 118. — We must assume a Graeco-Italic *ombhalo-s*, from which arose in time *ὄμφαλό-ς*, the Lat. *umbilu-s*, and with a new suffix *umbil-icu-s* (cp. *lect-ica*). By its side stands *umbó(η)* boss of a shield, which in meaning agrees still more closely with *ὄμφαλό-ς* and *umbilicus* than with the Gk. *ἄμβων* the border of a shield, foot of a goblet (*ἄμβη* whence *ἄμβιξ* goblet). — It is possible that *ὄμπαξ* too is a sort of diminutive from the shorter *ὄμφο*. For it denotes also the nipple, then any hard part, and so hard unripe grapes. — While then we are brought for Gk. and Lat. to a rt. *ambh*, the corresponding words in the other 296 languages come from a rt. *nabh*, which should perhaps be regarded as the older form. In Skt. we find the rt. *nabh* (*nabhē*) with the meaning burst, tear. The word navel seems therefore originally to have had the meaning a "tear, break", which seems to have given rise to the other meanings. — The Ir. word is an *n*-stem, and would correspond to a Lat. **umbilio*, *umbilionis*, cp. *umbo umbonis*.

- 404) *ὄρφ-ανό-ς* orphaned, *ὄρφαν-ία* orbitas, *ὄρφανίζ-ω* make an orphan, *ὄρφανιστή-ς* one who takes care of orphans, *ὄρφανεύ-ω* take care of orphans. — Lat. *orb-u-s*, *orbare*, *orbi-ficare*, *orbi-tá(t)-s*, *or-bi-túdo*, *Orb-óna*. — O.-H.-G. *arb-ja* the heir (Germ. *der Erbe*), *arbi* inheritance (Germ. *das Erbe*) (?).

Pott I¹ 112, 259. — Bopp Gl. compares the Skt. *arbha-s*, *arbh-aka-s* proles, natus (the former as an adj. acc. to the PW. "small, insignificant", as a subst. boy — similarly *arbhaka-s*). Can *orbare*, bereave of children — and then bereave generally — have really meant "to child" with a privative meaning like "behead" for "to deprive of the head" (Germ. *köpfen*)? In all these words though the prominent idea is "bereft of parents". If we adopt the meaning given above we should have to assume that the consciousness of the origin was lost very early. — The shorter form *ὄρφό-ς* is preserved in *ὄρφο-*

βό-τη-ς (ὀφφανῶν ἐπιτροπος Hesych.), Ὀφφάνδα-ς. — J. Grimm places the Teutonic words (Wörterb. s. v. "Arbeit") with those discussed at No. 398, so too Mikl. Lex. p. 767. Cp. Pictet II 359, Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Philol. I 14. — The only point then that we can be sure of is the correspondence of the Greek and Latin words. On the latter (the proper name *Orf-iu-s*) see Corssen I² 147. — Related to the Teutonic words are: the O.-Ir. *arbe*, *orpe* n. hereditas (Z.² 229), *com-arpi* coheredes (Z.² 232), *no-m-érpimm* confido (Z.² 434), *erbaid* credit (Z.² 434), *ro-erbad* commissum est, creditum est (Z.² 477). — Cp. Z.¹ 60, Stokes Ir. Gl. p. 163, Ebel Beitr. II 173.

- 405) ὀφφύ-ς eyebrow. — Skt. *bhrú*, *bhrúva* brow. — O.-H.-G. *bráwa*, N.-H.-G. *Braue* brow. — Ch.-Sl. *brŭvŭ* (*o-brŭvŭ*) ὀφφύς.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 111, Benf. I 100, Grimm Gesch. 399, Miklos. Lex. — As in the Ch.-Sl. *obrŭvŭ* and in the Macedonian *ἀβροῦς* (Hesych. ὀφφύς) the stem of which *ἀβροῦς* resembles the Zd. *brvat* (fem.), the vowel is prothetic. So too Lobeck (Elem. I 84), who in this case deigns to consider barbarian tongues and even agrees with Benfey in the comparison of the Lat. *fron(t)-s*, making it equivalent to ὀφφύσεις. Ὀφφύ-ς with the aspirate transformed = ὀφφύ-ς which like ὀφφύη (cp. ὀφφύσεις) often denotes the edge of a mountain. — Kuhn Beitr. I 357 gives a conjecture on the origin of these forms. Cp. Sonne Ztschr. XII 296.

- 406) ῥοφ-έ-ω (Ion. ῥυφ-έ-ω), ῥοφ-άν-ω sup up, ῥόμ-μα, ῥόφ-η-μα broth, ῥοπ-τό-ς supped up.

Lat. *sorb-e-o*, *sorp-tu-s*, *sorb-i-tio(n)*, *sorb-ili-s*, *sorb-illare*.

Lith. *sreb-i-ù*, *surb-i-ù* sup up, *sriub-à* broth, *surb-eli-s* leech.

- 297 Pott II¹ 196, Benf. II 12, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 18. — About the relationship of the Teutonic words compared by these scholars I will not venture to pronounce with certainty. For the O.-H.-G. *swarb* gorges, *swirb-il* vortex agree it is true in sound and meaning, but cannot well be separated from the Goth. *swairb-a* whisk, wipe [cp. to *swab the deck*], O.-H.-G. *swirb-u* tergo, sicco and a numerous family of words discussed by Diefenbach (Vgl. Wtb. II 351 f.), which — e. g. the O.-N. *svarf* quisquilæ — remind us more of σαρφ-ε-τό-ς rubbish. With regard to the N.-H.-G. *schlürfen* sup up however there are objections on phonetic grounds. — Mikl. Lex. 876 gives representatives of this rt. in later Slavonic languages.

406b) Rt. ὑφ ὑφ-ή, ὕφ-ος web, ὑφά-ω, ὑφαίν-ω weave.

Skt. *vabh* in *ūrṇa-vābhi-s* spider (wool-weaver).

O.-H.-G. *wēb-an* weave.

Aufrecht Ztschr. IV 274, where with Döderlein Gloss. 169 ὕμνο-ς (for ὕφ-μνο-ς) is assigned to this rt.; on this supposition we get a striking explanation of the word, i. e. that it means a 'web' (ἀοιδῆς ὕμνος Od.). ὑφ : *vabh* = ὕπ : *svap* (No. 391). A remnant of the form *vabh*, the Gk. *Faφ*, is retained in ὑφ-ήφ-α-σ-μαι. Aufrecht establishes thoroughly the application of the idea of weaving to creations of the mind. — At p. 63 we discussed the origin of the rt. *vabh* from *va*. Fick² 180 differs. Cp. Pott W. I 611.

407) Rt. φα φη-μί, φά-σκ-ω say, φά-τι-ς, φή-μη report, φω-νή voice. — Rt. φαν φαίν-ω shine, show, φαν-ε-ρό-ς bright, φαν-ή torch, φά-σι-ς, φά-σ-μα appearance. — Rt. φαφ φά-ε (Hom.) appeared, ὑπό-φαν-σι-ς glimmer, clearing, φά-ος, φαῦ-ος, φῶς (φω-τ), φέγγ-ος light, φα-έ-θ-ω shine, φαε-ίν-ω, φαει-νό-ς (Aeol. φάειν-νο-ς) shining, φᾶ-νό-ς clear, πι-φά-υ-σκ-ω show.

Skt. rt. *bhā* (*bhā-mi*) shine, appear, *bhā-ma-s*, *bhā-nu-s* brightness, light, *bhās* shine, glare, *bhāsh* speak, *bhan* speak, *bhan* (*bhanāmi*) Ved. resound. — Zd. *bā-nu* beam, *bā-ma* splendour.

Lat. *fā-ri*, *fā-ma*, *fā-tu-m*, *fā-s*, *fā-bu-la*, *fa-teo-r*, *prae-fi-ca* (?) — *fa-c-s*, *fa-c-ie-s*, *fac-ē-tu-s*. — *fa-v-illa*.

Ch.-Sl. *ba-ja-ti* fabulari, *o-ba-v-a-ti* incantare, *o-bar-iti* δεικνύναι, ἐκφαίνειν, *ba-s-n-ŭ* fabula.

O.-Ir. *bā-n* albus (Z.² 776, st. *bā-na*); rt. *ba-d* in *do-ad-bad-ar* ostenditur (Z.² 471), *do-n-ad-bat* quod demonstrat (Z.² 431, for *-bad-t*).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 253, 258, Benf. II 101 ff., Schleich. Ksl. 123, Corssen I² 140. — The far branching rt. has by means of different root-determinatives developed five secondary roots: *bha-n*, *bha-s* (*bhās*, *bhāsh*), *bha-v*, *bha-k* and *bha-d*. — Without doubt φω-νή too belongs to the primary form *bha*; it is related to the rt. φα as σμώ-νη is to μα, γρώ-νη to γρα (Lob. Rhem. 269). In Hesychius's gloss ἄ-φε-ο-ς ἄφωτος, which M. Schmidt wants to change without any reason, the same rt. seems to occur in a similar use in a shorter noun-form. — To the secondary rt. *bha-n* belongs φαίν-ω, which, as ἐ-φάν-η-ν, παμ- 298

φαν-όων, παμ-φαίνω show, is not contracted from φαίνω (Dietrich Ztschr. X 441). Cp. above p. 67. — Whether the rt. *bha-s* which is plentifully represented in Skt. can be assumed for Gk. at all is doubtful. In any case φά-ος has nothing to do with the Skt. *bhás-as* brightness, with which Kuhn Ztschr. II 138, 266 f. compares it, since the Aeolic φαῦος, Pamphylian φάβος (Ahr. d. Aeol. 36, Dor. 44, Giese Aeol. D 229), does not allow of this. With more probability Autenrieth on Nägelsb. notes to the Iliad p. 316 refers to this rt. the intensive παι-φάσσω, in the σσ of which however there may perhaps be a κ concealed. — The rt. *bha-v* is to be seen most clearly in the above-mentioned φαῦ-ος, also in πι-φανύ-σχω and in φαν-σί-μ-β-ρο-το-ς (Pindar, cp. Clemm Compos. 40). That the diminutive *fav-illa* belongs to it is rendered probable, in spite of Corssen's doubts (I² 141), by the fact that the word, as distinguished from *cinis*, means the still glowing ashes, and also that φαϊό-ς gray arrived at its ordinary meaning from that of glittering. The derivation from the rt. *bhag* adopted by Corssen fails because there is absolutely no trace of the meaning to warm in this rt. (cp. on No. 164). It is possible that *far-eo* also and *fau-s-t-us* (for *fav-os-tu-s*) arose from an early popular application of the word to the region of mind; this finds an analogy in the poetical use of φῶς *lumen* in the meaning of *salus* deliverance. To φαF belongs too the -φᾶων, -φῶων, and -φῶν so frequent in proper names, for Priscian (I p. 17 H.) read *ἈημοφάFων* "in tripode vetustissimo", and probably φά-ε, φα-έ-θω, φα-ε-σί-μ-β-ρο-το-ς, the αε of which can hardly have been together from the first. — The Lat. words *fac-ie-s*, *fac-ē-tu-s*, *fac-s* point to a rt. expanded by *k*. Cp. Ztschr. IV 216 and above p. 63. — The rt. *bha-d* is the basis of the Irish verb-forms; Stokes Ir. Gl. 846 suggests composition with the rt. *dhá*. — A number of words with a λ: φαλ-ηρό-ς shining, φαλ-ηρι-όωντ-α (κύματα N 799, waves with "white heads"), φαλ-ιό-ς white, φαλ-ακρό-ς bald-headed, look as if they were formed from a rt. expanded by λ (cp. τρα-λ from τρα). Still the λ might also belong to the suffix, as in the Skt. *bhāla-s* brow, brightness, in which case a stem-noun φαλό-ς adduced by Grammarians would be their basis. — As to the meanings the Skt. words prove that here *give light* and *speak* were one and the same, and that the differentiation of the two developed only gradually and without being connected with definite secondary sounds. Poets at all times use φαίνειν and similar verbs of speech c. g. Soph. Antig. 621 κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται. — On φέγγος see p. 587, on φαιδρός, φαίδιμος and related words p. 641.

- 408) Rt. φαγ φαγ-εῖν eat, φαγ-ᾶ-ς glutton, φαγ-όν-ες teeth (Hesych.). — Skt. *bhag* (*bhagā-mi*) divide, assign, get one's share, enjoy, *bhaksh* enjoy, devour. — Zd. *baz* dispense, *bagh-a-s* piece, *bakhsh* obtain.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 443, III 503, Benf. I 222. — It is post-erous to derive the Gk. φαγ from the Skt. *bhaksh* (cp. p. 30). The rt. *bhāj* even is much nearer in meaning to φαγεῖν (cp. p. 113); the Ved. *pitu-bhāj* means enjoying food (cp. Pott II² 597) and *bhak-ta-m* food. This meaning has firmly established itself in the rt. expanded by *s*. On φηγός see No. 160. I do not see how to reconcile 299 φακός lentil with our rt.; *fā-ba* (for *fag-va*) = Ch.-Sl. *bo-bŭ* (Schleicher Ksl. 123) comes nearer to it. φάσηλος, which has been compared by some, had clearly pod for its proper meaning, for it meant also a skiff. — *fame-s* has certainly no connection, for a noun-suffix cannot mean desire. For the proper derivation see under No. 192. — With φαγόν-ες cp. No. 289.

408 b) Rt. φαρ φάρ-ος plough, φαρό-ω I plough, ἄ-φαρ-ος unploughed, βού-φαρ-ος ploughed by oxen, φάρ-σ-ος a piece, φάρ-αγξ ravine, φάρ-υγξ gullet.

Zd. *bar* cut, pierce.

Lat. *for-ā-re*, *for-ā-men*.

A.-S. *bor-ian*, O.-H.-G. *por-an*, *por-ōn* bore.

O.-Ir. *do-berrthe* pres. sec. pass. decalvetur (Z.² 481), *berraid* tonsor (Z.² 794); *béarn* a gap, breach, *béarnaim* I make a breach (O'R.).

Pictet II 96. — Lobeck discusses φάρ-ος and the related words Rhem. 303. The verb φάρειν is found only in the grammarians. It is worth noticing E. M. 175, 37 φάρος ἡ ἄροσις παρὰ τὸ φάρεσαι ὃ ἐστι σχίσαι, καὶ γὰρ διαφάρους φασὶ χιτῶνας, τοὺς εἰς δύο μέρη κηρωισμένους. καὶ φάρσος τὸ ἀπόσχιμα τῆς ἐσθῆτος, ib. 787, 41 φάραγξ ἡ διεσχισμένη γῆ. φάρ-σ-ος formed like ἄψ-ος limb (Hom.), ἄρ-σ-εα λειμῶνες (Hesych.) from the rt. ἀρδ. — Only those words are collected here which can be immediately classed under the notion bore, tear. Fick² 135 includes also the Skt. *bhur-ig* scissors, and the Lat. *for-f-ex*, the latter would have to be explained by the supposition of a broken reduplication (cp. πόρ-π-η No. 356). The Lat. *fur-ca*, which I connected with these words as being a boring instrument, is derived by Corssen (I² 149) from the rt. *fer* = *dhar* (No. 316) hold, since this is prevailing notion of the word, which is also used specially in the sense of support. With regard to *fer-io* we were led to another conjecture under No. 314. Hence I cannot be certain about it. *furca* is minutely discussed by Bugge Stud. IV 344. There are besides the following Gk. words with a κ suffix from our rt. — φαρ-κ-ί-ς· ἐντίς, φάρ-κ-ες· χάρακας Hesych. — Cp. Spiegel Ztschr. V 231.

- 409) $\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\text{-o-}\mu\alpha\iota$ flee, am scared, $\varphi\acute{o}\beta\text{-o-}\varsigma$ flight, fear, $\varphi\omicron\beta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ scare, $\varphi\omicron\beta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-o-}\mu\alpha\iota$ fear, $\varphi\omicron\beta\text{-}\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ frightful. Skt. rt. *bhī* (*bhaja-tē bi-bhē-mi*) to be afraid, *bhaja-jā-mi* terreo, *bhī-s*, *bhaj-a-m* fright, danger, *bhī-ma-s* frightful. — Zd. *bī* to be frightened.

O.-H.-G. *bi-bē-n*, *bi-bi-nō-n* tremere.

Ch.-Sl. *boj-a-ti se*, Lith. *bij-aú*, *bij-óti* to be afraid, *baj-u-s* fear.

- Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 588, Benf. II 105, Grassmann Ztschr. XII 121. — The reduplication which is so plain in Skt. and German renders it probable that $\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\text{-o-}\mu\alpha\iota$ for $\varphi\epsilon\text{-}\beta\iota\text{-o-}\mu\alpha\iota$ with irregular dissimilation of the aspirate was formed at a time when as yet the hardening of *bh* to φ had not taken place (*bha-bi*), cp. $\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\text{-}\beta\text{-}\omega$ (No. 411). 300 Otherwise Benf. Ztschr. VII 50 where he — wrongly I think — assigns a specifically Skt. causative form as the basis of the word. Aufz. Ztschr. IX 231 questions the comparison of the Teutonic words in *bhi*, and prefers to place them under the Skt. *śiv-ri-s* shaking and the Lat. *trib-rá-re*. But I do not see how the initial *b* is to be explained on this hypothesis. — Müllenhoff conjectures that the Lat. *se-b-ri-s*, compared by Pott II¹ 556 and Corssen Beitr. 204 with *ferreo*, and explained differently again by Pictet Ztschr. V 347 and Benf. VII 56, belongs here, and accordingly meant properly “trembling”. Cp. *aeg-er* under No. 140. In that case there would be a remarkable agreement in the relation of the aspirates. In any case the Teutonic has in this rt. the distinction of being the only language to preserve the physical meaning.

- 410) Rt. $\varphi\epsilon\nu$, $\varphi\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\nu\text{-o-}\nu$ killed, $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ killed, $\varphi\acute{o}\nu\text{-o-}\varsigma$, $\varphi\omicron\nu\text{-}\eta$ murder, $\varphi\omicron\nu\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\varsigma$ murderer, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\text{-}\epsilon\iota\text{-}\varphi\acute{o}\nu\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma$ manslayer, $\varphi\omicron\acute{\iota}\nu\text{-}\iota\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ bloody.

Goth. *ban-ja* wound, O.-H.-G. *ban-o* murderer.

O.-Ir. *benim* ferio, *in-ar-benim* appello (cp. *offendo*), *do-fui-bnim* succido (Z.² 429), *beba* perf. mortuus est (Z.² 448), *ba-th* (*ā*) death (Corm. Gl. 6, Transl. 18), *bathach* moribundus (Z.² 810), *bás* gen. *báis* death (Z.² 223. 787).

Grimm Gesch. 398, Ebel Beitr. II 167. — Attempts made at comparisons in other directions Pott I¹ 255 and Benf. II 277 are foiled by the Gk. $\varphi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ = *fendo* and the Skt. *ghan* = *ham*. — In $\varphi\omicron\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ the epenthesis of the *i* is noticeable, as the same vowel is retained in the following syllable. The transition of the meaning to that of a colour is too simple to be an objection to this derivation.

411) Rt. φερ φέρ-ω (φορέ-ω) bear, φέρ-μα burden, produce, fruit, φέρ-ε-τρο-ν litter, bier, φαρ-έ-τρα quiver, φώρ one who carries off, a thief, φόρ-ο-ς tax, φορ-ό-ς bearing, φορ-ά a carrying, produce, movement, φορ-μό-ς basket, mat, φόρ-το-ς burden, φερ-νή dowry.

Skt. rt. *bhar* (*bhar-ā-mi*, *bhar-mi*, *bi-bhar-mi*) bear, carry off, support, hold, bring, *bhar-a-s*, *bhār-a-s* burden, *bhar-ana-m*, *bhar-ma(n)* maintenance, *bhṛ-ti-s* maintenance, pay. — Zd. *bar* bear, bring.

Lat. *fer fer-o*, *-fer* (st. *-fero*), *fer-cu-lu-m*, *fūr*, *fer-āx*, *for-du-s*, *far*, *far-ina*, *fer-ti-li-s*, *for-(t)-s*, *for-tū-na*, *for-tu-itu-s*.

Goth. rt. *bar bair-a* φέρω, τίκτω, *ga-bair* φόρος, *bair-ei*, *bair-thei* (O.-H.-G. *bur-di*) φορτίον, burden, *ga-bair-th-s* birth, *bar-n* bairn, child, *bēr-usjōs* parents, *barm-s* lap, *bariz-ein-s* barley (adj.), A.-S. *bere* barley, O.-H.-G. *bāra* bier.

Ch.-Sl. rt. *ber sū-ber-a* (inf. *bra-ti*) colligo, *brě-me* φόρος, *bra-kŭ* connubium, Bohem. *bra-ti* take, Lith. *bēr-na-s* child, servant.

O.-Ir. *berim fero*, *as-biur* (for **-biru*) effero, dico (Z.² 428), *com-bairt* partus (Goid. p. 34, *i*-stem like the Goth. *ga-bairth-s*), *ta-bairt* datio (Z.² 250), *brith* gen. *brúhe* birth (T. B. Fr. p. 140), *-bert* 301 bundle (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 24), *bairgen* panis (Z.² 241).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 1, 466, Benf. II 107, Schleicher Ksl. 123.

— The meanings fall naturally into three main classes: 1) to bear a burden, 2) to bear with reference to the effect, the produce, then bring, bring forth (cp. No. 376), 3) to bear considered as a movement, whence φέρε like ἄγε in the sense of "well!", "come!", φορά, Lat. *ferri*. — The most characteristic development of the first meaning is ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν = *agere et ferre*, and also φώρ (Stud. III 199). — We may certainly place under the second head the Lat. *far* st. *farr* for *far-s* where the *s* may be quite well regarded, like the *s* in *jū-s*, *fā-s* as the same suffix which has preserved its vowel in the Goth. **bar-is* (stem-form of the adj. *bariz-ein-s*), but lost it in a similar way in the Old Norse *barr*; the earlier and more general meaning (cp. Ir.

bar corn, Pictet I 269) is to be seen even in *farina*, and this makes the difference in the kind of corn denoted by *far* and the Goth. **baris* less surprising. Otherwise Corssen Beitr. 205, I² 159, with whom Ascoli Ztschr. XVII 343 agrees. *φάρ-μα-κο-ν* too is most naturally regarded as *φαρ-μα*, expanded by the individualizing suffix *-κο*, and used in the originally general meaning of herb (somewhat differently Pictet Ztschr. V 49). With the Teutonic and Slavonic words for child (what is born) we may compare *φάρ-κ-εσ· νεοσσοί* Hesych. If we consider that the word *bring* also belongs to the same root we shall see a way to *fors*, Osc. adv. *fort-is* (= Lat. *forte*), *fortuna*. On the other hand *φᾶρος* suggests the German *Tracht* (something carried), in the sense of clothes. Döderlein Synon. and Et. VI 285 (cp. Vossius Et. Lat. s. v.) is no doubt right in comparing *pro-bru-m* along with *op-pro-br-iu-m* with *προφέρειν*. The use of the word in a bad sense is as early as Homer (Γ 64). Here, as in *candela-bru-m*, we find the *b* which is to be expected in the middle of old words, instead of *f*. Otherwise Corssen Beitr. 352. — Under the third main class of meanings falls the intransitive use of *διαφέρειν* = *differre*, properly in *diversas partes ferri* (cp. p. 104). Perhaps we may add even *φέρ-τερο-ς*, *φέρ-ιστο-ς*, *φέρ-τατο-ς* (cp. *προφερέης*), so that it would have originally denoted the higher degree of mobility or impetus. Since the Skt. rt. especially in the reduplicated form *bi-bhar-mi* also means *nutrire*, *sustentare*, *φέρ-β-ω* *φορ-β-ή* of like meaning arose, probably by broken reduplication (No. 409) from *φερ*, and *φορ-βή* may be compared directly with *her-b-a*, the old form of which, *fi-b-ra* mentioned by Servius ad Georg. I 120 points to *ferba*, while *forb-ea* (Paul. 84) has the look of a foreign word. — The Ir. *com-bairt* seems to be distinct from the ordinary *coimpert* *σπέρμα* offspring; the latter stands acc. to Stokes (Ir. Gl. 847) for *co-imb-bert* (*imb* = *ἀμφί*).

412) a. Rt. *φλα ἐκ-φλαίν-ω* spout forth. — Rt. *φλαδ ἔ-φλαδ-ο-ν* tore with a noise, *φλα-σ-μός* bragg-
ing, *πα-φλάζ-ω* foam, bluster.

Lat. *fla-re*, *flā-tu-s*, *flā-men*, *flā-bru-m*. — *flūs*, *flōr-eo*, *Flōr-a*, Osc. *Ffluusai* (dat. sing.).

O.-H.-G. *blā-an* blow, M.-H.-G. *blās* flatus, Goth. *uf-blēs-an* *φυσιοῦν*, O.-H.-G. *blāsu* vesica, *blā-tara* bubble, bladder, in M.-H.-G. blister as well. — O.-H.-G. *bluo-jan* florere [Eng. *blow*]. Goth. *blō-ma*, O.-H.-G. *bluot* (fem.) bloom (Germ. *Blüthe*). Goth. *blóth* O.-H.-G. *bluot* (neut.) blood (Germ. *Blut*). — O.-H.-G. *blōz* superbus. — Ir.

bláth bloom (Goid. p. 41), Cymr. *bloden* pl. (Z.² 37).

- b. Rt. φλε φλέ-ω swell, overflow, Φλέων (cp. Φλεύ-ς) epithet of Bacchus, φλέ-δων (st. φλε-δον) chatterer, φλήν-αφο-ς idle talk.

Ch.-Sl. *ble-d-a* φλναρῶ, *ble-d-i* ἀπάτη, λῆρος (?).

- c. Rt. φλι Φλί-ās (st. Φλιαντ) son of Dionysus; Φλιοῦ-ς. — φλιδ φλιδή overflow, ξ-φλιδ-εν διεῖρξεν (Hesych.), φλιδ-άν-ει διαρρεῖ (Hesych.), φλι-μέλια a varicose vein.

- d. Rt. φλυ φλύ-σαι chatter (Aesch. Prom. 504), ἀπο-φλύ-ω spit out, ἀνα-φλύ-ω spout up, φλύ-ω swell, overflow, φλύ-ο-ς, φλύ-αρο-ς idle talk, φλύ-αξ chatterer. — φλυδ ἐκ-φλυνδ-άν-ειν break (of ulcers &c.), φλυδ-ᾶν (φλύξ-ειν, aor. φλύξαι) overflow. — φλυγ οἶνό-φλυξ drunk with wine, φλυκ-τί-ς, φλύκ-ταινα blister.

Lat. *flu-o*, *flū-men*, *flu-v-iu-s*, *fluc-tu-s*, *fluxu-s*. — *fle-o*, *flē-tu-s*, *flē-mina* varicose vein.

A.-S. *bull* blister, O.-N. *bulla* ebullire, Goth. *uf-baul-jan* puff up, inflate.

- e. St. φλοι φλοί-ω swell, φλοι-ό-ς, φλό-ο-ς bark, rind. — φλοιδ δια-πέ-φλοιδ-εν διακέχνται (Hesych.), πε-φλοιδ-έναι to bubble. — φλοῖσ-βο-ς noise, foam (Hesych.), M.-H.-G. *blód-er-n* roar, *blubbern*.

The relationship of all these multifiform stems and words, exclusively European, with the common primary notion of *bubbling over*, is as clear as it is difficult to account for their separation. The Ch.-Sl. *blad-i-ti* errare discussed by Schleicher *Kel.* 122 probably belongs also to the stems expanded by δ. — Most of the words here given are to be found in Pott *I*¹ 239 (cp. *W.* *I* 1205, *Ztschr.* *VI* 322 ff. and *E. F.* *II*² 965), where also the relationship of the Skt. *phal* (*phal-á-mi*) burst, bear fruit and *phull* (*phullāmi*) to blossom, *phulla-s* blooming, *phal-a-m* fruit (Bopp *Gl.* s. v. *phall*) is conjectured. Then again *phal-a-m*, *phāla-s* ploughshare may be related (cp. d). I now regard *fle-o* with Corssen *Beitr.* 191 as belonging to d.), that is to say as sprung from *flec-o*, so that *flē-tu-s* stands on the same footing as *fē-cundu-s* from the rt. *fu*. As regards *flu-o*, we see from the old Lat. *con-flūg-e-s* as

from *fluxi* &c. that the rt. is *flug*. We shall return to this at p. 584. The meanings of *flu-o* and *φλύ-ω* (*ἀνα-φλύ-ειν* spout up), which were connected by Döderlein Synon. u. Etym. VI 131, approach each other very nearly especially if we remember *fluctuare*, *fluitare*, properly to heave up and down. Accordingly I see no reason for Kuhn's doubt (XIV 223). The ideas spout and sprout are interchanged throughout. I now put *flō-s* under a), especially on account of the vowels of the Teutonic words which point to *ā*. That *φλυνκί-s* blister really belongs here, in spite of Walter Ztschr. XII 414, is shown by the O.-H.-G. 303 *blāsa* mentioned in class a): Grassmann XII 90 compares also the A.-S. *bull* bladder. But we must separate the Latin *bullā* on account of the *b*. But perhaps Pott II² 778 is right in holding *φύγ-εθλο-v* ulcer to have lost a *λ* and to belong to *φλυγ*. — Benfey is doubtless right in connecting (I 602) *φλέψ* (st. *φλε-β*), following Niz kl. Wörterb. p. 272 and Lobeck Paralip. 123, where attention is directed to *φλε-βάειν βρύειν* (Photius). The by-form *ἡ φλέβ-α* is remarkable. No doubt *β* stands for *f* and the word is directly connected with *d*) (st. *φλευ* from *φλυ*). — The meaning chatter is remarkable, developed as it is in the most different forms of this rt., and among widely different nations.

413) Rt. *φρακ φράσσ-ω* (*φράγ-νυ-μι, ἐ-φράγ-η-ν*) shut in, make fast, *φράγ-μα, φραγ-μός-s* fence, a shutting up, *δρύ-φακ-το-s* partition.

Lat. *farc-io, farci-men, far-tili-s, far-tor*. — *frequ-en(t)s*.

Goth. *bairg-a τηρῶ, φυλάσσω, bairga-hei* mountainous district, O.-H.-G. *bērc* mountain (Germ. *Berg*), Goth. *bairg-s* town, borough.

Lith. *bruk-ù* press hard, constrain.

The rt. *φρακ* and its later softening to *φραγ* I have attempted to establish Ind. lect. Kil. aest. 1857 p. V. Cp. Ztschr. XIII 399, where especially the meaning of *φράσσω* is discussed as compared with that of *farcio*, and above p. 114. *κραδίη δόλοισι πεφραγμένη* (Oppian Cyneg. 4, 7) is *cor dolis refertum*. As *farcire* means to stuff full, so *φράσσειν* means sometimes to stop up. *frazare* *vigiliam circumire* (Paul. Epit. 91) suggests *φράσσειν* in the sense of defend. *frequ-en(t)s* *senatus* is a 'crammed' meeting (*φραγείς*). Aufrecht Ztschr. VIII 215 compares with it the Skt. *bhṛga-s* in large numbers (acc. to the Petsb. Wtb. vehement, strong). Lobeck Rhem. 103 and Döderlein Synon. u. Etym. VI 122 had already connected *φράσσω* (= *φρακ-ω*) with *farc-i-o*. Cp. Benf. I 111. — The primary meaning is retained in Lithuanian (cp. *φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί* N 130), and from this has been developed in Gk. that of shutting up fast, in Latin that

of stopping up fast. The meaning hide, protect (Germ. *bergen*) which we find already in the Goth. *baig-an* is not at all foreign to the Gk. *φράσσειν*, *φρακτός* can often be exactly translated by protected, and a borough (Germ. *Burg*) is a *φρακτὸν πόλισμα* (Aesch. Sept. 63); the Germ. *Berg* (mountain) is related to *Burg* as *mon-(t)-s* is to *mān-io*. Sonne Ztschr. XII 296 ventures on more extensive combinations. If we are to consider *πύργο-ς Πέργ-αμα* as related, they could only belong, as Diefenb. I 264 rightly remarks, to a non-Greek branch of the Indo-Germanic stem, and would therefore be of foreign extraction. — *δρύ-φρακτο-ς* = *δρύ-φρακτο-ς* Lob. Paralip. 15 not., Pott II¹ 91. — The form *φάρεξαι* vouched for as Attic by grammarians may now be seen in an inscription published in the Monumenti dell' Inst. archeol. 1865 fasc. IV p. 325. — Objections are made by Pott W. III 204, 520. — Is *borg* (o *burgg* ab urbe Corm. Gl. 45) to be regarded as a genuine Irish word?

- 514) *φρά-τηρ* (st. *φράτερ*), *φρά-τωρ* (st. *φρατορ*) member of a *φράτερ-ία*, *φράτερ-α* (Hom. *φρή-τηρ*), *φρατερ-ίζ-ω*, *φρατερ-ιάξ-ω* belong to a phratría, *φράτερ-ιοι θεοί* patron deities of the phratríai. — Skt. nom. *bhrátā* (st. *bhrā-tar*), Zd. *brātar* frater. — Lat. Umbr. *frāter*, Lat. *frā-ternu-s*, *frātr-ia* brother's wife. — Goth. *bróthar*, pl. *bróthra-ha-ns* brethren, 304 O.-H.-G. *bruodar* brother. — Ch.-Sl. *bra-trŭ*, *bra-tŭ*, O.-Pr. *brati-s*, Lith. *broter-ėli-s* (dim.), *bró-li-s* brother, *brotù-szi-s* cousin. — O.-Ir. *bráthir* frater (Z.² 262).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 478, Schleicher Ksl. 123. — The derivation usually given is that from the rt. *φερ* in the sense of *sustentare*, *nutrire*, whence the Skt. *brar-tr* maritus. — In *φρήτηρ ἀδελφός* Hesych. the original use has been preserved among the Gks. as well, as Legerlotz Ztschr. VII 436 has pointed out. To which we may add the strange word *βρά· ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἡλείων* Hesych. (cod. *Ἡλείων*), a form which cannot have been correctly transmitted to us. With these exceptions the word has in Gk. a purely political meaning (cp. *Die Sprachvergleichung in ihrem Verhältniss zur class. Philologie* 2 Ed. p. 57). — In the Goth. *bróthra-ha-ns* we see a suffix like that in the Umbr. *fratre-k-s* = *fratricu-s*, *fraternus*. — The same suffix is quite common in modern Irish in the inflexion of names of relations: *brá-thair* nom. pl. *bráithre* and *bráithreacha* (O'Donovan, Gram. p. 99).

- 415) *φρέ-αρ* (st. *φρεαρ*), Hom. pl. *φρέλ-ᾱτα*, Att. *φρέ-ᾱτα*. — Goth. *brunna(n)* well, O.-H.-G. *brunno*.

Benf. II 109, Grimm Gesch. 398, who derives the Goth. *brunna* from *brinnan* urere, fervere. — Perhaps this derivation will lead us to the rt., which can be nothing but $\varphi\upsilon$. This explains $\varphi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\text{-}\alpha\varphi$, with an added letter, for $\varphi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\text{-}\alpha\varphi$ (cp. Pott W. I 1204). If we take boil, burn to be the primary meaning we get an excellent explanation both for $\pi\omicron\varphi\text{-}\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\varphi\text{-}\omega$ heave (of the sea), $\varphi\upsilon\varphi$: $\varphi\epsilon\upsilon$ = $\pi\upsilon\varphi$: Skt. *pru-sh* (No. 385), and for $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varphi\text{-}\varphi\upsilon\varphi\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ purple. More extensive combinations taking in the Skt. *bhur* start, be unquiet are made by Fick² 140, cp. Ptsb. Wtb. s. v. *bhur*. It appears that language regarded the heaving of water, the flickering of fire and the glistening of red colour as synonymous. Cp. Walter Ztschr. XII 417, Sonne XIII 431, Bollensen Or. u. Occ. II 475. Is it not possible that *ferv-eo* too, which may be for *frev-eo*, is related? The meaning agrees, though it is true that other combinations suggest themselves as well (Gk. $\theta\epsilon\varphi$ Skt. *ghur* No. 651, Corssen Nachtr. 220 ff.). — Leo Meyer is no doubt wrong in his conjecture (Ztschr. V 381) that the rt. *plu* (No. 369) and actually the Lat. *fon(t)-s* are related. Pictet V 347 is more likely to be right in connecting the Lat. *fe-bru-u-s* along with *febru-are Juno Febru-li-s* as reduplicated forms. — Connections in Irish are *tipra* gen. pl. *tiprat fons* (Z.² 254), with the by-form *topur* (Z.² 885, F. A. 139), primary form **do-od-*, or *do-ad-bravat*.

- 416) $\varphi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\text{-}\nu\eta$, $\varphi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\text{-}\nu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ toad, $\Phi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\eta$, $\Phi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\Phi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\iota\chi\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$, $\Phi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$. — Lat. *fur-vu-s*. — Skt. *ba-bhru-s* reddish brown. — O.-H.-G. *brū-n* fulvus, fuscus.

Grimm Wörterb. II 324, Kuhn Ztschr. I 200, Köhler Jahn's Jahrb. Vol. 73 and 74 p. 28. — The rt. is the $\varphi\epsilon\upsilon$ assumed for No. 415; if besides *fur-vu-s* the Lat. *fu-scu-s* is also to be placed here (otherwise Hehn 245), it must have lost an *r* before the *s* like *su-su-m* = *sur-sum*. $\varphi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ then meant the brown one, hence the many proper names. *rubeta*, the name of a kind of frog, from *ruber*, is similar. Pictet I 412 adds another animal's name, the Skt. *ba-bhru-s* rat, 305 ichneumon, which accordingly was originally "the brown one", and is perhaps right in thinking that this name was applied to the beaver, Lat. *fi-ber* = Lith. *bėbru-s*, Bohem. *bobr*, O.-H.-G. *pipar*, an excellent hypothesis phonetically at any rate (otherwise J. Grimm Wtb.). — We are expressly told that the celebrated $\Phi\acute{\rho}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\eta$ get her name $\delta\iota'\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\text{-}\rho\eta\alpha$. Pott Doppelung 88 agrees and translates the name by *Fulcia*. He compares the Skt. *Ba-bhrav-ī* an epithet of the Goddess Durgā.

- 417) Rt. $\varphi\upsilon$ $\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\omega$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\varphi\upsilon\text{-}\nu$) beget, $\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ grow, become, $\varphi\upsilon\text{-}\acute{\eta}$ growth, $\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ nature, $\varphi\upsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha$ a growth,

- φυτό-ς* grown, *φυτεύ-ω* plant, beget, *φῦ-λο-ν*, *φυ-λή* race, stem, *φῖ-τυ*, *φί-τυ-μα* sprout, shoot, *φι-τύ-ω* beget. — *φοιτά-ω* visit, go round about (?).
 Skt. rt. *bhû* (*bhav-â-mi*, 3 sing. aor. *a-bhû-t*) become, be, flourish, *bhav-a-s* origin, *bhāv-a-s* rise, condition, *bhû-ti-s* existence, welfare, *bhû-mi-s* earth. — Zd. *bû* to be, to become.
 Lat. *fu*, *fu-a-m*, *fu-i*, *fu-tūru-s*, *fo-re*, *fu-tu-o*. — *fē-tu-s*, *fē-cundu-s*, *fē-n-us*, *fē-mu-m*. — Osc. *Fu-trēi* (dat. s.).
 O.-S. *biu-m*, A.-S. *beo-m*, O.-H.-G. *bi-m* I am, Goth. *bau-an* dwell, *bau-ain-s* dwelling.
 Ch.-Sl. *by-ti*, Lith. *bū-ti* to be, *bū-ta-s* house, floor.
 O.-Ir. *būu* fio, sum, *ro-bá* fui, inf. *buith* esse, st. **buti* (Z.² 491 ff.).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1143, Benf. II 105, Grimm Gesch. 398, Schleicher Ksl. 123. — The *ι* in *φῖ-τυ* arose by dissimilation from *υ*, because Greek rarely tolerates *υ* in two consecutive syllables. The Aeolic present *φυ-ί-ω* (Ahr. d. Aeol. 98) is remarkable; Schleicher is no doubt right in identifying with it the Umbr. *fuio*, subj. *fuia*. The vowel of *fētu-s* is explained by Corssen Beitr. 191 to come from a present form *fev-o* (cp. *fle-o* No. 412 d). In meaning *fē-n-us* (cp. *pē-n-us*, *fac-i-n-us*) corresponds to *τόκος*. On the other hand *fē-mīna* has been placed under No. 307, and *fī-o* owing to its close connection with *fū-c-io* under No. 309. Perhaps we have in *ὑπέφ-φεν* (Aesch.) the Gk. stem corresponding to the Lat. *fev-o*; it is certainly rightly explained by *ὑπερφνω̃ς*. — As *ποι-νή* from *ποφ-ινα*, so *φοιτάω* from *ποφ-ι-τα-ω*, which might occur in Latin as *fuito*, regarded as a frequentative and applied to presence at a place. *futarit* (fuit), *futavere* (fuere) are actually to be found among the glosses of Plac. There is no ground for Corssen's emendation (Beitr. 214). Tobler Ztschr. IX 248 compares the Span. *fu* he went. — It seems safe too to connect *φώ-ς* man (st. *φωρ*) as "the begetter", and to refer it to *ποφ-ατ* = Skt. *bhavat*, which besides its participial use in the sense of being is used as a polite form of address. Cp. Fick² 137. Phonetically similar is *φάα* (for *ποφ-α*) *ἐξανθήματα* Hes. — On the use of *fuam*, *fore* by the side of *sim*, *esse* Studien V, 437 "de aoristi latini reliquiis". The meaning be evidently finds its way to this rt. everywhere only as an outgrowth of the earlier meaning grow, become. This is however no warrant for introducing into the Homeric formu-306 laries *ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ, ὁδᾶξ ἐν χεῖλεσι φύντες* (cp. Hdt. VI 91

χειρες ἐμπεφυκυῖαι) the idea "grow firm". Here φῶναι differs from γενέσθαι only in degree of intensity (cp. ἐγένετο ἐν χειρί, ἐν ἱερτῶ), and means accordingly to get 'fast set in' something, to be firmly bound to it. I. Bekker, it is true, (Hom. Bl. 185) takes χειρὶ as an instrumental dative, so that the meaning would then be "he bound himself to him by the hand". It seems to me more natural with Schnorr "Verborum collocatio HomERICA" (Berlin 1864) p. 5, to connect the dative with ἐν, if only on account of the parallel uses of γίγνεσθαι.

418) φύλλο-ν leaf. — Lat. *foliu-m*.

Pott I¹ 239, Ztschr. VI 323, Benf. I 575. — We are at once reminded of No. 412 d or of No. 417. Both supply a possible origin for the words and hence we cannot decide, though we can see that these two words are identical, and that φύλλο-ν = φύλιον. If they belong to 412 we must divide the word φυλ-ιο-ν *fol-iu-m*, if to 417, φυ-λιο-ν *fo-liu-m*.

IV

A Greek ν corresponds to an Indo-Germanic n, retained also in all the other languages.

419) Rt. ἄν ἄν-ε-μο-ς wind, ἄν-ται· ἄνεμοι Hesych. — Skt. rt. *an*, *an-i-mi* breathe, *an-a-s* breath, *an-ila-s* wind, *an-ika-s* face. Zd. *ain-ika* face. — Lat. *an-i-mu-s*, *an-i-ma*. — Goth. *uz-an-a* exspiro, *an-st-s* favour, O.-H.-G. *un-st* procella, *an-do* wrath, O.-N. *ónd* anima, vita. — Ch.-Sl. *a-ch-a-ti* odorari, *v-on-ja* odor. — Ir. *anáil*, gen. *anála*, dat. *anáil* breath (Corm. Gl. p. 36 prúll, Gild. 120), Cymr. *anadyl* (Z.² 820).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 1, Benf. I 118, Grimm Wth. I 192, Mikl. Lex., Stokes Ir. Gloss. p. 149. — The immaterial use of the word reminds us of θυμός (No. 320), πνεῦμα (No. 370) and the late Latin use of *spiritus*; the Goth. *anst-s* of the Lat. *adspirare* [and *aura*

Hor. Od. III 2, 20 &c.]. — Ant. Goebel has especially worked out this root (Homericæ, oder Unters. üb. d. W. *AN* Münst. 1861), but here much is very boldly referred to this root (cp. p. 106 above). It seems to me however a happy thought, which Benfey has since carried out further (Or. u. Occ. I 193), that *προς-ηνής*, *ἀπ-ηνής* and *ὑπ-ήνη* are to be placed here. Only we must not therefore ascribe to the root *ἀν* the meaning 'see', but must start with Benfey from an noun-stem *ῥνο* = Skt. *āna* mouth or nose (cp. *ānana-m* mouth), face (cp. Lat. *ōs*): thus *προς-ηνής* means with face turned towards, *ἀπ-ηνής* with face turned away, *ὑπ-ήνη* beard, the part under the breath. Probably *πρηνής* = Lat. *prōnu-s* comes straight from the 307 preposition *pra* (*πρά* No. 380). Cp. Brugman Stud. IV 155, Fick ² 129.

- 420) *ἀνα-*, *ἀν-*, *ἀ-* negative prefix, *ἄν-εν* (Dor. *ἄν-ις*) without. — Skt. *an-*, *a-*. Zd. *ana-*, *an-*, *a-*. — Lat. *in-*, Osc. Umbr. *an-*, *a-*. — Germ. *un-*, Goth. *in-uh*, O.-H.-G. *ānu*, *āne* (Germ. *ohne*) without. — O.-Ir. *an-*, *an-fiss* inscitia, *an-cretem* infidelitas (Z.² 860).

Bopp Gl., Pott II¹ 65. For *ἄνις* Ahr. D. Dor. 384, Grimm Gr. III 261. — This negative particle is probably identical with the nominal stem *an* (No. 421). The epic by-form *ἀνα-*, preserved in *ἀνά-εδνος* (Hom.), *ἀνά-ελπιος* (Hesiod.), *ἀνά-γνωστος* (Callim.) which Buttmann A. Gr. II² 466 took aright, and recognized in its relation to *νη-* in Lexil. I² 274, while Lobeck El. I 194 endeavoured with G. Hermann to set it aside, now receives a strong support in the Zend form *ana-* (e. g. *ana-zātha* unborn, = *ἀνά-γετο-ς*) Justi p. 18. The forms *ἄνευ*, *ἄνις* are not yet cleared up: an attempt is made by Benfey Ztschr. II 226. — Since aphaeresis is a common phenomenon in Skt., perhaps the Skt. prefix *nis-*, coinciding in meaning with the Germ. *aus*, *un-*, is to be identified with *ἄνις*.

- 421) *ἀνά* up, to, *ἄν-ω* above. — Zd. *ana* (w. acc.) up. — Lat. *an-hēlo* draw up breath, Osc. Umbr. *an-*. — Goth. *ana* up, to, against. — Ch.-Sl. *na* super, O.-Pruss. *na*, *no* up.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *anu*, which in its meaning *post*, *secundum* is certainly related (Vgl. Gram. II 187); according to Kuhn (Beiträge I 359) all the forms here collected go back to an original *ana-m*. Pott I² 306. — *ἀνά* is evidently a case-form of the demonstrative stem, which is preserved as *ana* in Skt., as *ana-s* ille in Lithuanian, as *onū* with the same meaning in Ch.-Sl., and which is related to No. 420. Cp. Ebel Ztschr. IV 219 and No. 425. — As *an* occurs in Umbrian (Aufr. and Kirchh. I 158) as a prefix, we may explain also the Lat. *an-hēlare*

by *an*, for the *amb-* of *an-quirere* round about, or, as Pott W. I 83 will have it, 'to draw breath 'ambobus lateribus' is too far-fetchel. Other traces of this Lat. *an* are conjectured by Bergk Philol. XXI 592. Lübbert Conj. Perf. (Breslau 1867) p. 76 in *a-stataries* from a formula of incantation, *a-stasint statuerunt* (Paul. Ep. p. 26). Corssen II² 564.

422) *άνήρ* (st. *άνερ*) man, *άνδρ-ειο-ς* manly, *άνδρ-εία* Hom. *ήνορ-έή* manliness, *άγ-ήνωρ* manly, courageous, *άνθρ-ωπο-ς* human being.

Skt. *nar*, *nara-s* man, human being, *nar-ja-s* manly, *nr-mṇa-m* manliness, might, *nr-tama-s* (superl.) *άνδρειότατος*. — Zd. *nar*, *nara* man, *nairya* manly.

Sabin. *ner-o(n)* fortis, *ner-io* (st. *neri-en*) fortitudo.

O.-Ir. *nert* n. vis, valor (a-stem, Z.² 224), *so-nirt* firmus, fortis (Z.² 863), *nertit* confirmant (Z.² 436).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 106, Grimm Gesch. 285. — As in four families 308 the initial letter is a consonant, we can hardly go back with Benf. I XIII, Schweizer Ztschr. VIII 234 to the rt. *an* (No. 419), which besides does not suit the specific meaning of these nouns. It is more probable that the Gr. *ά* is prothetic, and the root unknown. The attempt of Legerlotz Ztschr. X 374 to derive the word from the rt. *gan* (No. 128) on the ground of an initial *f* is unsuccessful, if only because Dion. Hal. I 20 is the only author who mentions a form *fανήρ*. But as he is possessed with the notion that *f* can be prefixed at pleasure, he is an extremely suspicious witness. Neither in Homer nor in other dialects (in spite of Oscar Meyer Quaest. Homer. (Bonn 1868) p. 44) does the common word begin with anything but a vowel. — For the Sabine words see Sueton. Tib. I, Gell. XII 22. Aufrecht and Kirchhoff explain the substantive-stem *ner* in Umbrian, whence acc. pl. *ner-f* by *princeps*. Cp. Corssen I² 471. — *άνθρ-ωπο-ς* seems to me to be taken most naturally as 'man's face' (Pott II² 924 after Hartung Part. I 52) with *θ* for the more usual subsidiary consonant *δ* (cp. *πάγ-ο-ς* *πάχνη*, *γόνυ* *πρόχυν*, *πρό* *φροῦδος*). This is supported also by *δρωψ* *άνθρωπος* (Hesych.) which I do not regard with M. Schmidt as Macedonian with *δ* for *θ*, but as the syncopated form of *νερ-ωψ*, where *δ* before *ρ* would be the natural substitute for *ν*, as *β* before *ρ* that of *μ* (*βρο-τό-ς* No. 468). Otherwise Aufrecht Ztschr. III 240, V 365.

423) *γένυ-ς* chin, jaw, edge, *γέν-ειο-ν* chin, beard, *γνάθο-ς*, *γναθ-μός* jaw, bit, tooth. — Skt. *hanu-s* (m.) maxilla. — Lat. *gen-a*. — Goth. *kinnu-s* (f.) chin.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 142, Benf. II 118. — The agreement of four families in the nasal, of three in the initial guttural with a kindred meaning justifies this comparison, in spite of the Skt. *h* which points to *gh*; but this — as in *aham* = ἑγών, ego, Goth. *ik* — may be regarded as a specifically Indian corruption. — γνά-θο-ς shows an expansion to be compared with λί-θο-ς, κέλευ-θο-ς, ψάμα-θο-ς (by the side of ψάμμο-ς), which reminds us of the *d* of the probably related Lith. *žán-da-s* jaw, jawbone. If we have to assume a root γαν, γεν, the words collected under No. 125, which are of kindred meaning might be developed from it by the help of a derivative φ = *bh*. — In the Lat. *dentes genu-ini* cheek teeth a stem *genu* appears, alike also in its suffix (Fick² 68).

423 b) ελνάτερ-ες. — Lat. *janitr-i-c-ēs* women married to brothers. — Ch.-Sl. *jetry* (f.) σύννυμφος, uxor fratris mariti, Lith. *intė* brother's wife.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *jātṛ*, Pott II¹ 208, I¹ 114, Benf. II 202, Corssen Beitr. 265, Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 34. — A very old term of relationship, which has preserved its form with no essential change, and its meaning completely in three families of speech; for σύννυμφοι is in the grammarians the explanation both of the Greek and of the Latin word (cp. also Nauck Aristoph. Byz. p. 136). The primitive form must be taken to be *jantar*. The Greek *εἰ* may probably be explained from *ἔε* for *je*; the *α* is related to the Lat. *i* just as the *α* of θυγα-τρεῖ to the Skt. *duh-i-tar* (No. 318). In Lat. and Ch.-Sl. expanding 309 suffixes have been added. — The Skt. *jātar*, acc. to Pet. D. 'the wife of a husband's brother', somewhat further removed in form, has perhaps grown out of *jantar*. But the Skt. *jāmātar*, a by-form of *gāmātar* (No. 128) we put out of the question.

424) Rt. ἐνεκ ἡνέχ-θη-ν, ἐν-ήνοχ-α, ἥνεγκ-ο-ν, ἥνεγκ-α carry, δουρ-ηνεκ-ές as far as the spear carries, δι-ηνεκ-ής (Att. δι-ἄνεκ-ής) going throughout, holding together, ποδ-ηνεκ-ής reaching to the feet, ἥνεκ-ής (late) extended, κεντ-ηνεκ-ής driven with the goad.

Skt. *naç* (*naç-ā-mi*) reach, attain, *aç* (*aç-nô-mi*) reach, aor. *ānaç* (for **ān-ank-t*) = ἥνεγκε, *vj-ānaç-i-s* penetrating.

Lat. *nanc-i-sc-o-r nac-tu-s* (old Lat. *nanc-tu-s*).

Goth. *ga-nah* it suffices, satisfies.

Ch.-Sl. *nes-a* inf. *nes-ti* carry, Lith. *nesz-ù* carry, *nasz-tà* burden.

Pott W. II 2, 428, Schleich. Ksl. 125, A. Kuhn Beitr. III 123, Ernst Kuhn Ztschr. XIX 309, Fick² 107. — The present form *συν. ἐνέχεται* Hes. Suet. 440 is disputed, I think without reason. The glosses of Hesych., quoted by Lobeck El. I 57, *ἐν-ἐ-εἰκων ἦνεγκαν*, *ἐν-ε-εἰκ-ω ἐνέγκω* ought not to lead us astray. The *ἀπαξ εἰλημένον* too *ἐπ-ηγκ-εν-ιδ-ες* (ε 253) some grammarians traced back to *ἐπ-ηνεγκ-ιδ-ες*, which would suit the meaning. Lob. El. I 508. — Ernst Kuhn's assumption of an original double root *nank* and *ank* explains the connection of all the forms, with the fundamental notion 'to suffice, reach to, carry away'. In spite of Corssen II² 238 *ἀνάγκη* and *neccesse* are probably to be placed here. The ε of *ἐνεκ* (= Skt. *anaç*) I now take as part of the reduplicated syllable; hence *ἐν-εγκ*, *ἐν-εκ*. — Also the Irish perfect *r-anac* veni, compared by Stokes and Ebel with Skt. *ānankā* (Beitr. II 396, IV 175, VI 4, VII 8) with the kindred forms belongs here, if the Skt. rt. *añ* *añk* is related to the above. It is however better compared with Skt. *anaça*.

425) *ἐνί* (adv. *ἐνί*), *ἐν* (Arcad. and Cypr. *ίν*), *εἰς* (*ές*) in, *ἐν-τό-ς*, *ἐν-δο-ν* within, *ἐς-ω* within, *ἐν-εροι* inferi, *ἐνερ-θε*, *ὑπ-ένερ-θε* apud inferos, *ἐνέρ-τερο-ς* deeper (*νέφθε*, *νέφτεροι*), *ἐν-τερο-ν* inward parts. Skt. *an-tar* inside, within, *an-tarā* in the middle. *an-tama-s* the nearest, intimately friendly, *an-tara-s* within, inward, *an-tra-m* intestine.

Lat. *en-do*, *in-du*, *in*, *in-ter*, *in-trā*, *in-trō*, *in-ter-ior*, *in-tumu-s*, *in-tus*, *intes-tinu-s*; Umbr. *en-*, *an-der*, Osc. *an-ter* inter.

Goth. *in*, *inna* within, *innuma* inmost, *inna-thrō* *έσωθεν*. — *un-dar* under, O.-H.-G. *innādiri* inward parts, intestine.

Lith. *į* in (w. acc.), Ch.-Sl. *v-a*, *v-ū* in, *je-tro* jecur.

O.-Ir. *in* in (Z.² 624), *inathar* viscera (Z.² 781); *eter*, *etir* inter (Z.² 656).

310 Cp. *ἀνά* No. 421, Aufrecht and Kirchh. I 148, Mikl. Lex. — *ἐνί*: *ἀνά* = *περί*: *παρά* (No. 346); *ἐνί* seems to be a locative form; *εἰς*, for which the grammarians give us an Argive-Cretic *έν-ς* (Ahr. d. Dor. 104), has grown out of *ένι-ς* like *έξ* from *έκ* (cp. Lat. *ci-s*, *ul-s*). In several dialects *έν* like the Lat. *in* took the place of *εἰς*: *ίν* is discussed by Mor. Schmidt Ztschr. IX 369 and in my 'Contributions to Greek Dialectology' Gött. Anz. 1862 App. p. 10. *έσω* Hom. *έσω* for *έν-σω* is formed from *έν* in the same way as *πρό-σω* from *πρό*. *έν-εροι* are properly the inner ones: hence the name de-

notes an underworld conceived as existing inside the earth. Leo Meyer, *Bemerkungen z. ältest. Gesch. d. Gr. Myth.* p. 55, compares Skt. *nara-ka-s* underworld, German *Nord* and *Nerthus* as the Earth-mother. The same idea occurs in *inter-eo*, which remarkably agrees both with the German use of *untergehen* (to go under, i. e. to perish) and with the Skt. *antar-i-ta-s* perished, ruined. Probably the Umbr. *nertru mani* i. e. sinistra manu (*Aufr. u. K.* II 219) also belongs here. — Thus we get the right view of the relation of the Skt. prefix *ni-* down to the Gr. *ἐν*: *ni-* is probably for *ani-* (cp. No. 420), but its meaning has been transferred to that which has become fixed in *ἐν-τοι* and in O.-H.-G. *ni-dar* nether; this latter word is compared also by Bopp Gl. and *Vergl. Gr.* III 496. In the word derived from *ni-ni-ja-s* inward, secret the primitive meaning appears. — The pronominal stem *ana* which apparently occurs in these prepositions and adverbs, is also preserved in *ἐν-θα*, *ἐν-θεν*, *ἐν-ταῦθα*, *ἐν-τεῦθεν* with the vowel *ε*, and also in the following No. — Pott, who treats of this preposition I² 314 is inclined to regard *i* as the stem. But in Greek *i* never passes into *ε* before consonants. Besides the full *a*-sound is shown not merely in the Umbr. Osc. *anter* inter, which still no one will separate from *in*, but perhaps also in individual words of the Sabellian dialect acutely explained by Corssen *Ztschr.* IX 141 (*asigna* = *insignia*). — In Ch.-Sl., as often, the spirants *v* and *j* have taken the place of the spiritus lenis.

426) *ἐν-ιο-ι* some, *ἐνιαχοῦ*, *ἐνιαχῆ* in some places, *ἐνί-οτε* sometimes. — Skt. *an-ja-s* (*Zd. anya*) alius, *anja-trā* elsewhere, *anja-tha* otherwise. — Goth. *an-thar* ἄλλος.

Bopp Gl., *Vgl. Gr.* I 382, Schleich. *Ksl.* 125. — There is a difficulty arising from the fact that to the Skt. *anja-s* the Lat. *alius*, Gr. ἄλλο-ς, Goth. *ali-s* seem also to correspond, and it is not probable that the same stem should have split into two forms of almost identical meaning. This induces Ebel *Ztschr.* V 70 to explain *ἐνιοι* in accordance with an old view by *ἐνι οἷ*: in this case the derived adverbs would be purely after-formations, and this is supported by the fact that *ἐνιοι* with its derivatives first occurs commonly in Herodotus, and is unknown to the Homeric poems. On the other hand Leo Meyer *Ztschr.* V 166 refers the stem *ἐνιο* to *sam-ja*. But the stem *sama* is clearly preserved in ἄμο (No. 600). My view rests especially on Hesiod's *ἐς τ' αὔριον ἐς τ' ἑννηφιν* (*Eeg.* 410), where we can clearly recognize the stem of the feminine *ἐννῆ* = Skt. *anjā* assimilated after the Aeolic fashion. The meaning of the day after tomorrow is easily arrived at. Akin are also *ἐναρ ἐς τρίτην*, *ἐπέναρ ἐς τετάρτην* *Λάκωνες* (Hes.), genitive forms with *ρ* for *ς* and *ν* for

311 *vv*, for which we find also *νῆς*, *νᾶς* (Ahr. D. Dor. 385), and in the same way the accusative *ἐνην* in Aristoph. Ach. 171 *παρεῖναι εἰς ἐνην*, i. e. *εἰς τέτην* (Schol.). Pott's question (W. I 181) 'does this word then ever express difference?' would thus be answered in the affirmative. If these words establish the meaning of 'another', the true method of our science requires us to compare the Gr. stem *ἐνω* with those words which correspond with it in form and meaning, and on the other hand to place by itself the phonetically varying form with *l*. What should induce us to deny the possibility of a stem *alja* by the side of *anja*? Hence *ἄλλο-ς* is discussed separately under No. 524.

427) *ἐννέα* nine, *ἐννα-το-ς* (Ion. *ἐλνατο-ς*), *ἐνα-το-ς* the ninth, *ἐννά-κις*, *ἐνά-κις* (Ion. *ἐλνάκις*) nine times, *ἐννα-κόσιοι*, *ἐνα-κόσιοι* nine hundred, *ἐνενή-κοντα* (Hom. *ἐννήκοντα*) ninety. — Skt. Zd. *navan* nine, Skt. *nava-ma-s* the ninth, *navati* ninety. — Lat. *novem*, *nōnu-s*, *nov-iens*, *nōnā-ginta*, *non-genti*. — Goth. *niun* nine, *niun-da* the ninth. — O.-Pruss. *nevin-ts* nonus, Ch.-Sl. *deve-tŭ* novem, *devetyj* nonus, Lith. *devyn-i* novem, *devyn-la-s* nonus. — Cymr. *nau* novem, O.-Ir. *nói(n)* novem, *nómad* nonus (Z.² 304 ff., primitive form *nava-mata*).

Bopp Vergl. Gr. II 76, Pott I¹ 197, II¹ 132, Benf. II 51, 215 where there are all manner of conjectures as to the origin of the word, which reminds us of *νέο-ς* (No. 433), and perhaps points to an old method of reckoning by fours. — The *é* is prothetic, hence the doubling of the *v*, which does not hold its ground in all the derived forms. For both these procedures Bopp quotes the analogy of the Armenian. According to Christ indeed (Lautl. 34) and Schwabe Ind. schol. Dorpat 1866 p. 16 *ἐννέα* is for *ἐνφεα*, and Schwabe believes that in the new Aeolic poem of Theocritus v. 27 he may write according to the traces of the Ms. *εννέα*, which he explains as like *γοῦνα* for *γομφα*. But how improbable is a metathesis, which would only produce a harder combination of sounds! — *ἐνενή-κοντα* = *nōnā-ginta* is explained by Benfey from the ordinal, after the analogy of *ἐβδομή-κοντα*, so that the stem *ἐνενο* is like the Lat. *nōno*, probably with *n* for *m* (cp. Skt. *nava-ma-s*) by a kind of progressive assimilation of the consonant. — For the Slavo-Lithuanian forms Schleich. Ksl. 116.

428) *ἐνο-ς*, *ἐνη* old. — Skt. *sana-s* old. Zd. *han-a* (m. f.) old man or woman. — Lat. *sen-ec-s*, *sen-iu-m*, *sen-esc-o*, *sen-ātu-s*, *sen-ili-s*, *sen-ec-ta*, *sen-ec-tū(t)-s*.

Sen-eca, *sen-co-io(n)*. — Goth. *sin-eig-s* πρεσβύτερος, *sin-ista* oldest, O.-Frank. *sini-skalku-s* the oldest house-servant. — Lith. *sén-a-s* old, *sén-i-s* old man, *sen-ýstè* age, *sen-ei* of old, long ago. — O.-Ir. *sen* old, compar. *siniu* (Z.² 275), *senchas* vetus lex, historia (Z.² 787), Cymr. *hen* senex (Z.² 123).

Pott II¹ 148, I² 796, Kuhn Ztschr. II 129, 463, IV 45. — ἔνο-ς as adjective in the formulas ἐνη καὶ νέα, εἶναι ἀρχαί, ἔνος κακός in the sense of the French *ancien* (Suidas ἐνὴν τὴν παλαιάν) Aristoph. Ach. 610 ἐνη or ἐνη according to the Scholia ἐκ πολλοῦ, hence like πάλαι. — For the derivative *ec* in Lat. *sener*, to be compared with the *x* of γυναι-κ (No. 128) Ztschr. IV 215. — Kuhn connects with this also the words denoting 'always', which are similar in sound, 312 Skt. *sanā* always, *san-ag* eternal, Lat. *sem-per*, Goth. *sin-teinō* always, *sio-tein-s* daily: but the meaning is tolerably far removed, and rather reminds us of ἄμα (No. 449, 599). Certainly the forms referring to the future, quoted under No. 426, ἐννη &c. are unconnected. The gloss of Hesychius γεννόν ἀρχαῖον, which does not follow the alphabetic sequence, and is justly regarded by M. Schmidt as suspicious, cannot at all make us doubt this combination, especially as it occurs in the midst of other strange and evidently corrupt glosses. — The derivation from rt. *san* which in Skt. means, we are told, colere, but also amare, obtinere, or from Zd. *han* to be worthy, is still very obscure. Cp. Fick² 194.

429) Rt. μέν, μαν μέν-ω remain, μέ-μον-α (pl. μέ-μα-μεν) strive, μέν-ος spirit, courage, Μέν-τωρ, Μέν-της, Ἀγα-μέμνων, μάιν-ο-μαι rave, μαν-ία madness, μάν-τι-ς inspired one, seer, μῆν-ι-ς wrath. — St. μνᾶ μέ-μνη-μαι remember, μνά-ο-μαι keep in mind, woo, μι-μνή-σκ-ω remind, μνή-μων mindful, μνή-νη, μνημο-σύνη memory. — St. μαθ-ε-μαθ-ο-ν learnt, μανθ-άν-ω learn. — St. μηνυ μηνύ-ω inform.

Skt. rt. *man* (*man-v-ê*, *man-j-ê*, part. *ma-ta-s*) think, believe, hold good, keep in mind, long for, *man-as* thought, spirit, will, *ma-ti-s* devotion, thought, view, *man-ju-s* humour, ill-humour. — St. *mnâ* (*ma-nâ-mi*) in composition mention. — Zd. *man* think, *upa-man* ὑπο-μένειν, *fra-man* wait for, *manañh* thought, spirit. — St. *ma-d*, *ma-dh* to

treat (of a physician), *madh-a* wisdom, knowledge of medicine, *vohu-mad* πολυμαθής.

Lat. *man-e-o*, *me-min-i*, *Miner-va*, *men-tio*, *men-(ti)-s*, *menti-o-r*, *mend-āx*, *mon-e-o*, *Monē-ta*, *mon-s-tru-m*, *re-min-i-sc-o-r*, *com-min-i-sc-o-r*, *commen-tu-m*, *com-men-ta-riu-s*. — *med-eo-r*, *re-med-iu-m*, *med-icu-s*, *med-i-tari*.

Goth. *ga-mun-an* think, keep in mind, *mun-s* νόημα, *ga-min-thi* μνῆτα, O.-H.-G. *minnia*, *minna* amor: O.-H.-G. *man-ē-n*, *man-ō-n* monere, *meina* opinion, O.-N. *muni* animus. — Goth. *mund-ō-n* consider, *mundrei* aim, O.-H.-G. *munt-ar* expeditus, vigil.

Lith. *min-iù* keep in mind, *āt-men-u*, *at-min-ti-s* thought, *man-d-rù-s* vigilant. — Ch.-Sl. *mĭn-ě-ti* νομίζειν, *po-me-na-ti* μνημονεύειν, *pa-me-tĭ* μνήμη, *ma-d-rŭ* φρόνιμος.

O.-Ir. *do-muinur* puto (for *mun-ior*) *do-aith-minedar* commonet (Z.² 438 pres. dep.), *do-ménar* perf. dep. putavi (Z.² 450), *menne* gen. *menman* mens (Z.² 254), *for-met* memoria, *der-met* oblivio (Z.² 223, st. *-manta*), *er-mitiu* gen. *ermiten* reverentia (Z.² 264, = Lat. *mentio mentionis*).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 94, 118, Benf. II 34 ff., Schleich. Ksl. 313 126, Pictet II 543, Ebel Beitr. II 163. — The meanings of this widely ramifying root have taken three main directions: 1) thought accompanied by endeavour, striving; hence *μῶ-μαι*, *μα-ί-ο-μαι* are also related: 2) excited thought opposed to natural behaviour, or the remaining sunk in thought, hence a) (Pictet Ztschr. V 325) to be inspired, raving, wrathful; and b) regarded purely negatively — to remain. For the latter Graeco-Latin development Pott quotes analogies from Persian and Armenian: cp. Introduction p. 101, Fick ² 146 ff.; 3) keep in mind, remember — causatively taken, to remind, *Μέν-τωρ* = *monitor*. The more physical fundamental meaning of the rt. is perhaps that of touching, feeling which may to a certain degree be recognized in its transition to a more metaphysical application in the Homeric use of *ἐμπαιεσθαι*, *ἐπεμάσσατο*, *μαστήρ*. — *Μούσα* arising, as is proved by Dor. *Μῶσα*, Aeol. *Μοῖσα*, from *Μοῦσα* i. e. *Μοῦσια*, may be fitly attached to this root, whether it be brought into a closer connexion with *μάρτι-s* (= *μάρτι-α*) with Lottner Ztschr. V 398, or — as I prefer — be taken directly as the thinking, devising one (Pott Ztschr. VI 109 ff., Welcker

Götterlehre I 701, Leo Meyer Bemerk. 42, Preller Mythol. I² 380). Otherwise Bergk Philol. XI 382, Sonne Ztsch. X 128. — It may be doubted with regard to *μη-τι-ς* insight, judgment, whether it belongs here or to the related root *μα* (No. 461): the former view is supported by the Skt. form *abhi-māti-s* way-laying, plot, quoted by Schweizer Ztschr. IV 301 (cp. *πολύμητι-ς*). For the stem-form *μα-θ* (for *μαν-θ*) expanded by a *θ*, recognized also by Pott II² 472, Ztschr. V 2, VI 108, cp. above p. 66 and No. 476. This is demonstrated by *μενθ-ήρη φροντις*, *μενθ-ήραις μερίμναις*, quoted by Hesych. This expanded stem only received a full explanation by means of the Zend words quoted above, and touched upon before under No. 286: for these unite the two meanings which are separated in *med-i-tari* (cp. *μαθ-τις*) and *med-ê-ri*. The change of meaning in Lith. *mand-rũ-s* = O.-H.-G. *mun-tar* is remarkable. But the Ch.-Sl. *maq-d-rũ* forms the link between this and the fundamental meaning (similarly rt. *budh* No. 328). For *mentiri* and *mendax* cp. Pott II² 537, Corssen Beitr. 117, for *Minerva* (*Menervai* C. I. L. 191, 1462) Preller Röm. Myth. 258. It is a derivative from *menos* = Gr. *μῆνος*. Hence *promeneruat* monet (Fest. p. 205). — The further ramification of the rt. in *μενε-αίνω*, *μενοινά-ω* may with other points be passed over here, and also the words denoting man (Skt. *man-u-s* human being, Lat. *mas* &c.) which certainly come from this root, but have no representatives in Greek.

- 430) *ναῦ-ς* ship, *ναύ-τη-ς* shipman, *ναντίλο-ς* sailor, *ναυ-τίλλ-ο-μαι* sail, *ναῦ-λο-ν*, *ναῦ-σθλο-ν* passage-money, *ναυ-τία*, *ναυ-σία* sea-sickness, *ναυτιά-ω*, *ναυσιά-ω* become sea-sick.

Skt. *nāu-s* ship, boat, *nāu-kā* skiff.

Lat. *nāvi-s*, *nau-ta*, *nāvita*, *nāv-igare*, *nav-ig-iu-m*.

O.-H.-G. *nacho*, A.-S. *naca*, Bavar. *naue* ship, O.-N. *nau-st* statio navalis, *Nóa-tún* Shipton, dwelling-place of Njördhr.

O.-Ir. *nau*, *nói* gen. *nóe* navis (Z.² 33).

Bopp Vgl. Gr. I 258, Pott W. I 138, Pictet II 180. — Lat. *nausea* is certainly, a borrowed word, and perhaps also *nauta*. The root is either *snu* (No. 443) or *sná*, which however is only quoted in 314 the meaning of lavare (cp. rt. *plu* No. 369). In the latter case *ναῦ-ς* would be formed like *γαῦ-ς* (No. 130). — For the guttural of the German words see p. 584.

- 431) Rt. *νεμ νέμ-ω* portion out, pasture, rule, *νέμ-ο-μαι* get apportioned, feed, possess, *νωμά-ω* distribute

to, use, νομ-ή, νέμ-η-σι-ς distribution, νευ-έ-τωφ(ο), νομ-εύ-ς distributor, νέμ-ε-σι-ς displeasure, wrath at an excess, νευεσσά-ω (νεμεσάω), νευεσί-ξ-ο-μαι blame, am angry with, νόμ-ο-ς custom, law, νομίζ-ω am accustomed to, νόμισ-μα coin. — νέμ-ο-ς pasture, Νεμέα, νομ-ό-ς pasture, dwelling. Lat. *Num-a*, *Num-i-tor*, *num-er-u-s*, *Numer-ius*, *nem-us*. Goth. *nim-a* capio, λαμβάνω, O.-H.-G. *nām-a* rapina, praeda [Eng. *numb* and Shakspeare's Corporal *Nym*].

Lith. *nām-a-s* house(?), *nū'm-a-s* gain, Lett. *nom-r* tax. O.-Ir. *nama* gen. plur. *namat* hostis (Z.² 258).

The attempts to connect these European words, which are certainly akin, with the Skt. *nam* (*nam-i-ma*) to bend, to incline, or even with Skt. *jam* hold, lift (PW.) as in Bopp Gl. s. v. *jam*, Benf. II 134, meet with great difficulties, the former from the meaning, the latter from the form of the words. Sonne Ztschr. XII 347 ff. makes a new attempt to unite νέμω and *nam-āni* on the ground of the fuller account that has recently been given of the use of the Skt. word. He endeavours to find the intermediate notion in καθήκειν to come down to anything, and attaches weight to *upa-nam* with acc. to fall to one's lot: while Pictet II 17 following up a remark of Kuhn's (Ind. Stud. I 338) seeks to reconcile them by the idea 'baisser la tête pour paître'. The Zd. *nim-ata* grass might be considered to support the latter explanation, while in all other cases in Zd. as in Skt. the verb and the substantive *nemañh* = *namas* denote bowing, honouring, (also it is true 'aes alienum'). The Greek use cannot be satisfactorily explained in either the one or the other way. Cp. also Pictet II 691 and Pott W. II 2, 193. — J. Grimm Gesch. 29 quotes some remarkable analogies for the connexion of the ideas take and pasture. — If we start from 'allot' as the primary meaning, the special applications are thus developed: 1) 'count out', Herod. ἀνανέμεσθαι, *numerus* (for *num-e-su-s*, hence Osc. *Niumsieis*); 2) 'to get allotted to one's self', hence take νέμεσθαι, which also (as well as νέμειν) means to dwell, and therefore induces us to mention here also the Lith. *nāma-s*, quoted under No. 265 with a note of interrogation; hence too in another way the words relating to pasturing, and again in a different way ἀπονέμεσθαι to get gain by anything, Lith. *nūma-s*; 3) 'to portion out' suum cuique tribuere, hence νόμο-ς order, custom, ordinance, *Numitor* = Νεμέτωφ. Corssen's attempt I² 439 to refer νόμο-ς to rt. γνω (No. 135) is quite unsuccessful: νόμο-ς never means judgement in a judicial sense, but custom, style, hence especially style of

music. *ἀγορα-νόμοι, γυναικο-νόμοι* &c. are the orderers of the market &c. Aristotle had a true sense of the derivation of *νόμος*, when he said Pol. II p. 1326^a, 29: ὁ νόμος τάξις τίς ἐστι καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἀναγκάων ἐντάξιν εἶναι. It was in this sense that I used the word 'rule' (*wallen*) in the second edition. — *νέμεσις* seems to have meant properly reckoning to any one, imputatio, as Fulda Untersuch. I 161 makes probable. Hence *νεμεσίζομαι* I make a reckoning (in a bad 315 sense), and the desiderative *νεμεσάω* i. e. *νεμε-σι-αω* (cp. *τομάω, ναυ-τιάω*). — *νέμος* is strictly a Graeco-Italic word in form and meaning. How prominent the notion of grassy ground shaded with trees still is in *nemus*, is shown by passages like Horat. Carm. III 17, 9 *cras foliis nemus multis tempestas sternet*; here Hoffmann-Peerlkamp takes objection on this very point, that the wood cannot be strewn. But the pasture can. — *nummu-s*, though the double *m* is the best established (Fleckeisen '50 Artikel' 21), is probably borrowed from the *νόμο-s* preserved to us in the Heracl. Tables (I 122): there are also other proofs of its use in this sense (Meister Stud. IV 440). Somewhat otherwise Corssen I² 438. — Ir. *nama* is orig. a part. pres. like *cara* gen. *carat* amicus: it would be most directly connected with Goth. *nima* and O.-H.-G. *nāma* (rapina). So Stokes Corm. Gl. Tranl. p. 125, though he previously (Ir. Gl. p. 65) took it as *na + amans*.

- 432) Rt. *vec νέ-ο-μαι* go, come, *νί-σ-ο-μαι* go, *νός-το-ς* return. — Skt. rt. *nas nas-ê* unite oneself to any one, *sam-nas-ê* come to any one.

Kuhn Ztschr. II 137, who explains the use of *nas*. — As this form explains *νί-σ-ο-μαι* in particular = *νεσ-ιο-μαι* (*νελίσσομαι* is a reading now universally rejected) with *ι* for *ε* before the double consonant (cp. *ἰσθί*) and *νός-το-ς*, this comparison deserves to be preferred to attempts (Bopp Gl. s. v. *ní*, Pott W. I 576) of another kind, and also because of its simplicity to Benfey's analysis (I 301). — The proper name *Νέσ-τωρ*, as far as form goes, might be well placed here, as something like 'Leader', 'Leader home'; cp. however under No. 287 b. — It is natural to derive from this root also *ναίω* dwell (*ναι-έτη-ς, ναιετ-άω*), especially as forms like *ἐ-νασ-σα, ἐ-νάσ-θη-ν* seem to contain a *σ* belonging to the stem (Grassmann Ztschr. XI 33). As *νόστος* means return home, so *νασ-γ-ω* might have meant something like I turn in, go in and out. But there is an objection in the Aeol. *ναῦ-ο-ς* temple, which is established by inscriptions: for we should be reluctant to sever the house of the gods from that of men. Sonthe however does this Ztschr. XII 350, XIII 408. Could *ναῦ-ο-ς* be for *νασ-φο-ς*, like Hom. *εὔαθεν* for *ἐ-σφαδ-ε-ν*?

- 433) *νέ-ο-ς* (*νεφο-ς*) new, young, *νεό-ς* (*νελό-ς*) fallow field, *νε-αρό-ς* young, fresh, new, *νε-άν, νεαν-ία-ς*,

νέ-αῖ (contemptuous) youth, *νε-οσσο-ς* young (animal), *νε-οττ-ιά* nest, *νε-οχ-μό-ς* new, *νε-βρό-ς* fawn, *νέ-ατο-ς* novissimus (fem. *νή-τη* the lowest string), *νε-ωστί* lately [Germ. *jüngst*], *νεί-αιρα* (fem.) infima, *νει-ρό-ν* (Hes.) *ἔσχατον*.

Skt. *nava-s*, *nav-ja-s* new, fresh, young. — Zd. *nava* new.

Lat. *novu-s*, *Nov-iu-s*, *nov-iciu-s*, *nov-āli-s*, *nov-ellu-s*, *nov-āre*, *nover-ca*, *nū-nt-iu-s*, *de-nu-o*, *nū-per*. — Osc. *Nūv-la*, *Nu-ceria*.

Goth. *niu-ji-s* νέος, *niuji-tha* καινότης.

Lith. *naū-je-s* new, dim. *naujó-ka-s* novice, Ch.-Sl. *nov-ŭ* new.

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O.-Ir. *nú* novus (primary form *nava*), *núe* novus (primary form *navia*) Corn. *nowyth*, *newyth* (Z.² 239, 134—137).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 160, Benf. II 51, Kuhn Ztschr. II 266, J. Grimm Ztschr. I 433, Schleich. Ksl. 125, Ebel Beitr. I 160. — The most probable derivation appears to me to be that from the pronominal stem *nu* (No. 441), approved also by Böthlingk Chrestomathie p. 413. Pott's explanation from the Skt. *anu* after assumes aphaeresis, and the existence of this preposition in this definite sense before the separation of languages; and both are improbable. — The derivatives are developed from the stem by various formative suffixes in *v*, *q*, *x*. *νεβ-ρό-ς* is for *νεF(σ)-ρό-ς*, a by-form of *νεFαρό-ς*: from *νε-αχ*, *νε-οχ* comes *νεοσσο-ς* = *νεοκ-ιο-ς*; Lat. *nov-er-ca* = *νεαρινή* Ztschr. IV 216 'the new (wife)' in a bad sense. Ascoli Ztschr. XII 320 quotes an analogy from Modern Persian, where *énder*, literally the other, denotes the stepfather and father-in-law. *nū-ntiu-s* (Old Lat. *nountius*) Bergk explains Ztsch. f. d. Alterth. 1855 p. 300 as *novi-vent-iu-s*, Corssen I² 51 as *norent-iu-s* from a postulated **novére*. On *νέα-τος*, *νείαιρα* Ebel gives another, but not a convincing, opinion Ztschr. VI 206. A rare superlative *νήϊστο-ς* is quoted by Hesych., to which belong *νήϊσταις* *πύλαις*, *ταῖς πρώταις καὶ τελευταίαις* and the Theban gate *Νήϊται* (Lobeck Proleg. 398, G. Hermann ad Eurip. Phoen. 1115) probably for *Νήϊται* with a Boeotian assimilation of *στ* to *ττ*.

434) *νεῦρο-ν* sinew, cord, *νευρ-ά* bow-string, harp-string.

— Lat. *ner-vu-s*, *nerv-iae* gutstrings, *nerv-osu-s*. —

O.-H.-G. *snar-a*, *snar-ahha*, *smuor* laqueus, *nar-ka* scar [Germ. *Narbe*] and *fibulatura*, O.-Sax. *nar-u*

angustus, O.-N. *njörv-a* artare. — Lith. *nár-a-s* joint in bodies, *ner-ù* inf. *nér-ti* to thread a needle, *nar-inù* make a noose.

Benf. I 292, Pott I 230, W. I 380 where we find figuring once more that unhappy *nesvod*, from Gell. XX 1, which is found in no M.S. (Schöll XII tabb. p. 122). Kuhn Ztschr. I 515. — From the Lithuanian especially we may assume *snar* as the rt., hence with a suffix *ra* the Indog. *snar-va-s*, Lat. *ner-vu-s*, with metathesis *νεῦρο-ν*. — The Skt. *sná-ju-s*, *sná-s-á* tendo, nervus, Zd. *çna*, *çnávare* sinew, gut are, as it appears, more remotely connected. — Other doubtful analogies are discussed by Legerlotz Ztschr. VIII 399. — Cp. Fick ² 214 and No. 436.

435) *νεφρός*-s kidney, *νεφρί-διο-s*, *νεφρί-τη-s* of the kidneys.
— O.-H.-G. *niero* kidney.

Benf. II 56. — The origin and further connections are altogether obscure: a *b* corresponding to the *φ* must have fallen out after the *i* in German.

436) Rt. *νε* *νέ-ω*, *νή-θ-ω* spin, *νή-μα* yarn, thread, *νή-σι-s* spinning, *νή-τρο-ν* spinning wheel.

Lat. *ne-o*, *nê-men*, *nê-tu-s*.

O.-H.-G. *nâ-an*, *nâ-dala*, Goth. *nêthla* *ῥαπλς*, *na-ti* net.

O.-Ir. *sná-the* dat. *sná-thiu* filum (Z.² 211), *snáthaim* 'I thread or string' (O'R.), *snáidid* 'knit ye' imperat. (L. U., Journal. 1870 p. 100), *snáthat* needle (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 150).

Pott W. III 920, Benf. II 181, Bopp Gl., Stokes Ir. Gl. 817. — 317

All four add Skt. *nah* = *nectere*, which makes some of its forms from *nadh*. This *nadh* may indeed be closely connected with *νήθ-ω*. But in *νε* we have a shorter stem-form, which deviates from the Skt. This opinion is shared by Leo Meyer Ztschr. VIII 260, Pictet II 158. The Ir. *snáthe* would induce us to consider *sna* as the root, and to assume a connection with No. 434; the form *ἐννη* = *nebat* (Bergk Lyr. ³ p. 1333), given in the E. M. also points to the loss of a consonant before *ν*. Cp. Rumpf Jahn's Jahrb. 1866 p. 75. — Pictet II 512 is probably right in referring to this root *νέ-ω* heap up, intens. *νη-νέ-ω*, with the derived *νη-έ-ω*, for these words are used especially of the building up of the funeral pile (*νεφάρ νῆσαι*), and the skilful arrangement of the logs across each other is not farther removed from the primary notion of binding than *δέμ-ω* is from *δέ-ω* (No. 264). On the very ancient custom of constructing such funeral piles (Caesar

B. Gall. VI 16, immani magnitudine, contexta viminibus) Pictet, following Jac. Grimm 'Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen' quotes abundant authorities.

- 437) *νη-* negative prefix (*νη-κερδής*, *νη-(ἀ)νεμ-λή*). — Skt. *na* (Ved. *nā*) not, *nó* (*na-u*) and not, *níd* (*na-id*) lest. Zd. *na* not. — Lat. *nē-* (*nē-fas*), *-nē?*, *ni-* (*ni-mirum*, *ni-si*), *nē*, *n-oenu-m*, *noenu*, *nón*. — Goth. *ni* *ov*, *μή*, *ni-h* *ovðé*, *niba* *ei* *μή*, O.-H.-G. *ne*, *nein*. — Ch.-Sl. *ne* *ov*, *μή*, *ne-že* *ī* after comparatives, Lith. *nē* not, *nei* also not, as it were. — O.-Ir. *ni* non, *nē*, *ma-ni* si non, *ca-ni* nonne, *na*, *nat*, *nach* (*nad*, *nád*, *nách*, *naich*) non in dependent and relative sentences (Z.² 739—749), *naicc* no (Z.² 749).

Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 178, Pott I¹ 106, Benf. II 45. — According to Bopp the pronominal stem *na* underlies these words, though it occurs elsewhere with a force by no means negative (cp. *vaí* = Lat. *nae* [*ne*, Ritschl, Proll. ad Trin. p. 97] yes, *νή* indeed). The same nasal appears as a negative in *áv-* (No. 420). It seems to me unsafe to separate the Lat. *nē* (*nei*, *nī*) from the interrogative *nē* and to connect it with *μή*. For *n-oenu-m* i. e. *ne-oenu-m* (cp. No. 445) and its identity with *nein* Grimm Gr. III 745, Lachm. ad Lucret. 149. — It is worth while noticing the comparative usage of this syllable in the Vedas, where *na* very often means 'as' (cp. Lith. *nei*), a confirmation of the proverb *omnis comparatio claudicat* from the history of language. — Cp. Ztschr. VI 309, Corssen I² 786.

- 438) *νήσσα* duck. — Lat. *anà(t)s*. — O.-H.-G. *anut* [Germ. *Ente*, A.-S. *ened*, whence *drake*, cp. Germ. *Enterich*]. — Lith. *ánti-s*.

Pott I 199, Benf. II 54. — It is natural to suppose a connection with *νήχ-ω* swim (No. 443), but this would separate the Greek word from those in the kindred languages. Because of the *t* in three families of speech I therefore prefer to derive *νήσσα* not from *νήχ-ια* but from *νητ-ια*, so that *νητ* corresponds to the Lat. stem *anat*, and *ια* is considered as an added feminine suffix. The primitive form would thus be *anat-ja*. The loss of an initial vowel, elsewhere unusual in Greek, is perhaps to be explained from a resemblance to *νήχω* found by 'popular etymology'. The Skt. *áti-s*, the name for another-waterfowl (Pictet I 393) may have changed *an* into *á*, as has probably been the case in *á-t-man* (cp. rt. *an* No. 419) and *játar*

(No. 423 b). -- I give up the attempt to discover the root, for the 318 Skt. *sná* bathe, which seems natural, does not suit with the initial vowel of the Latin and German (cp. Walter Ztschr. XI 435). — Cp. Corssen II² 368.

439) Rt. *νῖρ*, *νῖβ* *νῖξ-ω* (fut. *νίψω*), *νῖπ-τ-ω* moisten, wash, *χέψ-νῖβ-α* (acc.) water for washing the hands, *νῖπ-τφο-ν* water for washing.

Skt. *nig* (*nē-nég-mi*, by-form *niñg*) purify, wash away, *ava-nég-ja-m* water for washing.

O.-Ir. *nig-es* who washes (F. A. 137), *nig-ther* is washed (Corm. Gl. p. 29 *mát*), *fo-nenaig* perf. he purified (Z.² 448).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 494, Savelsberg Quaestiones Lexicales p. 57. — Schleicher Zur vergl. Sprachengeschichte p. 56, where the Greek ξ is rightly held to point to a rt. *νῖρ* and the apparent 'labial zetacism' is explained from an actual 'guttural zetacism'. Cp. p. 658. Benf. II 53, Max Müller Ztschr. IV 365. The pretended Aeolic by-form *νίσσω* (again quoted by the latter) which could not be derived from rt. *νῖρ*, has little support, according to Ahrens D. Aeol. 41. — Cp. No. 440. There is a trace of a σ once present in ἀπένιζοντο K 572, according to Rumpf Jahn's Jahrb. 1866 p. 75.

440) *νῖφ-α* (acc.) snow, *νῖφ-ά(δ)-ς* snow-flake, *νῖφ-ετό-ς* snowstorm, *νέφ-ει* (*νίφ-ει*) it snows.

Zd. *çnizh* to snow.

Lat. *ning-i-t*, *ningu-i-t*: subst. *ningu-i-s*, *nix* (st. *niv* for *nigv*).

Goth. *snaiv-s*, O.-H.-G. *snéo*, *snīwit* ningit.

Lith. *snig-ti*, *snīng-ti* to snow, *snėg-a-s*, Ch.-Sl. *snėg-ŭ* snow, Lith. *snaig-alà* snow-flake.

O.-Ir. *snigis* aor., *senaig* for *sesnaig* perf., *snigestar* aor. dep. stillavit (Beitr. VII 39. 11), *snige* drops (Corm. Gl. p. 36), *snechta* snow (F. A. 317).

Bopp Gl. s. v. *snu*, Benf. II 54, Schleich. Ksl. 137, Kuhn Ztschr. II 263. — Bopp (cp. Pictet I 93) considers *snu* (*νν*, *νέω* No. 443) as the root, but there are still many objections to this. A connection with No. 439 is suggested by Hes. *νῖβα χιόνα καὶ κρήνην*, to which Photius and Suidas add *ἐν Θερμάκη*. We might start with *snigh*, whence Skt. *snih* to be damp, *snēh-a-s* oil, quoted already by Benfey. Cp. p. 475. Homer's ἀγάννιφο-ς also points to *sn*. But No. 439 presumes

snig as the primitive form. *veiqes* is the more approved spelling, confirmed by Herodian (II 554). Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 134. — The *n* strengthens the stem in Latin as in Lithuanian. *ningues* Lucr. VI 736, Struve Lat. Decl. Conj. p. 22, Corssen Beitr. 55.

- 441) *vû*, *vû-v-í*, *vûv* now. — Skt. *nu*, *nû* now, *nû-nam* at present, certainly. Zd. *nû* just, exactly. — Lat. *num*, *nun-c*. — Goth. O.-H.-G. *nu*. — Ch.-Sl. *nyně vûv*. — O.-Ir. *nu*, *no*.

- 319 Bopp Gl., Max Schmidt de pronom. Gr. et Lat. p. 97, Schleich. Ksl. 125. — Pott II¹ 149, I² 106 compares with *vûv* only the *num* used in *etiam-num*, but breaks up the interrogative into *ne-um* and derives it from the negative and the indefinite occurring in *um-quam* and identical with *cum*. As the interrogative *-ne* in Latin is post-positive, while the transition from an asseveration referring to the present to an interrogation is easy, it looks to me more probable that the interrogative *num* is identical with the other, and differs from *nunc* only as *tum* from *tun-c*. So Ebel Ztschr. VI 207, Corssen Beitr. 291. — The connection of this pronominal stem with No. 433 is made probable especially by the Skt. *nû-tanâ-s* new, of the day, young — cp. *diu-tinu-s*. Ir. *nu*, *no* is an untranslatable verbal particle, which is prefixed especially to the present (Z.² 411, 415).

- 442) Rt. *vu* *veú-ω* nod, beckon, incline, *veû-μα* nod, *veû-σι-ς* nodding, inclination, *vev-σ-τάξ-ω*, *vu-στάξω* nod, sleep, *vúσταλο-ς* sleepy.

Lat. *nu-o*, *nû-men*, *nû-tu-s*.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *hnu*, which does not suit here either from its initial, or from its meaning — *furari*, *cripere*, *celare*. Pott W. I 669, Benf. II 182. Fick² 113, who quotes the rare Skt. *nu* (*naré*) 'move', in composition 'turn'. But the meaning does not quite agree. The other words formerly placed here I have now omitted because of the doubts as to their relationship.* Cp. Corssen I² 83. *Co-niv-é-re* will have to be discussed at p. 584.

- 443) Rt. *vu*, *cvu*. 1) *vé-ω* (for *σvef-ω*, impf. Hom. *ἐ-vveo-v*, aor. *ἐ-νευσ-α*) swim, *veû-σι-ς* swimming, *vev-σ-τίρ* diyer (Hesych.). — 2) *vá-ω* (for *σναf-ω* Aeol. *ναύ-ω*) flow, *ἀέ-να-ο-ς* (*ῥῥατα ἀενάοντα*) ever flowing.

Skt. rt. *snu*, *snâ-u-mi* fluo, mano, *snav-a-s* (subst.) a dripping, *snu-ta-s* (adj.) dripping.

Bopp Gl., Pott II² 285, W. I 372, Benf. II 53, Kuhn Ztschr. II 263. — From the rt. *snu* are derived a great number of forms with the fundamental notion of flowing, swimming; so probably No. 430, perhaps No. 440, according to Corssen Nachtr. 293 Lat. *nu-trix* 'she who makes to flow', with expansive dental suffix O.-H.-G. *snū-z-an* emungere, whence Germ. *Schnauze* snout, with a guttural suffix the equivalent Lith. *snū-k-i-s*, with *p* Lith. *sznų-p-sz-ti*, Germ. *schnau-b-en* &c. — For the double initial consonant *ἐννεο-ν* Φ 11, the reading of Aristarchus, is of importance (*ἐνναι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις νηχοντ'*). On the other hand *Νό-το-ς*, the moist south-west wind, may be explained as easily from the rt. *sna* as *νό-το-ς* from rt. *pa* (No. 371): further derivatives are *νό-τ-ιο-ς* moist, *νο-τ-ία* moisture, rain, *νο-τ-ερό-ς* wet, *νο-τ-ίζειν* to wet, *νο-τ-εῖν* drop. With Goth. *nat-jan* wet, and all that belongs to this form, we cannot at most assume more than an affinity with the unexpanded rt., for Goth. *t* points to an Indog. *d*. Zd. *ḡnād* grow does not suit either, for its *d* seems to have arisen from *dh*. — With regard to *νᾱ-μα* fluid, spring, *νᾱ-ρό-ς* flowing, whence *Νηρ-εύ-ς*, and *Νη-ιά(δ)-ς* it cannot be decided whether they are derived from *να* (rt. *sna*) or *ναν* (rt. *snu*). The same is true of *νή-χ-ω* for *σνη-χ-ω* with its derivatives, which is related to *νά-ω*, *νέ-ω* as *σμή-χ-ω* to 320 *σμά-ω*, *ψή-χ-ω* to *ψά-ω*, *ψαύ-ω*; also *νή-σο-ς* (*Νάξο-ς*? cp. *πάσσαλο-ς* and *πηκτό-ς*, Ion. *λάξις* and Att. *λήξις*) probably for *νη-κιο-ς*, but not, as Bopp conjectures, directly from Skt. *nāsā* nose; for although promontories are called noses (*Lange-nes* &c., *Μυκάλη* [the Norse -ness in English names]) and although Cic. de Legg. III § 6 says of an island 'hoc quasi rostro finditur Fibrenus', yet we had rather consider islands as the swimmers than as the noses of the sea. Döderl. Gl. 2238 fitly reminds us of *πλωτῆ ἐνὶ νήσῳ* (κ 3). — The rt. *sna* is preserved unaltered in the Umbr. -*sna-ta* (neutr. pl.) *a-sna-ta* (A. and K. Umbr. II 374). Corssen I² 434 adds the Umbrian river *Nar*. — To the rt. *sna* we may also trace the Irish forms *ro-snó*, *ro-snaus-sa* I swam. An expanded root with a dental suffix is shown by *ro-snaidet* they swim strongly, *snaid-fid* 3. sing. fut., *ro-snadius* 1. sing. aor. Cp. Journal I p. 104 XII, 390 XXIV, 388 XXI, 100, 102 VIII from the L. U.

444) *ννό-ς* (for *σννσό-ς*) daughter-in-law. — Skt. *snushā* (for *snusā*). — Lat. *nuru-s* (for *snusu-s*). — O.-H.-G. *snur*, A.-S. *snor*. — Ch.-Sl. *snūcha* (*snocha*, *synocha*).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 478, Schleich. Ksl. 138. — The by-form *ἐννός* quoted in many lexicons rests exclusively on the reading *ἐννός* in two M.SS. of Pollux III 32, where Bekker reads *ννός* with the concurrence of Lobeck (Elem. I 144). — Ch.-Sl. *ch* regularly = *s*. —

The Indogermanic primitive form is therefore *snusā*, which has been regarded by some scholars, as by Pictet II 372, as contracted from *sunu-sa*, and derived from the Skt. *sūnu-s* son, with the sense of the 'Söhnerin' common in the Black Forest. — Otherwise, but certainly incorrectly, Pott Ztschr. VI 365. — On the further use for bride, girl cp. Haupt Ind. lect. Berol. 1868/69 p. 8.

- 444b) Pronominalst. *vw*, *vw̄r vw̄iv*. — Skt. *nāu* (Zd. *nó*) acc. dat. gen. dual., *na-s* acc. pl. of the pronoun of the first person. — Lat. *nó-s*, *nó-bi-s*. — Ch.-Sl. *na* stem of the dual and plural of the pronoun of the first person.

Bopp Vergl. Gr. I 114 &c. — Perhaps *na* has originated from *ma* (No. 460).

- 444c) *vw̄-to-v*, *vw̄-to-s* back, *vw̄-t-to-s*, *vw̄-tia-to-s* in the back, *vw̄-t-l̄zeiv* to turn backwards, *νό-σ-φι(ν)* away, separated, *νο-σ-φι-ζεσθαι* to turn one's self away. — Lat. *nā-tes*.

Pauli 'Körpertheile' 14. — Studien I. 1, 257, I, 2, 298. — Döderlein Gl. 2480. — The root-syllable is *vw*, *vo*, Lat. *na*, the suffix in Gr. *το*, in Lat. *ti*. In *νό-σ-φι* probably *i* has fallen out and *e* arisen from *τ*, the latter as in *σφα*, dual of the stem *tra*, so that *νόσφι* = *natibus*.

- 445) *ολνό-ς ολνή* one. — O.-Lat. *oino-s*, Lat. *īnu-s*, *uni-α(n)*, *ūni-cu-s*. — Goth. *ain-s* *ēl̄s*, *μόνος*, *aina-ha* *μονο-γενής*. — O.-Pruss. *ain-s* one. — O.-Ir. *oin* unus, *ointu* gen. *ointad* unitas (Z.² 300, 255), Cymr. Corn. *Arem. un* (Z.² 103, 315).

- 321 Pott I 123, W. I 618, Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 56, who compares the Skt. demonstrative pronominal stem *ēna*; but this I consider as doubtful. He also quotes *ὄνος* as a word for the ace on dice. But this rests only on a false reading in Pollux IX 95. Benfey I 5. — *ολνόν καὶ ολνήν* was the phrase in Greek for a throw at dice, which was also called *χῶς*. Pollux VII 204 explains the name in these words *ἔστι δὲ ολνή παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσι μονάς*. With this Hesych. agrees: *ολνά-ζειν τὸ μονάζειν κατὰ γλῶσσαν*, *ολνῶντα* — from the desiderative *ολνάω*, cp. *φονάω*, *τομάω* — *μονήρη*, like *ολῶντα* (ib.) from *οἶος*. Cp. Lobeck El. I 43. — On *oinom* see Ritschl de tit. Aletrinati p. VI. — We can hardly avoid connecting the Graeco-Italic *oino-s* with *oi-s* alone, as Döderlein does, Synonyme u. Etymologien VI 385. Cuno Beitr. IV 101 overlooks, as many had done before, the existence of

this Greek word. The stem *aina* for unity is proved to be a common European form. The Skt. *ê-ka-s*, the Zd. *ae-va* are other extensions of the same stem *ai*. *ae-va* is probably equal to the Gr. *oîo-s*, for in the accusative form *ôyum* or *ôim* it comes very close to it in form, and also in meaning in its signification of 'alone' which it bears, as well as that of 'one'. Cp. No. 599, Corssen I² 387. — *unc-ia* (old *oncia*) Corssen II² 187 connects not with this group, but with *ôyno-s* mass. The old *o* is no objection to the derivation from *oinu-s* as we see from *coraverunt* by the side of *coirare*, *curare*.

446) *ôvo-μα(τ)* name (Aeol. *ôvυμα*, Ep. *oῦνομα*), *ân-ώνυμο-s*, *ώνυμν-ο-s* nameless, *ôνομαίνω*, *ôνομάζω* name.

Skt. *nâ-ma(n)* name, *nâma* adv. by name, namely, also used as an interrogative, *nâm-ja-s* known by name, famous. — Zd. *nâman* name.

Lat. *co-gnô-men*, *i-gnô-min-ia*, *nô-men*, *nômin-â-re*. — Umbr. *nume*, *nome* (dat. *nomn-e*).

Goth. *na-mô* gen. *na-min-s* *ôvoμα*, *namn-jan*, *ganamn-jan* *ôνομάζειν*.

Ch.-Sl. *i-mę* *ôvoμα*, *imen-ova-ti* *ôνομάζειν*.

O.-Ir. *ainm* (for **anmī*) nom. pl. *anman* nomen (Z.² 268), *ainmnid* nominativus (i-stem, Z.² 233), *ainmn-ig-ther* nominatur (Z.² 269).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 33, Benf. II 144, Schleich. Ksl. 127. — The relation of the Teutonic words to 'nehmen' (take) No. 431, assumed by J. Grimm (Gramm. II 30), is untenable. The Latin clearly shows the rt. *gnô* (No. 135) in the compounds quoted. Ebel Ztschr. V 66 derives *ôvoμα* from *γονο-μα*. As *ô* is prefixed, especially frequently before two consonants (*ô-φφύ-s*, *ô-ττύ-ω*) and also before simple nasals (*ô-μίχλη*), it seems more advisable to refer *ôvoμα* to *ô-γγο-μα*, and to find a trace of the fuller sound in the Ionic *oῦνομα*. Rt. *γvw* appears also in *γνό-ντ-ε-s* with a short vowel. Pott's doubts (II² 417, W. I 53) about the initial loss are probably explained if due weight be given to the common use of the word, for its connection with its root may well have early ceased to be really a living one. — The *τ* of *ôνόματ-ο-s* I regard according to Ztschr. IV 214 as an expansive suffix, but *ôvoμα* is for *ôνομαν*; the latter stem is preserved in *ôνομαίν-ω* = *ôνομαν-ω* and in an Aeolic form in *ώνυμν-ο-s* with a syncope reminding us of the Skt. gen. *nâmn-as* and Umbr. *nomn-e*. — Hence in form and meaning *gnâ-man* name must have existed in Indo-Germanic times.

- 447) ὄνυξ (st. ὀ-νυξ) nail, claw. — Skt. *nakha-s*, *nakha-m* nail, claw. — Lat. *ungui-s*. — Goth. *ga-nagl-jan* προσηλοῦν, O.-H.-G. *nag-al*. — Lith. *nág-a-s*, Ch.-Sl. *nogŭ-tŭ* nail, claw. — O.-Ir. *inga* dat. pl. *ingmib* (st. *ingen*, Z.² 267), Cymr. *eguin* unguis (Z.² 826).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 107, Benf. I 124, II 23, Stokes Ir. Gl. p. 150. — Ztschr. II 336, where the note of the editor is rendered superfluous by Schleicher's appendix to Ksl. Formenl. p. 374, for *nogŭtŭ*, not *nokŭtŭ* is there shown to be the authenticated form. (So Miklos. Lex. 454). The rt. is not clear; Lobeck Elem. I 84 conjectures from a purely Greek standpoint a connection with *νύσσω* scratch, pierce, strike: but all analogies for this are wanting in the cognate languages. Cp. *νύσσα* meta. The word for nail is very ancient, but it appears with different suffixes; Skt. *kā* here stands for an earlier *gh*. The relation of *ungui-s* to Skt. *nakha-s* is like that of *umbilicus* to Skt. *nābhi-s* (No. 403). The rt. is *nagh*, by metathesis *angh*; hence Walter Ztschr. XI 435 is right in saying that the Greek *v* is inserted. My earlier view that the *ó* of ὄνυξ was prothetic, breaks down upon Lat. *u*, for Latin *u* has no tendency to prothesis.

- 448) ὠνο-ς price of purchase, ὠνή purchase, ὠνέ-ο-μαι buy. — Skt. *vasna-s* price of purchase, *vasna-m* reward. — Lat. *vēnu-m*, *vēn-eo*, *vēn-do*. — Ch.-Sl. *věn-i-ti* vendere, *věn-o* dos.

Pott W. II, 2, 140, Benf. I 313, Schleich. Ksl. 135, Ebel Ztschr. IV 166. — There are traces of the initial consonant in the augment (ἐ-ωνού-μην). If we assume any connection with ὀνί-νη-μι, a word of great difficulty etymologically, the Skt. word must be excluded from the comparison. Although the German *Ge-winn* seems to come very near, yet the Goth. *vinnan* πάσχειν, ὀδυνᾶσθαι, *vinno* πάθημα warn us off the comparison imperatively. — There is some doubt about the Slav. words expressed by Mikl. Lex.

M

Greek *μ* corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *m*, preserved also in all the other languages.

- 449) ἄμα (Dor. ἄμᾱ) at the same time, ὁμό-ς united, together, ὁμοῦ together (ὁμό-θεν, ὁμό-σε), ὁμο-ίο-ς like, ὁμοί-ο-ς resembling, ὁμα-λό-ς level, like.

Skt. *sama-m*, *samâ*, *sama-jâ* (adv.) together, *sama-s* 323

similis, aequus. — Zd. *hama* the same, the like.

Lat. *sim-ia* (?), *sim-ili-s*, *sim-ul*, *simul-tâ(t)-s*, *simul-â-re*, Old Lat. *simitu*.

Goth. O.-H.-G. *sama* idem, Goth. *sam-ana*, O.-H.-G. *saman*, *zi-samane* together, Goth. *samath*, O.-H.-G. *samet* together, *simul*.

Ch.-Sl. *samŭ* ipse, solus.

O.-Ir. *co-smail*, *co-smil* similis (Z.² 233, 234), *samail* (st. *samali*) instar, similitudo, *samlid* itq̃, *amail* ut, sicut (Z.² 718), *int-samail*, *int-amail* imitatio (Z.² 768, 876), *samaltir* comparatur (Z.² 472).

Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ztschr. II 128, where the Skt. adverbs in *â* with Gr. *ᾄμα* are explained, with undoubted correctness, as instrumental forms. The Doric *ᾄμᾶ*, disputed by Kissling Ztschr. XVII 200, but admitted p. 217, is quite established e. g. Pind. Pyth. III 36, Theocr. IX, 4 (Ahrens d. Dor. 34, 372): the only question is whether it ought to be written with *ι* subscript, as Lenz maintains on Herodian I 489. It would seem to me hardly explicable that a form *ᾄμα*, really in use, should be shortened into *ᾄμα* (cp. *κρυφαῖ* and *κρύφα*). Kissling's attempt to refer *ᾄμᾶ* to a different case from *ᾄμα*, and to explain it 'in eins' (into one) is untenable. The Aeol. spir. lenis and *ν* are seen in *ᾄμν-δης*. — For *ὁμοίος*, which is distinct from *ὁμοιο-ς*, Döderl. Gl. 1061. — Schleich. Ksl. 136. — *simul*: *simili-s* = *facul* (*facul-tâ-s*): *facili-s*; both correspond in the suffix to the Gr. *ὁμαλός*. One explanation of *simitu* (for *simitus*) is attempted by Ebel Ztschr. V 240, another by Corssen Beitr. 23. According to the latter *simi-tu* is expanded from a locative *simi*, like *hes-ternu-s* from *hesi* = *heri*. Similarly *προ-πάροι-θεν*, *ὑπαι-θα*, *εἰ-τα* and Lat. *i-ta*. — There is probably a connection with the prefixes *â*, *â*, *ô* to be discussed under No. 598.

449b) *ἀμά-ω* mow, gather, *ἄμη-το-ς* harvest, *ἀμη-τό-ς* time of harvest, *ἄμαλλα* (*ἀμάλη*) sheaf.

Lat. *me-t-o*, *mes-si-s*, *mes-sor*.

O.-H.-G. *mâ-j-an*, A.-S. *māv-en* mow, O.-H.-G. *mâ-dari* mower, M.-H.-G. *mât* (n.) mowing, [*-math*].

O.-Ir. *meithel* 'a party of reapers' (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 107), *meithleoir* messor (Goid. p. 28), Corn. *midil* messor (Z.² 1071).

Leo Meyer Ztschr. VIII 261, Pictet II 101. — *ἄμη* sickle, shovel is certainly also connected. (Cp. Skt. *am-a-tra-m* vessel, pitcher, M.-H.-G. *ām-e*, *ōme* awm [Ohm], cask.) The fundamental idea cannot have been that of cutting off, for *ἄμᾶν*, *ἄμᾶσθαι* mean rather gathering in (*ἄμηςάμερος γάλα ἐν τάλάρουσιν* i 247). Hence I had rather still look upon Ch.-Sl. *met-a* inf. *mes-ti* σαροῦν, verrere, which Mikl. Lex. connects with rt. *math* (No. 476) as related, and as approximating to the Lat. *met-o*. Both verbs are expanded by a *t*, whilst *ἄμα* seems to have been derived from the bare root *ma* by prothesis.

- 324 450) *ἀ-μεῖβ-ω* (Pind. *ἀμεύ-ω*) change, *ἀμεῖβ-ο-μαι* reply, *ἀμεύ-σα-σθαι* *ἀμεῖβεσθαι*, *διελθεῖν*, *περαιώσασθαι* (Hesych.), *παρ-αμεῖβ-ειν* pass by, *ἀμοιβή* change, exchange.

Skt. *miv* (*miv-ā-mi*) shove, move, *kāma-mi-ta-s* moved with love.

Lat. *mov-eo*, *mō-tu-s*, *mō-men-tu-m*, *mū-tā-re*, *mū-tuu-s*.

PW. under *miv*, Fick ² 155. These words are discussed with very different results by Benfey II 33, Ztschr. VII 50, Pott W. I 283, Döderl. Synon. u. Etym. VI, Walter Ztschr. XI 429. — We may start most safely from a root *ma*, whence come *mov-eo*, and with a prothetic *ā* *ἀμεύω*, which do not differ from each other more than *clw-co* and *xlw-ω*. In *miv* and *ἀμεῖβω* the *i* appears; cp. *ἀείδω* and *cad* (No. 298). For *β* as the representative of *F* p. 573. The Sicelic *μοῖ-το-ς* (Hesych. Varro L. Lat. V 179), if we have the genuine form recorded, probably stands for *μοιF-το-ς*; the *ti* in *mū-tuu-s* (cp. *mor-tuu-s*) and *mū-tā-re* points to *ovi* (cp. *prū-dens*, *bū-bus*). — All the uses of these words may be drawn from the fundamental idea of pushing, pushing out of place. For even the Greek words have by no means the general meaning of exchange, but, especially in their intransitive usage, that of change of place; this appears most conspicuously in the middle *ἀμεῖβεσθαι* (*ἀπαμεῖβεσθαι*, *ἀνταμεῖβεσθαι*), to thrust oneself in, just as in the frequentative *mūt-are* the more pregnant meaning appears. — The Skt. rt. *mā* (*mē*) of *apa-majē* change, *ni-ma-ja-s* exchange (subst.), though perhaps to be compared with *me-ā-re*, and more certainly with Ch.-Sl. *mě-na μεταβολή*, Lith. *mai-na-s* exchange (subst.) *mainj-ti* exchange (verb), can at most stand in a more distant relation: this has also been assumed for *mig-rā-re*. Much here is still unexplained. — Cp. Fick ² 153, 155, Döderl. Hom. Gloss. p. 61 ff. — We must also take into consideration *mās*, which might be referred to *mov-os* (Pott W. I 597 note).

- 451) *ἀμύν-ω* keep off, *ἀμύν-ο-μαι* protect myself, *ἀμύν-τωρ*

protector, Ἀμύντα-ς, Ἀμύνια-ς, ἄμυνα defence,
 μύ-νη pretext, μύν-α-σθαι προφασίζεσθαι.

Skt. rt. *mū* (mav-é) bind (?).

Lat. *moe-ni-a*, *mū-ru-s*, *mū-nu-s*, *mū-ni-s*, *in-mūni-s*,
com-mūni-s, *mūni-cep-s*, *mūni-cipiu-m*, *mūni-o*, *mū-*
nī-men-tu-m. — Osc. *mūini-kú*.

Pott W. II, 2, 122, Benf. II 37, Bopp Gl. s. v. *mur*, for he compares this Skt. verb (*mur-ā-mi* 'surround' PW.) with *mūru-s* and the O.-H.-G. *mūra*, which is certainly borrowed from *murus*. But for all the Latin words we have an older *oe*, *oi* either established or to be inferred (*moerus* Varro L. L. V 141 Müll.); hence we must divide *mū-ru-s*, and it is impossible to separate this word from *moe-ni-a*, *mū-ni-o*. The rt. is *mu*, from which the forms in *oi* (*oe*) are derived as *ποι-νή*, *poena* from rt. *pu* (No. 373). Cp. Corssen Nachtr. 78, 1² 372, 708. A. Weber Ztschr. VI 318, Pictet II 245 think that walls are described as of wicker-work, and that *murus* is thus connected with the (unauthenticated) Skt. rt. *mū* bind and *mūta-s* basket. Could *mūnus* have developed from this with the meaning of present [Angebinde, literally what is bound on], *mūnia* with that of obligations? But how is ἄμύνειν related to this? Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 213 Nauck) noticed that ἀμύνασθαι 'τίθεται καὶ ἀντὶ ψιλοῦ τοῦ ἀμειψασθαι' (cp. Simon. fr. 115 Schneidew.), so that we might conceive of ἀμύνειν as belonging to No. 450. There are here questions still unsettled. — The Homeric μύνησι and μύνασθαι in Alcaeus p. 86 Bergk, both in a metaphysical sense, are noteworthy as proving that the *ā* is prothetic. — For the Oscan *mūi-ni-kú* (nom. sing. fem.), which seems to mean *communis*, cp. Mommsen Unterital. Dial. p. 280. The connection of *com-mū-ni-s* (*co-moini-s*) with Goth. *ga-mains* is still far from clear (Pott II¹ 562). — With Lat. *moenia*, *mūnia* Stokes Goid. p. 32, 8, and Ebel Gr. Celt. 30 compare O.-Ir. *móin*, *máin* nom. plur. *máini* dona, pretiosa.

452) Rt. ἐμ (Fem) ἐμ-έ-ω (pf. ἐμ-ήμ-εκα) vomit, ἐμ-ε-το-ς, ἐμ-ε-σι-ς vomiting.

Skt. rt. *vam* *vam-ā-mi* vomo, *vam-ana-m*, *vam-a-thu-s* vomitus. — Zd. *vam* vomere.

Lat. *vom-o*, *vom-i-tu-s*, *vom-i-tio*.

O.-N. *vom-a* nausea, aegritudo, *væma* nauseare.

Lith. *vem-j-ù* (inf. *vém-ti*) vomo, *vem-alai* (pl.) vomit.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 222, Benf. I 331, Pictet Ztschr. V 348.

— It seems to me that Lat. *vóm-er* ploughshare cannot be so safely compared as *röm-ica* sore. — Gr. ε in ἐμ-ε-το-ς, Skt. *a* in *vam-a-thu-s*

and Lat. *i* in *vom-i-tu-s* are subsidiary vowels, of which the Greek is the most firmly attached. The difference of the radical vowel in Greek and Latin depends upon the influence of the *v*, which in Latin likes to be followed by *o*. — No traces of the *ʃ* can be shown to exist in Greek itself.

453) ἥμι-, ἥμι-σϋ-ς. — Skt. *sāmi*-. — Lat. *sēmi*-, *sēmi*-s. — O.-H.-G. *sāmi*- half.

Bopp Gl., Pott II¹ 337, Benf. I 389, Grimm Gr. II 553. — It is certainly right to take the stem *sama* (Zd. *hāma* 'like' by the side of *hama*) No. 449 as our starting point. From the idea 'like' that of the like parts or halves is developed very simply. — For the derived form ἥμι-σϋ-ς Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 62 quotes analogies from Zend: *thri-shva* third part, acc. *thri-shū-m*.

454) ἡρέμα (adv.) quietly, ἡρέμα-το-ς quiet, ἡρέμα-ία quiet, ἡρέμα-έ-ω rest, am quiet, ἡρέμιζ-ω make quiet, ἀράμεναι ἡσυχάζειν (Hesych.), ἐρημ-ο-ς lonely, ἐρημ-ία loneliness, ἐρημ-ό-ω make lonely, desert. Skt. rt. *ram* (*ram-ē*) trans. make firm, intrans. stand still, rest, be contented, *upa-ram* come to rest, *ram-ana-s* loved one, *rām-a-s* pleasure, dear. — Zd. *ram* rest, rejoice, *rām-a* (f.) rest, *airi-ma* (n.) loneliness.

Goth. *rim-is* ἡσυχία.

Lith. *rām-a-s* rest, *ram-ù-s* of gentle nature, *rim-ti* to be quiet, *rām-dy-ti* to quiet.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 217, Benf. II 10, Aufrecht Ztschr. I 358. — The fundamental notion of comfortable rest evidently underlies 326 all these forms. I cannot suppose that we have in the Gr. ἡ the Skt. preposition *ā*, because of ἐρημ-ο-ς, the *ē* of which is certainly no other than the *ē* of ἐρεθ-ρός (No. 306) i. e. prothetic. — Leo Meyer Ztschr. VI 18 defends the derivation (previously advanced by Benfey) of the Homeric *ωλεμές*, *ωλεμέως* immediately from this rt., but the *ω* in that case looks strange. — As we find in Skt. besides *ram* the rt. *ran* (*raṇa-ti*) with precisely similar meanings, Fick¹ 162 assumes a rt. *ra*, from which he derives Gr. ἔρα-ς, ἔρα-μαι &c. *ra-ta-s* loving and loved, approximates closely to ἔρα-τός, *ra-ti-s* rest, pleasure. intercourse to ἔρα-ς.

455) Rt. μαγ (for μακ) μάσσ-ω knead, wipe, μάγ-μα, μαγ-ί(δ)-ς, μᾶξ-α dough, bread, μαγ-εύ-ς baker, μάγ-ειρα-ς cook, μάν-τρα kneading-trough.

Lith. *mink-au*, *mank-szt-ai* knead, *mink-sz-ta-s* soft, loose.

Ch.-Sl. *maq-a* farina, *meķū-kǎ* soft, *meķ-nq-ti* mollescere.

Pott W. III, 561. — I have tried to show in the Prooem. ind. lect. Kil. aest. a. 1857 p. VII, that *κ* is here the original final consonant of the rt., and that hence came *μάσσω* from *μαν-ζω*, but that *γ* is softened from *κ*. I supported my views there by Hesych. *μαν-αρία βρωμα ἐκ ζωμοῦ καὶ ἀλφίτων*. Perhaps *māc-er-ia* as a kneaded clay-wall, *mācer-are* to make soft are also related. The former reminds us again of Hesych. *μαν-έλα* (cp. *μάκελος*) *φράγματα, θρύφακτοι*. In Skt. there is a trace of the rt. *maḥ* (*maké*) crush (PW., Fick² 143). *μάγ-ειρο-s* is probably from an older *μαγ-αρο-s*, like *ῥταιρος* from *ῥταρο-s*, *ὄνειρο-s* from *ὄναρ*. — There is some probability in Schwabe's conjecture (Demin. p. 98), that *mā-la*, whose diminutive *maxilla* shows that *x* has been lost before *l* (Corssen I² 642), belongs to *μάσσω*, and thus denotes the organ 'quod cibos deprecit ac subigit'. — Cp. Bugge Stud. IV 336.

456) Rt. *μαδ μαδ-αρό-s* streaming, dissolved, *μαδ-ά-ω* dissolve. — Lat. *mad-e-o*, *mad-i-du-s*, *mad-e-sc-o*, *māde-facio*, *mā-nare* (?).

Pott I¹ 199, Benf. I 514, though there is much that is doubtful in their combinations. — The usage of the rt. *μαδ* for the falling off of the hair is explained from the similar usage of the Lat. *defluere*, for just as falling hair is called *defluentes* or *deflui capilli*, so *μαδᾶν* means to be bald, *μαδίζειν* to make bald, *μαδόν λεῖον* (Hesych.). — In Skt. the rt. *mad mād-já-mi* means to be drunk, *mad-a-s* drunkenness, also pride, joy, and 'succum qui elephantis tempore quo coitum appetunt e temporibus effluit', *mat-ta-s* drunken, which Benf. compares with the similar meaning of *mad-i-du-s*. In Petronius *matu-s* has the same meaning. — It seems very probable that *mā-na-re* originated in *mad-na-re* as the denominative of a lost *mā-nu-s mad-nu-s*. But also the Gr. *μᾶνό-s rarus* (*μαναὶ τρίχες* the result of *μαδᾶν*) comes very near. — Cp. rt. *μαδ* No. 479.

457) *μαλ-ακό-s*, *μαλ-θ-ακό-s* soft, *ἄ-μαλό-s* tender, *μῶλυ-s* feeble, stupid, *βλη-χ-ρό-s ἄ-βλη-χ-ρό-s* soft, weak, *βλάξ* weak, cowardly, *μάλ-θ-η* Hesych. *με-μαλαγ-μένος κηρός*.

Lat. *molli-s*, *molli-tie-s*, *mollire*. — *mal-ta-s* molles (Lucil. Non. 259).

327 Benf. I 503, where there are all sorts of comparisons from Skt. (*mlāu* part. *mlā-na-s* flaccescere, languescere), which however leave much obscure. Pott W. I 595, II, 1, 543. — The comparison of *mollis* with *μαλακό-ς* is combated at length by Corssen Beitr. 323. He himself agrees with the view of Bopp (Gl.) and Pott, who compare *mollis* with Skt. *mṛd-u-s* tender = Ch.-Sl. *mlad-ŭ* tener, as he believes *mollis* to have arisen from *moldu-i-s*. Phonetically this derivation is tenable. But what above all decides me still to refrain from accepting it is the fact that the rt. *mard* conterere (Zd. *mared* bite), which Ebel Ztschr. VII 226, probably with justice, recognizes in *ἀ-μαλδ-ύνειν* break, weaken, and refers to an original *smard*, meets us in the Lat. *mord-ê-re* with a completely different signification; coupled with the fact of the entire identity in meaning between *μαλακός* and *mollis* (which has great weight in the case of such nearly allied languages), and also with the form *μᾶλν-ς*, which shows that the *o* was not foreign to this root, even with the Greeks. Even Lobeck Paralipp. 125 connects *μᾶλν-ς* and *mollis*. Corssen, it is true, thinks with Passow that *μᾶλν-ς* is connected with *μᾶλο-ς* trouble, and Lat. *môle-s*; but this is decidedly wrong. The fundamental notion of *μᾶλν-ς* is by no means 'exhausted, worn out'. Sophocles indeed is said to have called Phaedra *μᾶλν-ς*, in the sense of *παρειμένη* 'dissoluta', but elsewhere the word means inert, stupid: *βραδύς, νωθρός* are the explanations of the grammarians. Both words denote natural feebleness, not that produced by exertion; and this is also what is expressed by *mollis, mollities*. In the E. M. *μαλύνειν* is interpreted by *πραυνεῖν* i. e. *mollire*, and the word was used of the mollifying of wounds, of the flesh growing tender, *καταμολύνεσθαι* of the gradual disappearance of a swelling. These are all significations which are readily connected with the fundamental meaning 'soft', and which recur in other words belonging to this rt. — Corssen is quite right in connecting with *mollis* the *mal-ta-s* quoted above. Hence we must probably assume a stem *μαλ*, from which all these forms are explained. *mollis* is apparently related to *μᾶλν-ς* as *tenu-is* to *tart* (No. 230). Besides *μαλ-α-κό-ς* Hesych. also gives *μαλ-κό-ν μαλακόν, μαλκ-εν-ς παρθένος Κρητες*. The latter word perhaps finds its analogue in the Lat. *mŭl-ier*, which we might possibly identify with the comp. *moll-ior*, as Isidore does (cp. *θηλύτεραι*). — Cp. Lobeck Elem. I 31, Döderl. Gloss. 1071 ff., who also compares *μῆλο-ν* in the sense of sheep, Buttmann Lexil. II 262 [p. 193 E. T.]. — *mul-c-ê-re* stroke. *mulc-ê-re* beat I now prefer to compare, following Kuhn Ztschr. VIII 68, Corssen Beitr. 382, with the Skt. *març* tangere, *mulcere*. — The *â* in *â-μαλ-ό-ς; â-βληχ-ρό-ς* is a phonetic prothesis.

458) *μάρ-να-μαι* (*μόρ-να-μαι* Hesych.) fight. — Skt. rt.

mar (*mṛ-ṇā-mi*) or *marn* (*mṛṇ-ā-mi*) crush, dash to pieces, *pra-mṛ-ṇā-mi* crush, destroy.

PW., Kuhn Ztschr. I 135. — It cannot be denied that there is a connection with rt. *μερ, μορ* (No. 468); but we must not forget that *μάρνασθαι* is also found used of a wrestling-match (σ 31), so that the fundamental notion cannot be to kill or to wish to kill. Cp. note to No. 481.

459) Rt. *μαχ μάχ-ο-μαι* (fut. *μαχ-έ-σομαι*) fight, *μάχ-η* battle, *μάχ-ιμο-ς* warlike, *πρό-μαχο-ς* champion, *μάχ-αιρα* knife, sword.

Lat. *mac-ellu-m* flesh-market, *mac-tā-re* slaughter.

Goth. *mēk-i* *μάχαιρα*.

Ch.-Sl. *mīč-ě* *μάχαιρα*.

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 42, Kuhn Ztschr. IV 19 ff., Leo Meyer VI 426, Diefenbach Vgl. Wb. II 58. — I cannot follow Corssen (Ztschr. III 270) in deriving *mac-tā-re* (cp. No. 19) in both its meanings from the notion of increasing, inasmuch as it is too closely connected in its meaning of slaughter with the words here collected; nor yet Kuhn in joining the rt. *μαχ* with *χωρ* and Goth. *slah-an*. — The epic pres. *μαχ-έ-ο-μαι*, *μαχ-ε-ί-ο-μαι* is to be referred to a noun-theme *μαχης*, as *τελέ-ω*, *τελε-ί-ω* to *τελες*. — The final guttural of the rt. must have been undefined in early times, for Gr. *μαχ* Lat. *mac-ellu-m* and Ch.-Sl. *mīč-i* point to *mak*, Goth. *mēk-i* to *mag*, while the agreement in meaning is too close to allow us to doubt the connexion. — The Sanskrit words, which I previously placed here, are explained in the Pet. Dict. in a manner so different from the former assumptions, that I omit them. Cp. Grassmann Ztschr. XVI 164, Pott W. III 1002.

460) St. *με έμε* pronoun of the first person sing., *έμ-ό-ς*.

— Skt. Zd. *ma* (Skt. acc. *mā-m*, *mā*). — Lat.

me, *me-u-s*, Umbr. dat. *me-he*. — Goth. *mi-s* mihi,

mi-k me. — Ch.-Sl. acc. *mę*, Lith. dat. *mā-n* &c.

— O.-Ir. *mé* ego, *-m-* mihi, *me*, *ni-m-charat* non me amant, *do-m* ad me, *mo*, *m-* meus (Z.^s 324 ff.).

Bopp Vergl. Gr. II 104, Schleicher Comp. ^s 628 ff.

461) Rt. *με μέ-τρο-ν* measure, *μέ-τρο-ς* measured, proper, *μῖ-μέ-ο-μαι* imitate, *μῖ-μη-σι-ς* imitation, *μῖ-μ-ο-ς* imitator, actor.

Skt. rt. *mā* (*mā-mi*, *mi-mē*) measure, ascribe, shape,

mā-tra-m measure, measure of time, matter,

mā-tar measurer, *mā-na-m* measure, *mā-na-s* building. — Zd. *mā* measure, make, *mā* (f.) measure.

Lat. *mē-tā-re*, *mē-tā-ri*, *mē-ti-or*, *mensa*, *mensūra*, *ni-mi-s*.

Ch.-Sl. *mē-ra* Lith. *mė-rà* measure, *ma-tū-ti* measure, *mēta-s* time, year.

O. Ir. *to-mus* gen. *toimseo* mensura, pondus (st. *do-fo-met-tu*- Z.² 787).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 266, Benf. II 31 f. — Cp. rt. μεδ No. 286 and rt. μεν No. 429. — At one time some support seemed to be found for *μῆ-μο-ς*, *μῆ-μῆ-ο-μαι* in the form *mi-ma-té*, explained by 'imitantur' by Benf. Lex. Sāmavēda 147; but a friend has called my attention to the fact, that Benfey himself takes the word differently in his translation of the passage referred to, and in the Pet. Dict. nothing of the kind is to be found. Rather does *mā-jā* phantom, jugglery re-
329 mind us of *μῆ-μο-ς* (cp. *Τί-τᾶν*, *Ξί-σφο-ς*). — It is not improbable that the O.-Lat. *mā-nu-s* bonus (*Cerus mānus* Carm. Sal.) with *im-māni-s*, which is undoubtedly its negative, belongs here: its loc. *mānē* is 'in good time', and *Mānēs* are good spirits (Preller, Röm. Mythol. p. 72). Corssen I² 431. Walter Ztschr. XII 383 compares *mānu-s* with the comp. *ἀμείνων*. — *mā-nu-s* hand (Osc. acc. *mani-m*) as the measurer, feeler, shaper (cp. Skt. *mā-tra-m* = *mā-ter-ic-s*) is discussed by Corssen Ztschr. III 300. We have also from the same root, with a different suffix *μά-ρη* (*ἡ χεὶρ κατὰ Πίνδαρον* Schol. B. L. ad II. O 137, Lobeck Paralip. p. 74), from which the ancients correctly derived *εὐμαρής*, *εὐμαρεία* (cp. *εὐχερής*). — Corssen I² 432 refers also Lat. *mās* to this group. — Cp. No. 471, 472.

462) *μέγ-α-ς* (by-stem *μεγαλο*), *μελίζων*, *μέγ-ιστο-ς* great, *μεγα-λύν-ω* magnify, *μεγαίρ-ω* esteem as a great thing, grudge, *μέγ-εθ-ος* greatness.

Lat. *mag-nu-s*, *mā-jor*, *maximu-s*, *mag-is*, *magis-ter*, *magistr-ātu-s*.

Goth. *mik-il-s* *μέγας*, *mikil-j-an* *μεγαλύνειν* (O.-H.-G. *mihhil*), comp. *mais* (O.-H.-G. *mēr*), superl. *maist* adv. *το πλείστον*.

Corn. *mogh-ya* *maximus* (Z.² 299); O.-Ir. *do-for-magar* *augetur*, *do-for-maig* *auget*, *tór-mag*, *tór-mach* (Z.² 883).

Bopp Gl. s. v. *māh*, Pott W. III 955. Skt. *mah-at*, *mah-ā* great closely approximates to these words. But the *h*, which points to a *gh*, does not agree with the Greek medial and the Gothic *k*. Two alternatives are possible here. Either the rt. was originally *magh*, the same as that which occurs in Goth. *mag* *δύναμι*, and which will present itself as No. 473. In that case we must assume a transition from *gh* into *g*. This is the view of Grassmann Ztschr. XII 92. In the same way Corssen Ztschr. XI 327 (cp. Ascoli XVII 274) thinks he can recognise in the Osc. *Mahiis* = *Magius* a word belonging to this root, and pointing to an Ital. *gh*. The *g* in *mag-nu-s*, *mag-is* like that in the Zd. *maga* greatness, and the *z* of *mazañt*, may just as well have originated in *g* as in *gh*. The other alternative is that there were from early times three related roots side by side; *mak* (No. 90), *mag* and *magh*, all three perhaps to be traced back to *ma*, and all with the meaning of extension. The latter view, which Sonne also approves Ztschr. X 129, recommends itself to me, mainly because the phonetic changes it assumes are less gratuitous. — Cp. Ztschr. II 325. — It is remarkable that in the three words, belonging to three families of speech, collected above, the positive shows a more derivative stem-form than the comparative and superlative. — *μεγάλα*, perhaps also *μέγαρο-ν* chamber, from a stem with *q* instead of the *l* appearing in *μεγαλο*: cp. p. 547. — Corn. *mogliya* though it has a superlative meaning, is in form undoubtedly a comparative, with the primitive form **mag-ias*. On the other hand the comp. *moy*, which has the comparative meaning, appears to point to a stem without a guttural; with the Corn. *moy* the Cymr. *mwy* and O.-Ir. *máo*, *máa* are identical (prim. form *ma-ias*?). In the same way the positives O.-Ir. *már*, *mór*, Cymr. *mawr*, Corn. *maur* show no certain trace of the guttural. It must have been lost very early, for the languages of Britain do not point to it (cp. on the other hand O.-Ir. *dér* and Cymr. *dacr* tear), and in the place of the Ir. long *á*, as usual, have 330 *aw* and *au* (cp. O.-Ir. *bráthir* and Cymr. *bract* frater Z.² 298). The O.-Ir. superl. *maam*, *mám* (Z.² 278) appears, as Cymr. *muyaf* (Z.² 299) indicates, to go back to **ma-ia-ma*, and to be an expansion of the comparative (cp. the suffixes Gr. *ισ-το*, Lat. *is-si-mo*). O.-Ir. *méit* (f.) magnitudo, prim. form. **manti* (Z.² 250, 805) evidently belongs to the adjectives just discussed. It would be very bold to wish with Stokes (Ir. Gloss. 922) to refer this word to **maganti*.

- 463) *μει-δ-ος* (Hesych.), *μει-δ-η-μα* smile, *μει-δ-ά-ω*, *μει-δίαω* smile. — Skt. rt. *smi smaj-é* subrideo, *smi-ta-m* risus. — Lat. *mí-ru-s*, *ní-mí-ru-m*, *mírd-ri*. — O.-H.-G. *smie-l-en*, *smie-r-en* smile. — Ch.-Sl. *smi-ja-ti* *сѣ γελᾶν*, *smě-chŭ γέλως*, Lett. *smee-t* laugh.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 636, Benf. I 527, Schleich. Kal. 136. — The δ will be discussed on p. 639. — A trace of the initial σ is preserved in *φιλο-μμειδής*. — Here belong the proper names *Μειδίας*, *Μεΐδων*, *Μεΐθυλος*. — The Teutonic words are expanded by the addition of a liquid; but in *mi-ru-s* as in *clá-ru-s* the r belongs to the suffix. But *μελ-ιχο-ς* cannot be compared (Kuhn Ztschr. II 264) because of the Aeol. *μέλλιχος* (Ahr. d. Aeol. 58). Cp. No. 464. — Otherwise as to *miru-s* Corssen I² 508.

464) *μέλ-ια* (pl.) love-gifts, propitiatory offerings, *μελ-ιχο-ς* (Aeol. *μέλλιχος*) mild, *μελ-ιχ-ιο-ς* mild, soft, *μελ-ιχ-ίη* (Hom.) mildness, *μελίσσ-ω* soften, *μελ-εῖν ἀρεσκέειν* Hesych.

Skt. *mard* (for *marl*), *mrl-ā-mi* to be gracious, friendly, to rejoice, *mrl-ika-m* grace, pity.

Goth. *mild-s* *φιλόστοργος*, O.-H.-G. *mīl-ti* mild.

Ch.-Sl. *mīl-ŭ* *ἐλεεινός*, *mīl-ovati* *ἐλεεῖν*, *mīl-ostī* misericordia, *mīl-o* dowry, Lith. *mīl-iu* love, *meilū-s* lovely, *meilė* love.

Schleich. Kal. 126. — We must start from the primitive form *marl*, whence Gr. *μέλ*, *μελ*. The Skt. *mrl* is only derived from this. Thus *μέλ-π-ω* also might be an expanded form with a π , for *μέλπειν τὸν θεόν* is not very different from *μελίσσειν*, indeed even *μέλ-ος* song may be suspected of standing for *μέλλος*, especially as the word makes its appearance in post-Homeric language as a substitute for the Homeric *μολ-πή*. A trace of the form with $\lambda\lambda$ seems to occur in the epigram of the Arcadian Echembrotos in Pausan. X, 7, 4; for the pentameter ends *μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους*; hence too a different light falls upon the well-attested reading in the Hymn. in Merc. 502 *θεὸς δ' ὅπο μέλος ᾄειδεν*. From *μέλλ* for *μερλ* came by compensatory lengthening Ion. *μελ* in *μειλια* &c.; Dor. *μηλ* in *Εῶ-μηλο-ς*, *Καλλί-μηλο-ς*. *Φιλο-μήλα*, words of musical reminiscences which Welcker (Ep. Cyclus I² 257) is certainly correct in deriving from song rather than from sheep. *μέλ-κ-ιο-ν* too in Hesych. which means *inter alia καίγνιον*, offers itself for comparison. The view of Benfey (I 500) who derives all these Greek words from the st. *μελιτ* honey, is disproved by *μειλια*.

331 It would be better with Pott I¹ 265 (otherwise W. II, 1, 543) to compare Skt. *mīl* meet together, unite, with a weakening of a to i . Pott mentions also the familiar Attic address *ὦ μέλε*, my dear friend, which agrees entirely with the Slav. *mīlŭ*, especially in the modern usage of the word, and consequently gives a clear instance where one liquid is lost. But *μέλεος* — accordingly to Aristarchus (Lehrs 103) in Homer always only *μάταιος* — must be kept quite distinct. —

Bopp Gl. compares with Skt. *mṛd* Lat. *blandu-s*. This may perhaps be right, if we assume a stem *mlā* formed by metathesis, whence came then *mla-ndu-s bla-ndu-s*. — The meaning of mildness extends through all the forms. By this less physical meaning they are distinguished from those quoted under No. 457. The use of *mar* in the Vedas is quite like that of the Gr. *μειλίσσειν* (= *μειλιχ-j-ειν*) propitiate (cp. *ἀμελιχος ἀμελικτος*). — The proper names *Μίλτας, Μιλτώ, Μιλτιάδης* (and *Μίλων* (š)?) seem to be derived from this rt. with *i* for *ε* (cp. *ἰσθι* rt. *ε*c).

- 465) *μέλι* (st. *μελιτ*) honey, *μελί-φρων* honey-like, *μέλισσα* bee. — Lat. *mel* (*mell-is*), *muls-u-s*, *muls-a*, *muls-um* (?). — Goth. *milith* *μέλι*. — O.-Ir. *mil* mel (i-stem Ir. Gl. 968), *milis* acc. pl. *milsi* suas (i-stem Z.² 238).

Pott I¹ 245, Benf. II 358, Stokes Corm. Gl. Tr. p. 113. For the suffix Aufrecht Ztschr. II 150, otherwise, without regard to this, Leo Meyer V 379. — We must suppose that *mell-is* is for *melt-is* and analogous to *μέλιτ-ος*, but *mel* for *melt* (cp. No. 200) analogous to Goth. *milith*. *muls-u-s* for *melti-u-s*. Cp. Corssen Beitr. 327. No connexion with Skt. *madhu* (No. 322) can be proved. *μέλισσα* = *μελιτ-ja*, by-form *μελίαι*· *μέλισσαι* Hesych.

- 466) Rt. *μερ, μαρ*. — *μέρ-μηρ-α, μέρ-ι-μνα* care, *μερ-μαίρ-ω, μερμηρ-ίζω* care, *μέρ-μερ-α ἔργα* memorable deeds, *μάρ-τυρ (μάρ-τυρ-ο-ς, μάρ-τυ-ς)* witness, *μαρ-τύρ-ιο-ν* evidence, *μτρτύρ-ο-μαι* summon as witness.

Skt. rt. *smar, smar-ā-mi* memini, desidero, *smṛ-ti-s* memoria, *smar-ana-m* recordatio, desiderium, *smar-a-s* amor. — Zd. *mar* remember, know, mention, *mar-e-ti* precept.

Lat. *me-mor, memor-ia, memor-ā-re, mor-a*.

Goth. *vaiḥla-mēr-s* εὐφημος, *mēr-ja-n* κηρύσσειν, O.-H.-G. *māri fama, māri memorabilis, clarus*.

O.-Pruss. *er-mir-it* devise.

O.-Ir. *marait* manent (Z.² 433), *ni mair* lives not (Amra 28), *méraid* will remain (Beitr. VII 19, Z.² 453).

Bopp Gl., where there are many other comparisons, in part very doubtful, Pott W. II, 1, 713, Benf. II 38. — The group *sm* is

retained only in Skt.; but the notion of thinking runs through all these words. μέμερα even Hesych. explains φροντίδος ἄξια, but μέμ-μερ-ο-ς has also an active meaning: inventive, also morosus, hence probably the proper name Μέμερος, like μεμνημένοι οἱ πεிரυαί (Hesych.). — There is no reason for doubting, with Benary Ztschr. 332 IV 49, that μέμ-ι-μνα (cp. μέμ-ι-μνο-ς) also belongs here. There is more difficulty with the much discussed words λό-μωρ-ο-ς, ἐγγεσί-μωρ-ο-ς, ὑλακό-μωρ-ο-ς, σινά-μωρ-ο-ς. Goebel Philol. XIX 418 derives them from the rt. μωρ (μαρμαίρω) glitter, which will have to be discussed on p. 554. But it is hard to believe that this little-used root was employed by Homer in the 'faded' sense of 'to be conspicuous, to be prominent', especially of dogs (according to this explanation) 'conspicuous by barking'. Benary starts from our rt. μερ; the meaning of -μωρ-ο-ς would then be something like 'mindful of' (cp. μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς, δαιτός), ω as in ταλαί-πωρ-ο-ς (rt. περ No. 356), φώρ (rt. φερ), δῶμα (rt. δεμ). This suits, I think, better than μωρό-ς fool (No. 484), for the fundamental meaning of this word is 'purblind, stupid'. But Fick² 156 makes a suggestion, which is not a bad one, to compare -μωρ-ο-ς with the Vedic mū-ra-s' (2 in Pet. Dict [not the same word as that quoted under No. 484]) 'pressing, stormy', which is referred to the rt. miv (No. 450). ω would then be for αϜ, as in μωρό-ς fool, so that the primitive form would be mav-ra-s. But unfortunately this word seems only to occur in one passage of the Rig-veda, and its meaning is not quite established. — With Lat. *memor* Grimm Gesch. 865 compares A.-S. *mimor* *memor*. — On p. 101 we saw that probably *mora* hesitation [Germ. *Bedenken* 'bethinking'] belongs to this root, and compared with it μέλλειν in the meaning of delay. In this case a trace of the fuller initial-sound once present is possibly preserved in ἦ-μελλ-ο-ν, though it is true that this first occurs in Hesiod. μέλλειν by its other senses is closely connected with the rt. μερ (Walter Ztschr. XII 383). But from μέλλειν again we cannot separate μέλ-ειν, μέλ-εσθαι, μέλ-έ-τη, μέλ-ε-τά-ω, μέλ-ε-δ-ώνη, μέλ-εδ-αίνω &c., in all of which the notion of careful thought comes out just as in μέμ-ι-μνα. μέλ-ει μοι is related to μέλεσθαι like the antiquated 'es dünkt mir' [me thinks] to 'denken' [to think]. With μέλεδώνη Fick¹ 196 compares the Zd. *mared* remember. For the transition from ρ to λ p. 545.

467) Rt. μερ μέμ-ο-μαι (ἐμ-μωρ-α, εἴμωρ-ται) obtain a portion, μέμ-ο-ς, μεμ-ύ(δ)-ς portion, part, μερί-ξ-ω divide, μόμ-ο-ς lot, fate, μοίρα proper portion, fate, μόμ-α division (of the Spartan army), μόμ-οιμο-ς determined by fate.

Lat. *mer-e-o*, *mer-e-o-r*, *mer-e-nda*, *mer-e-trix*.

Pott W. II, 1, 545 (cp. II² 388) puts these words together with an expression of uncertainty. Otherwise Benf. II 33. — The comparison of *mereo* with μέρος is found as early as Scaliger ad Varronem (Vossius Etymolog. p. 318), though with the addition of the wonderful reason 'a μεῖω i. e. divido, quia meritum fere partium est sive labor, sive pretium spectetur', whilst Vossius more correctly remembers the meaning *consequor, sortior* (λαμβάνω, λαγχάνω), and quotes *merenda ἀριστον δειπνόν* (Gloss. Lab.), which he compares with *præbenda*. This word points unmistakably to the fundamental notion of division, which appears in δαί-ς, *daps* (No. 256, 261), so that *mer-e-o* therefore means I receive a share or as a share, *mer-e-o-r* I receive or gain for myself my share. — Cp. p. 113. — It is not improbable that *mer-c-(d)-s*, *merx* also have developed from this rt. by an expanding *c*. Corssen Beitr. 111 takes *merx* simply as 'the earning one'. The peculiarities of the Greek reduplication give us reason to think that an initial *s* (σε-μαρ-ται) was originally present. But it is difficult to identify the meaning of this rt. with No. 466, though in spite of this Ebel Ztschr. V 417 attempts to identify them. The fundamental notion of the words here is to measure out to, to distribute to.

468) Rt. μερ (μορ, μαρ) ἄμβρο-το-ς immortal (ἀμβρόσιο-το-ς), βρο-τό-ς mortal (μορ-τό-ς), μαρ-αίν-ω wither (trans.), μαρ-α-σ-μό-ς withering, parching.

Skt. rt. *mar* (mr-j-ê, mar-â-mi) die, *mr-ta-s* dead, *mrt-ja-s* mortalis, *a-mr-ta-s* immortalis, *a-mr-ta-m* drink of immortality, *mar-a-s*, *mr-ti-s* death, *mâr-i-s* pestilence, plague. — Zd. *mar* die, *mare-ta* mortal, *maretan* human being.

Lat. *mor-i-o-r*, *mor-(ti)-s*, *mor-tuus-s*, *mort-âli-s*, *mor-bu-s*, *mar-c-e-o*, *marc-e-sc-o*, *marc-i-du-s*.

Goth. *maur-th-r* caedes.

Ch.-Sl. *mr-ê-ti* mori, *mor-ŭ* mors, pestis, *šŭ-mrŭ-ti* mors, *mrŭ-tŭŭ* vexçós. — Lith. *mîr-ti* die, *mâr-a-s* plague, *mórai* (pl.) bier, *s-mèr-ti-s* death.

O.-Ir. *mairfid-us* occidet illos (L. U. Beitr. VII 42), *marb* mortuus (Z.² 226, cp. Cymr. *maru* mors, mortuus Z.² 129), *marbaim* occido.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 522, who is right in banishing μόρο-ς, μέρο-ς &c., for a well-grounded comparison with μαρ-αίν-ω, *mor-bu-s*, which again brings with it Skt. *mlâ* (mlâ-j-ê) fade, whilst the stem *marc* expanded by a *c* (cp. Zd. *marenc* kill) is connected by Bopp and

Leo Meyer (Ztschr. II 252) with O.-H.-G. *welch* marcidus, compels us to arrive at the fundamental notion of wasting away. With this I have endeavoured (Ztschr. I 33) to connect also Lat. *mār-e* (cp. Ἀμφί-μαρος, son of Poseidon) with the related Ch.-Sl. *mor-je* sea, Lith. *mār-ės* bay, Goth. *mar-ei*, Ir. *muir* sea, and Skt. *mar-u-s* desert, *mar-u-t* wind, on the ground of a common antagonism to the life of vegetation. Pictet I 110 compares Skt. *mira-s* sea, which is only quoted by grammarians. Max Müller Lect. II 320 agrees with me, while Bopp Accentuat. p. 231 defends his old comparison of *mare* with *vāri*, rejected also by Pott VI 263, and Corssen I² 404, 411 refers these words to the rt. μαρ (μαρμαίω) glitter (cp. Pet. Dict. V p. 570). That the sea glitters is just as undeniable as that it makes plants die, and that it causes thirst in one who attempts to drink of it. The connexion of Goth. *marei* with O.-Fris. *mar* grave, O.-Dutch *maere* sea, marsh, pond, and also with O.-H.-G. *muor* marsh, moor, morass (Schade Dict. 411) is in favour of my explanation. — Lith. *mar-ti-s* bride, and Βεῖτό-μαρτις, according to Solinus 'virgo dulcis', also probably belong here. The notion of connecting μεῖραξ with εἰρη youth, is refuted if only by the fact that μεῖραξ means also girl. — The gloss ἐμορτεν ἀνέθανεν (Hesych.) Lobeck El. I 37 regards as corrupt: if it is sound, we should have to assume a form μορτ expanded by a τ, which reminds us 334 of Lith. *mir-sz-t-u* morior. — Cp. also No. 458. — Other material bearing on this widely ramifying root is supplied abundantly by Diefenbach Vergl. Wb. II 38 ff. For the fundamental meaning of the rt. cp. on No. 481. — In Ir. *marb* *b* is for orig. *v*, as in *fedb* vidua, *tarb* taurus, *delb* imago (Z.² 54). In the corresponding British words there is *u* (*w*) instead: Cymr. *gwedw* vidua, *taru* taurus, *delu* forma (Z.² 130). The primitive form of *marb* is therefore **marva*.

469) μέσο-ς (Hom. Aeol.), μέσο-ς (Att.) medius (sup. μέσσ-ατο-ς hence μεσσάτ-ιο-ς), μέσσ-ηρύ-(ς) between.

Skt. *madhja-s*, Zd. *maidhya* medius, Skt. *madhja-ma-s*, Zd. *madh-ema* the midmost.

Lat. *medi-u-s*, Osc. *mef-ia-i* (= *mediae* loc. sing.), *di-midiu-s*, *meri-die-s* (for *medi-die-s*).

Goth. *midji-s* medius, *mid-uma* middle.

Ch.-Sl. *mežda* μέσον, *meždu* ἀνὰ μέσον, Lith. *vidū-s* the inner, *vidūi* within, *vidurýs* middle.

O.-Ir. *medón* medium (Z.² 778).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 105, Benf. II 30, Schleich. Ksl. 126, 'meždu = medju'. — μέσο-ς is for μεθ-jo-ς, μέσο-ς is yet further weakened.

We may notice the loc. μέσσοι = Skt. *madhje* in the midst, Lesb. Aeol. also μέσσι (Ahr. d. Aeol. 154). The first component part of μέσσι-πόλιος mixed gray, is the feminine to this (cp. ἰδίᾱ, δῆμοσίᾱ). — It cannot be determined whether μέσ-φα and μέσ-φι, until, belong here or to μετᾱ (No. 212). μέσσι-γγύ probably formed with a *x* softened to *γ* (cp. suff. -ακίς): so Gerland Ztschr. IX 66.

470) μή negative particle. — Skt. Zd. O-Pers. *mā*.

Bopp Gl. — The prohibitive use is common to these languages. In Skt. *mā* is used with the conj., optat. of wishing, and imper., like μή in Greek. We omit here the Lat. *nē* (cp. No. 437).

471) μήν (st. μηνς) Ion. μείς month, μή-νη moon, μην-ιαίος monthly.

Skt. *mās*, *māsa-s* month, Zd. *māonih* (m.) moon, month, *māonīha* (m.) moon.

Lat. *mens-i-s*, *Mena*, *mens-truu-s*.

Goth. *mēna* moon, *mēnōth-s*, O.-H.-G. *mānōt* month.

Lith. *mėnu* (gen. *mėnesio*) moon, *mėnesi-s* month,

Ch.-Sl. *měsě-cl* moon, month.

O.-Ir. *mí* gen. dat. acc. *mís*, acc. pl. *mísa* (st. *mens* Z.² 271).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 272, Benf. II 32, Kuhn Ztschr. I 276, II 261.

— The rt. is pretty certainly *ma* measure (No. 461), and hence the moon was described even by the original Indo-Germans as the measurer. It is very doubtful to me whether we can trace back all the forms to the primitive form *mans*: μή-νη, *Mena* (*menstruationis dea* Welcker Götterlehre 552) Goth. *mēna* go back to another form with the suffix 335. -na. But the Aeol. μην-ος (Ahr. 51) is certainly for μηνσ-ος, so that it points to a stem *mēns*, to which an expanding suffix *i* is added in Skt. and Lith., an *a* in Skt. Add also the Sabellian *mes-en-e* = abl. *mense*, explained by Corssen Ztschr. IX 165. (Cp. Ztschr. VI 85, Pictet II 594.)

472) μήτηρ (st. μητερ), Dor. μάτηρ. — Skt. Zd. *mātā* (st. *mā-tar*). — Lat. *māter*. — O.-H.-G. *muotar*.

— Ch.-Sl. *mati* (st. *mater*). — Lith. *motė* (st. *moter*). — O.-Ir. *máthir* mater (Z.² 262).

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 112, Benf. II 31. — The fact that *mātar* is found as a masculine in the Rígvēda, with the meaning 'measurer' (Pet. Dict. V p. 701) tends to show that the root is no so-called natural sound, occurring also in *mamma*, μάμη, but the verbal root

ma (No. 461). Max Müller Oxford Essays 1856 p. 15 translates *mātar* 'maker', and traces it back to the rt. *ma* in the sense of 'to fashion'. Related uses of this rt. (cp. *mā-nu-s*) are mentioned above. Still we might also think of the occupations of the apportioning housewife. In any case *μα-ία* mother comes from the same root. — On the phonetic irregularity of the Teutonic words see Pauli Ztschr. XIV 102.

473) *μηχ-ος*, *μηχ-αφ* means, expedient, *μηχ-ανή* device, design, *μηχανᾶ-σθαι* form designs.

Skt. *māh* (?) *metiri*, *mah* (*mah-ā-mi*) delight, rejoice, *mah-as* splendour, power.

Goth. *mag* possum, *mah-t-s* δύναμις.

Ch.-Sl. *mog-a* (inf. *moš-ti*) possum, *moš-ti* potentia, *po-moš-ti βοηθεῖν*, Lith. *mag-ėjus* help (Nesselm.).

O.-Ir. *cu-mang* potestas, *cu-maing* potest, *cumcat* possunt (Z.² 224, 431, 433), *caemais* for **co-memagsi*, *coimsam* for **co-memagsam* 2 sing. and 1 plur. of the red. s-fut. (Beitr. VII 50), *cu-machte* potestas (Z.² 229), *cu-machtaigim* potior (Z.² 435).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 1001. — Very differently Benf. I 353. —

The meaning grow, become great, which, following Westergaard. I once assumed as the original meaning of the Skt. rt., is not given at all in the Pet. Dict., and *māh* is unauthenticated. Hence we must probably start from the fundamental idea 'to have power', which, in harmony with the Greek manner of regarding things, developed especially in the direction of intellectual power, of clever devices &c. — *μηχος* still has in Homer the prevalent meaning means to (against something, help. This same force is noticeable in *ἀμυχανός*, when active 'incapable', when passive 'impossible'. Grassmann Ztschr. XII 107 supports his differing representation on a traditional Ionic *μηχος*. But this rests upon an error: *μηχος* is never anything but the abstract substantive to *μαχεός*. On the other hand *μηχος*, *μηχανή* are found just as much in the Ionic as in the other dialects. A stem *μαχ* with the meaning help, effect cannot be derived hence. — Pott compares also A.-S. *mac-ian* facere, formare, O.-H.-G. *machōn* make: but though their meaning comes very near to that of the Greek words, they are further removed from a phonetic point of view. — Cp. No. 462. —

336 Ebel (Gr. Celt. ² p. 872) divides off from the Irish words *cum*, so that *ang* is left as the root. But this view is opposed by the originally reduplicated forms *caemais* and *cōimsam*, for their thin vowel in the first syllable can only be explained by the influence of a lost syllable of reduplication; cp. *ro-i-chan* cecini with (*air*)-*ce-chn-atar* vaticinati sunt (Z.² 448, 450).

- 474) Rt. $\mu\gamma$ $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\text{-}\omega$, $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\mu\iota$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\text{-}\eta\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\eta\text{-}\nu$) mix, $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\text{-}\alpha$, $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\text{-}\delta\alpha$, $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\text{-}\delta\eta\nu$ (adv.) mixedly, $\mu\gamma\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\delta\text{-}\epsilon\varsigma$ mongrels, hybrids, $\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\iota\varsigma$ mixing.

Skt. *miç-ra-s* intermixed, *miç-ra-jâ-mi* mix, intermix, *â-mik-shâ* mixed milk, curds, *miksh*, *mi-miksh* mix.

Lat. *misc-e-o*, *mix-tu-s* (*mis-tu-s*), *mix-tû-ra* (*mis-tû-ra*), *mix-ti-o* (*mis-ti-o*), *mis-cellu-s*, *miscell-âneu-s*.

O.-H.-G. *misk-in* mix.

Ch.-Sl. *mès-i-ti* miscere, Lith. *misz-ti* to mix oneself, *misz-ini-s* hybrid, *mais-z-y-ti* mix, mingle.

O.-Ir. *com-mescatar* miscentur (Z.² 473).

Bopp Gl., W. II, 2, 569, Benf. II 42, Schleich. Ksl. 126. — Evidently *mik* is the original form and the γ softened from the κ (Ind. lect. Kil. aest. 1857 p. IX). In the Greek, Latin, and Irish present-stem the guttural has been lost before $\sigma\kappa$, *sc*. These letters have become attached to the whole stem in Latin. O.-Ir. *cum-masc* commutatio (Z.² 872) seems from the vowel to be unconnected.

- 475) $\mu\iota\text{-}\nu\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\omega$, Hom. $\mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\text{-}\omega$ diminish, destroy, grow less, $\mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\xi\eta\sigma\text{-}\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\gamma\acute{\omicron}\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (Hesych.), $\mu\iota\nu\nu\nu\theta\alpha$ a little while, $\mu\iota\nu\nu\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ short-lived. — $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ less, $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\omega$ diminish.

Skt. rt. *mi* (*mî-nô-mi*, *mî-j-ê*) diminish (trans. and intrans.).

Lat. *mi-nu-o*, *minû-tu-s*, *min-or*, *min-us*, Osc. *mins-treis* = minoris, Lat. *minis-ter*. — *min-imu-s*. — *Minûciu-s*.

Goth. *mins* less (adv.), *minniza* (adj.) smaller, *minnist-s* the smallest.

Ch.-Sl. *mîn-ij* minor, Lith. *minù*, Ch.-Sl. *mîn-q* (inf. *mę-ti*) $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$, Lith. *mèn-ka-s* little.

Kuhn Ztschr. II 464, Pott I¹ 113, II¹ 69, Ztschr. VI 111, Benf. I 471, Schleich. Ksl. 126. — With regard to the comp. $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ I once followed J. Grimm, who assumed (Gr. III 658) that $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ was for $\mu\iota\nu\epsilon\text{-}\iota\omega\text{-}\nu$. The comparative stem of an adjective st. $\mu\iota\nu\nu$ would then have to be $\mu\iota\nu\epsilon\text{-}\iota\omega\text{-}\nu$, and thence become by syncope $\mu\iota\nu\epsilon\text{-}\iota\omega\nu$ and by loss of the ν $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ (masc. $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$), while the Latin *min-us* is evidently for *min-ius*; *minis-ter* and the Oscan *mins-treis* = *minoris*, preserved as a comparative (Mommsen Unterit. D. 280), like *magis-ter* have received in addition a second comparative suffix. But however certain

337 this explanation of the Latin form is, there are difficulties of many kinds in the way of the Greek. According to the analogy of ἡδ-ίων we should have expected μιν-ίων. The diphthong ει occurs in ἀρείων, χρείων, i. e. only where an σ has been lost between ε and ι. Hence as the Skt. *mī-nā-mi*, referred to by Leo Meyer G. A. 1864 p. 325, makes several parts from rt. *ma*, e. g. perf. *ma-māu*, it will be more correct to start from a rt. *ma*, which at a very early time was accompanied by the weaker by-form *mi*, just as rt. *pa* by the weaker *pi* (No. 371). Then με-ίων can be explained from this *ma*, as πλε-ίων from *pla*. Schleicher also Comp. ³ 465 assumes for the *min* occurring in Latin, Teutonic and Slavonic, an older *man*. We may thus connect with this rt. also Skt. *man-āk* a little, only, *min-dā* personal defect, which resemble Lat. *man-cu-s*, *men-da*, *men-dicu-s*. The Pet. Dict. on *man-āk* reminds us of μόνο-ς, which however from the Epic μοῦνο-ς appears to go back to *man-va-s*. — If any one is not content to interpret the Μινῶναι as 'the little ones', they may be explained as the destroyers, the champions who demolish ranks, by referring to Skt. *pra-minā-mi* supero (cp *Mīṇa-s*?). — I have now omitted the mimetic words μινῶ-ς whining, μινῶειν, μινῶλῆσθαι, Lat. *minurrire*, as Fick Ztschr. XIX 251 more correctly connects them with Skt. *miṇa-s* speaking indistinctly, and adds Lat. *min-tri-re*. — From the Keltic languages the following words probably belong here: Ir. *min* small, tender (*ro-min* 'very meek' F. A. 92), Cymr. *mwyn*, *main*, Corn. *muin* tenuis, exilis (Z.² 99). Stokes Ir. Gl. 430 compares these words, whose primitive form seems to be **māna* or *maina*, with Gr. μᾶνό-ς.

476) μόθο-ς tumult. — Skt. *math* (*manth*, *math-ā-mi*) turn round, twirl, shake, *manth-a-s*; *math-ana-m* rubbing, twirling, preparation of butter. — O.-N. *mönd-ull* turning stick. — Ch.-Sl. *meť-a* turbo, *meť-eř* turbatio, Lith. *ment-ūri-s* (m.), *ment-ūrė* (f.) twirling stick.

Benf. I 258, II 347, Miklos. Lex. 394. — The primitive form of the rt. is *mat*, the aspiration in Greek as in Skt. is of later origin. — Kuhn in his essay 'The Origin of Fire and of the Drink of the Gods' Berl. 1869 discusses the name Προ-μηθε-εύ-ς and its relation to the Skt. *pra-mantha-s*, the name of an instrument used in kindling fire by rubbing pieces of wood, with other analogies in language and in practice. But the rt. μαθ *μανθάν-ω* belongs to No. 429, because there is no clear connexion in meaning with this rt. So Pott Ztschr. IX 190, Aufrecht 232. — Pictet II 31 explains further how this rt. *manth* with its numerous derivatives dating from a very ancient time, denoted the twirling motion in the preparation of butter. According to Aufrecht (ut supra) the rt. occurs probably, though employed in

a different sense, in Lat. *ment-ula*. — From Greek μόθ-ων εἰδός τι ὀφρῆσεως (Hesych.) may also belong here.

- 477) μορ-μύρ-ω murmur, rustle. — Skt. *mar-mar-a-s* rustling (adj.), a rustling. — Lat. *mur-mur*, *murm-â-re*. — O.-H.-G. *mur-mur-ôn*, *mur-mul-ôn*. — Lith. *mur-m-ù* grumble, *murm-lén-ti* murmur.

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 39.

- 478) Rt. μυ μύ-ω close (eyes, mouth), μύ-ωψ short-sighted, 388
 μυ-ἴνδα blind-man's buff, μυ-ά-ω blink, purse
 the mouth up (μοι-μυ-ά-ω, μύλλ-ω, μοι-μύλλ-ω),
 μυ-κό-ς, μύ-τι-ς ἄφωνος (Hesych.) (cp. μύδο-ς,
 μύνδο-ς, μύ-τη-ς, μύτ-τη-ς, μυτ-τό-ς), μύσ-τη-ς
 initiated, μυστήρ-ιο-ν secret.

Skt. rt. *mû-ka-s* dumb.

Lat. *mû-tu-s*, *mussare* murmur, mutter.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 283, 1216, Benf. I 529, who compares Skt. *mish*, *ni-mish* claudere, *un-mish* aperire (oculos), but this would only be legitimate phonetically, if we derived *mish* (= *mis*) from *mus*; cp. Kuhn Ztschr. II 137 and No. 63, 479. A. Weber on the other hand Ztschr. VI 318 starts from rt. *mu* bind (No. 451) and Max Müller II 91 agrees with him, translating *mû-ka-s* tongue-bound. So Pet. Dict. — I do not venture to decide. Probably also ἀ-μύ-μων (and ἄμυ-μος Hesych.), μῶ-μο-ς are connected with this conception, together with the apparently Aeolic μῶμαρ μῶ-μο-ς Hesych. The ω has arisen by addition of sound from *v* through the middle stage. αf, and μῶ-ομ-ς : μυ = ζω-μό-ς : ξυ = Lat. *ju* (*ju-s* broth); similarly with ζώννυ-μι from rt. *ju* bind, discussed under irregular substitution of sound [p. 611]. From the notion of closing the mouth comes that of indistinct secret speech or detraction (*mussa-re*, *mussitare*, O.-H.-G. *muccazan* mutire, *mutilôn* mussitare). Perhaps in another way μῶ-κο-ς insult, scorn is related, though Pauli Ztschr. XVIII 14 connects it with Lat. *maccu-s*. In Skt. too *mukh-ara-s* means insulting. — Again as ἀνα-μύ-ειν ἀναβλέπειν occurs, and as therefore the rt. must originally have denoted both opening and closing — of the eyes as well as the mouth — we might even regard as related not only *mu-ti-re* (Enn. trag. fr. 376 Vahl. '*palam mutire plebejo piaculum est*') or *mut-tire*, but also μῦ-θ-ο-ς and Skt. *mu-kh-am* mouth, O.-H.-G. *mû-la*, *mu-nd*. More remote are Gr. μύζ-ω (ξ-μυ-σα and μυγ-μός) groan, sigh, Skt. *mu-g* sonare, and *múg-i-o* roar, closely connected with μῑ-κ-ά-ο-μαι (μέμνκα). — Ir. *muít* dumb (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 118) is a bor-

rowed word, though it appears as an i-stem. The *t* is not aspirated, as in *posit* positive, *comparit* &c. (Z.³ 233).

- 479) Rt. *μυδ* *μύδ-ος* moisture, rottenness, *μυδ-ά-ω* am moist, rot, *μυδ-αίν-ω* moisten, *μυδ-αλέο-ς* moist, rotten, *μυδ-ών* rotten flesh, *μύδ-ρο-ς* glowing mass of metal.

Skt. rt. *mid* (*mēd-jā-mi*) grow fat, *mēd-a-s*, *mēd-as* fat.

Goth. *bi-smeit-an* ἐπιχρῶειν, O. H.-G. *smīzan* illinere, M.-H.-G. *smuz* dirt.

Benf. I 482, who also compares *μύσ-ος* loathing, abhorrence. We should then have to assume a rt. *μυσ* expanded by a *σ*, or a suffix *-σος* as in *ἄλ-σος*. — The German elucidates the interchange between *i* and *u*. The original form of the root seems to have varied between *smud* and *smid*. Cp. No. 63, and for the meaning p. 113.

- 480) *μυ-ῖ-α* fly, *μυ-ῖ-α* maggot (Hesych.). — Skt. *maksha-s* fly, *makshi-ka-s* fly, bee, Zd. *makhshi* midge, fly (?).
339 — Lat. *mus-ca*. — O.-N. *mýj*. — Ch.-Sl. *mucha* musca, *mušica* culex, Lith. *musė* fly.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 85, Benf. II 43, whose etymology is erroneous, Förstemann Ztschr. III 47, Fick² 386. — The Ch.-Sl. form is for *mus-a*, whence *μυ-ῖ-α* for *μυσ-ια* and with a diminutive suffix *mus-ca*. — If the Zend and Sanskrit words are related, we must derive the *u* of all other languages from *a*, and the *s* from *ks* (st. *maks*), but there are objections to this. We might trace the European words, which point back to the stem *mus*, to rt. *mus* (Skt. *mush*) steal, rob, so that the fly would be among insects, what the mouse was among mammals (No. 483). So Aufrecht Ztschr. VIII 71. Miklos. Lex. Savelsberg (Ztschr. XVI 365), whose phonetic combinations I cannot at all approve, prefers to consider both animals as named from 'blinking' *μύειν*. But how can a fly blink? The opinion of Corssen Beitr. 31 that *μυ-ῖ-α* may have arisen from *μυκ-ια* is without foundation. Cp. Nachtr. 68, where the Ch.-Sl. *ch*, always the representative of an *s* in etymology, is incorrectly taken as a guttural. — O.-N. *mýj* from **mú-já*. O.-H.-G. *muccá*, represented by the O.-S. *muggjá* [Eng. *midge*] probably does not belong here [but cp. Förstemann, Geschichte des Deutschen Sprachstammes I 54].

- 481) *μύλ-η*, *μύλ-ος* mill, millstone, *μύλ-ωθ-ρό-ς* miller, *μύλλ-ω* grind, *μύλ-αι*, *μύλ-όδοντ-ες*, *μύλ-ῖται* dentes molares, grinders.

Lat. *mol-o*, *mol-a*, *mol-ári-s*, *mol-i-tor*.

Goth. *mal-an* ἀλήθειν, *mal-v-ja-n* συντριβεῖν, O.-H.-G. *mul-i* mill, *mel-o* meal, *mul-ja-n* crush.

Ch.-Sl. *mel-j-a* (inf. *ml-ě-ti*), Lith. *mal-ù* (inf. *mál-ti*) grind.

O.-Ir. *melim* molo (Z.² 429), *to-mil* imperat. vescere, *to-malt* gen. *to-malte* edere, edendi (Z.² 443, 800).

Kuhn 'Zur ältesten Gesch. der indog. Völker' p. 16, Benf. I 496, Schleicher Ksl. 126, Pott W. II, 1, 535. — The Greek *v* has here apparently developed from *a*. It is of importance for the history of culture that these words are common to all the European members of the family of languages, but to these alone. In Skt. we find the remotely connected *mal-ana-m* rubbing. — The kinship with Skt. *mard* conterere, conjectured by Bopp (Gl.), seems not to be direct. — Max Müller II 317 assumes for the root *mar* the fundamental meaning *rub*, which he thinks established itself with only a slight modification in these words for 'mill'. He very acutely connects with this also *μαρ-να-μαι* (No. 458) and *μῶλο-ς* ἄρεος 'the toil and moil of Ares', while he reconciles the rt. *mar* die (No. 468) with this fundamental notion, according to the analogy of rt. *gar* (No. 130), by means of the idea 'to rub oneself out'. Ir. *mu-lenn* pistrinum is a borrowed word and is derived from Lat. *molendinum* (Z.² 778, Stokes Ir. Gl. 701).

482) *μύρμο-ς*, *μύρμ-ηξ*, *μυρμη-δών* ant. — Zend *maoiri*. — Lat. *form-ica* (?). — O.-N. *maur*, Low Germ. *miere* [A.-S. and O.-E. *mire*, cp. *pismire*]. — Ch.-Sl. *mrav-ij* *μύρμηξ*. — Arm. *merien* formicae (Z.² 295).

Pott W. II, 2, 202, Grimm Gesch. 327, Förstemann Ztschr. III 50, Müllenhoff Glossary to Groth's Quickborn. — There are two views as to the origin of these words. The one advanced by Kuhn Ztschr. 340 III 66 (cp. Pictet I 529) connects them with Skt. *vam-rá* little ant, *raimika-s* ant-hill. Thus *vam* (No. 452) would be the rt., and the insect would get its name from spirting out ant-juice. But this is opposed by the fact that in none of the other languages does the form correspond to this assumption. Legerlotz Ztschr. X 382 appeals to the aversion of the Greeks to the conjunction *με*, which brought about, he thinks, the change of *vamra* into *varma*, and then by a substitution of *μ* for the *F* into *μορμο*, *μυρμο*. But even if we concede this, the *m* of the other languages is not at all explained, and hence L. excludes these from the comparison, and considers that *formica* has been formed by 'popular etymology' from a natural resemblance to *ferre micas*. But compounds of this kind, with a verbal

element prefixed, are so rare in Latin that they certainly never floated before the popular instinct. — Schweizer Ztschr. XII 304 starts at once with *formica*, from which he arrives at the rt. *frem* = Skt. *bhram* with the fundamental idea of restless motion. But even if *μύρμηξ* for *φνρμηξ* could have originated hence 'by assimilation', we have still to account for the form *βύρμαξ*, *βόρμαξ* (Hesych.); and the other languages agree still worse. — Hence both attempts fail to solve the problem of supplying an etymon for all the names of the ant, which are closely related phonetically. We had therefore better leave the Skt. entirely out of the question. In five languages the insect bears a name which can be readily traced back to a rt. *mur*. Such a root, it is true, nowhere presents itself in a verb, but we may regard 'to swarm' as the meaning, and *μύρμι* as related. *βύρμηξ* and *formica* have perhaps arisen from this by a kind of dissimilation. *φόρμικα* *μύρμηκα* and *ὀρμικας μύρμηξ* (Hesych.) are probably both intended to explain the Lat. *formica*. — Very differently Bugge Ztschr. XX, 15. — Arm. *merien* is for *murien*, cp. Corn. *murrian* (Lex. Cornu-Brit.).

- 483) *μῦς* mouse, muscle. — Skt. *mūsh*, *mūsh-a-s*, *mūsh-a-ka-s*, *mūsh-ika-s* rat, mouse. — Lat. *mūs*, *mus-culu-s*, *mus-cip-ula*. — O.-H.-G. *mūs*. — Ch.-Sl. *mys-ŷ* mouse.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 448, Schleich. Ksl. 126. — The rt. *mush* (*mush-nā-mi*) with the by-form *mūsh* is still extant in Skt. as a verb with the meaning 'steal', hence there can hardly be any doubt as to the explanation of the word mouse as thief (cp. No. 480). *μῦς* like Ch.-Sl. *ŷ* has sprung from *s*. The transference of this animal's name to parts of the body deserves notice: Gr. *μῦς* muscle, *μῦς* muscular part of the body, Skt. *mush-ka-s* testicle, pudendum muliebre (cp. *μύστρον τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον* Hesych. Fick² 156), Lat. *mus-culu-s*, O.-H.-G. *mūs* muscle, especially on the upper arm, Ch.-Sl. *mys-ŷa* *βραχίον* (Miklos. Lex.). — But what are we to say to *σῦς ὁ μῦς* (Hesych.)? We find also *σῦς*, *μῦς*, *σῦς* *δα* house-mouse, *Σμινθεύς*. A rt. *cmi* seems to be at the bottom of these (cp. *σμίλη* knife): fundamental idea to gnaw.

- 484) *μωρός* (Att. *μῶρο-ς*) fool, *μωρ-ία* folly, *μωρ-ό-ω* stupefy, *μωραίν-ω* am foolish, simple. — Lat. *mōru-s*, *mōr-io(n)* fool, *mōr-ōsu-s*.

341 The two derived words make it probable that Lat. *mōru-s* is no borrowed word. Pott's reference to the rt. *ma* (W. I 282) is less probable than that suggested by Pictet Ztschr. V 330 to the Ved. *mūra-s*, stupid, purblind. Perhaps these words all belong to rt. *mus* (No. 478), so that the stupid man would be called a *mussitando*.

ω probably for αF, as in μῶ-μο-ς (No. 478). We might also regard as related *mo-mar* 'stultus apud Siculos' Fest. p. 140.

- 485) ὄμβρο-ς rain, ὄμβρο-ιο-ς rainy, ὄμβρο-έ-ω rain. — Skt. *abhra-m* storm-cloud, clouds, *amb-u*, *ambh-as* water. — Lat. *imber* (st. *imbrī*).

Bopp Gl., who very boldly (like Benf. I 117) divides *abhra* into *ap* (water) and *bhara* (bearing). Schweizer Ztschr. II 66 more correctly groups together all the words here mentioned, as coming under the common idea of water, and also reminds us of ἀφρό-ς foam, which had been compared with *abhra-m* by Weber. Medials and aspirates vary in Skt. as in Greek. See on this point p. 517. — Bugge Ztschr. II 386 holds Osc. *anafriss* to be identical with *imbribus*. So Corssen I² 163.

- 486) ὀμό-ς crudus, crudelis, ὀμό-της rawness. — Skt. *āma-s*, *ama-s* crudus, *am-la-s* sour, acidity. — Lat. *am-āru-s*. — O.-H.-G. *am-pher* [Mod.-G. *Ampfer* sorrel]. — Ir. *óm* raw (Ir. Gl. 90).

Benf. II 89, then without regard to this grouping Ztschr. VIII 88, Ind. lect. Kil. aest. 1856 p. VIII, Pictet Ztschr. V 341. — On the O.-H.-G. *ampher* sorrel cp. Pictet I 309, Kuhn Beitr. II 381. Skt. *amla-s*, *amli* means also wood-sorrel, oxalis corniculata. The by-form *ambla-s* is noteworthy phonetically, for its *b* was the preliminary step to the O.-H.-G. *ph*. — Pott W. II, 2, 153.

- 487) ὤμο-ς shoulder, ὤμο-πλάτη shoulderblade. — Skt. *aśa-s* shoulder. — Lat. *um-e-ru-s*. — Goth. *amsa*.

Bopp Gl., Pott II¹ 290, Aufrecht Ztschr. I 283. — The primitive form is *amsa-s*, whence Graeco-It. *omsò-s*, Greek ὤμο-ς, but besides this Hesych. mentions ἄμ-έ-σω ὤμο-πλάται, a form in which *ε* enters as an auxiliary vowel as in Lat. *um-e-ru-s* (for *am-e-so-s*).

P

A Greek ρ corresponds in the following cases to an Indogermanic *r*, and this is retained as a rule also in the other languages; but in some cases it has passed into *l*.

- 488) Rt. ἄρ ἄρ-ἄρ-ι-σκη-ε fitted on, ἄρ-μενο-ς fit, suiting, ἄρ-ηρ-α suit (ἄρ-ηρ-ότες near to one another),

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ἄρ-σ-α, ἡρ-αφ-ο-ν fitted together, ἄρ-θ-ρο-ν joint, limb, ἄρ-τύ-ω fit together, prepare, ἄρ-τύ-ς, ἄρ-θ-μό-ς union, friendship, ἄρ-ι-θ-μό-ς reckoning, series, number, ν-ῆρ-ι-το-ς uncounted, ἄρ-μό-ς joint, shoulder, ἄρ-τιο-ς fit, exact, ἄρ-τι just, exactly, ἄρτι-ξ-ω prepare, ἄρ-ι- proper, good (ἄρ-είων, ἄριστο-ς), ἄρ-έ-σx-ω please, ἄρ-ε-τή excellence, ἄρ-ε-τά-ω be of use, serve, ἐπι-ῆρ-ης trusted. Skt. rt. *ar* to hit upon anything, to attain, *ara-m* fit, fast, *ara-s* spoke of a wheel, *ar-ja-s* attached, faithful, *irma-s* arm. — Zd. rt. *ar* go, *air-ya* faithful, *areta* complete, *ere-thé* rectitude. Lat. *ar-ma*, *ar-mu-s*, *ar-tu-s* limb, *arti-culu-s*, *ar-ti-re*, *ar-tâ-re* to fit in firmly, *ar-tu-s* narrow, *ar-(ti)-s*, *arti-fex*. Goth. *ar-m-s*, O.-H.-G. *aram* arm, Goth. *li-thu-s* limb. Ch.-Sl. *ra-me* ἄμος, Lith. *ar-ti* (adv.) near, *arty-ma-s* (adj.) near, *artin-ti* bring nearer, O.-Pruss. *irmo* arm. O.-Ir. *áram* gen. *áirme* f. numerus (Z.² 241), *áirmim* numero (Z.² 435), *rímu* numero, aestimo (Z.² 435), *alt* n. pl. *ailt* junctura (Z.² 265, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 117).

Benf. I 56. — Much light is thrown upon this widely ramifying rt. by the meanings given in the Pet. Dict. for Skt. *ar-ja-s* and rt. *ar*, whose part. perf. act. fem. *árushi*, except as regards the varying reduplication, entirely corresponds to the Gr. ἄρ-αφν-α fitting. With the causative form *ar-pajā-mi*, which means fasten, secure, are connected ἄρπ-ε-δών (ο), ἄρπ-ε-δόνη rope, cord; the aspirate here is in the same position as that of ἄρ-μό-ς and its numerous derivatives (ἄρποι, ἄρμόξω, ἄρμονία). On further extensions (ἄμ-αφ-τῆ, ὀμ-αφ-τῆ, ὀμ-αφ-τέ-ω, ὀμ-ηρο-ς, ὀμ-ηρ-εῦ-ω, Ὀμ-άριο-ς) de nomine Homeri p. 11 sq. — By the side of Lat. *ar-s* is Skt. *r-ti-s* in its meaning manner and way. On νήριτο-ς, εἰκοσιν-ήριτα cp. Rumpf Jahn's Jahrb. 1866 p. 85. — The meanings develop themselves simply from the idea 'fit', which is readily taken transitively, and from which the notions of close union, and also of narrowness (Lat. *ar-tu-s*) and straitened circumstances, affliction (Goth. *ar-m-s* ἔλκεινός) are but little removed. So also with the transferred notion of suiting, pleasing (*Gefallens*),

which in German too has been formed from the idea of coinciding (*zusammenfallen*); cp. *convenit*. In the Homeric ἄρσεντες κατὰ θυμὸν *A* 136, ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἦραρεν ἡμῖν δ' 777 we can clearly see the transition. There is a good parallel to ἄρσ-ρῆ, as far as meaning goes, in M.-H.-G. *vuoge* fit, proper behaviour (Wörner Substantivum Homeric. index p. 17). The positive of ἄρσων. occurs in the Hom. voc. ἄρς (E 31), as Ixion recognized (Bekker Hom. Bl. 195, Hartel Ztschr. f. österr. Gymnasien 1871 p. 604). — Cp. also Ebel Ztschr. VI 452 and Leo Meyer Bemerkungen p. 45; the latter connects also ἄρ-η-ς, ἔρ-ι-ς with Skt. *ar-i-s* enemy, and the meaning of enemy with rt. *ar* strike. This might be admitted, if we assumed that a Gr. ἐρ with a special meaning was developed from the rt. *ar*. In any case ἔρ-ι-ς is not to be separated from ἔρ-έ-θ-ω, ἔρ-ε-θ-ῆ-ω provoke, which remind us of Lat. *in-ri-to*. — The fundamental meaning of this rt. can however hardly have been anything but that of motion in the direction of something. In most of its applications this is regarded as successful, attaining its goal. Thus we may connect without violence also ἄρ-έ-σθαι, ἄρ-α-σθαι attain, which are generally referred as aorists to αἶρω, together with ἄρ-ο-ς gain (Aesch. Suppl. 887) (cp. Kuhn Ztschr. II 460). But if we remember that αἶρω almost always appears in Homer in the fuller form ἄελρω, there is not the least probability that the st. ἄερ (for ἄερε) should have been shortened to ἄρ in *ἔρ-ε-σθαι*. The present to these aorists is rather ἄρ-υ-μαι (cp. also *μίσθ-αγο-ς*). There is no reference whatever here to the notion of raising occurring in αἶρω. Hence it is only in this sense that we find the fut. ἄρ-οῦμαι (Schneidewin ad Soph. Aj. 75), as distinguished from ἄρω (for ἄερω) from αἶρω (Aesch. Pers. 796). With these meanings ἔρ-ι-θ-ο-ς day-labourer is at once seen to be connected, probably also ἔρ-ο-ς, the primary meaning of which seems to be a collection of money. It can hardly be doubted that the particle ἄρα (ἄρ, ῥά) is derived from this rt.; ἄρα as an interrogative has the greatest resemblance to the Lith. interrogative *ar*. — The comparison of ἄρσων, ἄριστος with Skt. *variya-s*, *varishtha-s* (*vara-s* eximius), supported by Pott I¹ 221, Bopp Gl., Benf. I 321 rests upon the entirely unfounded assumption of a *f*: Thiersch (Gramm. p. 232, to whom Pott appeals, only thought he could find traces of it in ἄριστον breakfast, and these do not exist. — For the 'splitting' of the rt. *ar* into ἄρ, ἐρ, ὀρ see above p. 49. Hence results a relationship of this rt. with No. 490, 492, 500. It will be seen on p. 691 that ἔρχομαι also belongs to it. — Pott W. II, 1, 78.

489) ἄράχ-νη, ἄράχ-νη-ς, ἄραχ-νό-ς spider, ἄράχ-ν-ιο-ν spider's web. — Lat. *arâ-neu-s arâ-neu* spider and spider's web, *arâneu-m* spider's web, *arânearc*.

Forstemann Ztschr. III 56 (cp. Kuhn III 69) attempts an etymo-

logy based upon the equivalent Skt. name *úrṇa-nābha-s*, properly 'having wool on the navel': but this is very uncertain. Otherwise Max Müller IV 368. The true view has been taken by Walter Ztschr. XII 377. He deduces a rt. *ark* range one by another, spin, which we may regard as an expansion of *ar*. This shows itself, as I have proved Ztschr. XIII 398, most clearly in *ἄρκυ-ς* (by-form *ἄρκυ-ο-ς*) net, which is related to this rt. precisely as Goth. *nati* net to O.-H.-G. *nā-ja-n* (sew), as *rē-te*, probably for *srē-te* to *ser-o* (No. 518), and also in *ἄρκ-άνη* τὸ δάμνα, ᾧ τὸν στήμονα ἐγκαταπλέκουσιν αἱ διαζόμεναι. Add, with λ for ρ and an inserted vowel, *ήλακ-άτη* (Hes. *ήλεκάτη*) spindle. *ἄρ-ά-χ-νη* shows the same vowel, but preserves the ρ; κ has been aspirated under the influence of the ν; cp. for this p. 493. Hence *ἄράχνη* means spinner. If the Latin words are not borrowed from the Greek (and I should wish to leave this an open question, though Corssen I² 634 considers it certain) we have here an instance of remarkable special agreement between the two languages.

490) *ἀρό-ω* plough, *ἀρο-τήρ* ploughman, *ἄρο-το-ς* ploughing, season for ploughing, *ἄρο-τρο-ν* plough, *ἄρου-ρα* ploughed land, *πολύ-ηρο-ς πολυάρουρος* (Hesych.).

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Lat. *ar-ā-re*, *arā-tor*, *arā-ti-o*, *arā-tru-m*, *arvu-s* ἀρόσιμος, *arvu-m*.

Goth. *ar-jan* ἀροτριᾶν, O.-H.-G. *err-an* arare [O.-E. *car*], *ar-t* aratio, O.-N. *ar* aratio, *ardhr* aratrum.

Lith. *ār-ti*, Ch.-Sl. *or-a-ti* plough, Lith. *arima-s* ploughing, field, *arkla-s* (Lexica), Ch.-Sl. *oralo*, *ralo* plough.

Ir. *ar* aratio, *airim* aro, *arathar* aratrum (Corm. Gl. 1. 3, Transl. 2. 7), Corn. *erv*, *ercu* ager (Z.² 131).

Kuhn Ind. Studien I 351, Pott W. I 293. — *ar-i-tra-m* oar has nothing in common with *ἄρο-τρο-ν* plough, except the rt. with the general notion of moving (No. 488). In its application to ploughing rt. *ar* (always retaining too its vowel *a*), is proper to all the European languages, as distinguished from the Oriental. Whether *ἔρα* earth (cp. Goth. *air-tha*), *ἔρα-ξε* is connected with these words is doubtful. Grimm Gesch. 54 ff., Pott II¹ 179, Pictet II 78. — For Greek, with the exception perhaps of *ἄρσεις ἀροτριάσεις* (Hesych.) *ἄρο* as a derivative verbal-stem, is the only form: this may point back to *ἄροϝ*, so that *ἄρου-ρα* would be for *ἄροϝ-ρα*. But Misteli's view (Ztschr. XVII 178) is also possible, that *ἄρουρα* is for a reduplicated *ἄρ-ερ-ρα*.

— Corssen Beitr. 241 raises some well-founded objections against the connexion of *armentu-m* with these words.

- 491) ἄρσ-ην (st. ἄρσεν), Ion. ἔρσ-ην, Att. ἄρῶ-ην masculine, ἄρσ-εν-ικό-ς of a masculine nature. — Skt. *rsha-bha-s* ox, Zd. *arshan* man, male.

Schweizer Ztschr. IV 308 following Benfey's Sanskrit-Chrestomathie Glossar. p. 61, though the latter formerly compared the traditional *ἄρσην* which nowhere occurs, and the *ῥ* of which is assumed without any justification, with the Skt. *vrsha-s*, *vrshā* (st. *vrshan*), *vrsha-bha-s* ox; so Bopp Gl. Accentuationssystem p. 143, and Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 387. — We may regard as the root of the words grouped together here *ars*, Skt. *arsh* flow, in the sense of besprinkle; according to the Pet. Dict. indeed this is 'related to *varsh*' so that both explanations would ultimately come to the same thing. Still I do not know why we should consider that there is any difficulty in the relation of *varsh* to *arsh*. Who will contend that the oldest language could not have possessed two roots *ars* and *vars* (cp. No. 497) synonymous but phonetically distinct. — Sonne Ztschr. X 103 derives the surname of Dionysos *Εἰραφι-ώτης* (Alc. fr. 90 *ἐρραφε-ώτης*) from *arsabha-s* (Skt. *rsha-bha-s*), of course as a further derivative — so that it would mean fertilizer. I do not attempt to determine whether *arie(t)-s* belongs here, mainly because of the fem. *arna* Paul. Epit. 20 and Lith *erýti-s* lamb.

- 492) Rt. ἐρ ἄμφ-ήρ-ης double-oared, ἅλι-ήρ-ης rowing through the sea, πεντηκόντ-ορο-ς fifty-oared ship, ἐρ-έ-τη-ς, ὕπ-ηρ-έ-τη-ς oarsman, ἐρ-ε-σία rowing, crew of rowers, ἐρ-έ-σσ-ω row, ἐρετ-μό-ς oar.

Skt. *ar-i-tra-s* (adj.) driving, *ar-i-tra-s* (subst.) oar, *ar-i-tra-m* helm, *ar-i-tā* (st. *aritar*) oarsman.

Lat. *ra-ti-s*, *rê-mu-s*, *rêm-ig-iu-m*, *tri-rêm-i-s*.

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O.-N., A.-S. *âr*, M.-H.-G. *rie-me* oar (Low G. *reem*), O.-H.-G. *ruo-dar*.

Lith. *ir-ti* row (1 sing. pres. *ir-i-ù*), *ir-kla-s* oar.

Ir. *im-rad* they rowed about, *raissid* they rowed (Chron. Scot. p. 10), *ramhaim* 'I row, travel', *iom-raim*, *iom-ramhaim* 'I sail or row' (O'R.).

Kuhn Ind. Studien I 353, Pott II¹ 279, W. I 294, Benf. II 305, who also adds to this group *κρβ-ερ-νά-ω* and compares the first syllable with *κρμβη*; but *κρμβη* is too rare in the meaning boat — probably originally only poetical, like 'shell' (No. 80) — to make this

explanation plausible; otherwise the form *κυμ-εργήτη-s*, according to E. M. Aeolic, might easily be connected with it. — By the side of the rt. *ar* Gr. *ἐρ*, which underlies these words, there is also the metathesized *ra*, appearing most plainly in *ra-ti-s*. I have intentionally omitted from the words in *-ήρης* quoted in the text *τρι-ήε-ης*, for the 'three-decker', like *δι-ήε-s* the second story, derives its name from rt. *dp* fit. Schweizer (Ztschr. III 353) is right in counting among the words of the cognate languages O.-H.-G. *ruo-dar* (*uo* from *ā*) against differing views on the part of Bopp (Vergl. Gr. III 202) and Pictet II 185. *ἐρέσσω* = *ἐρετ-jw* points to a noun-stem *ἐρετα*, as *πυρέσσω* to *πυρετο* (nom. *πυρετό-s* fever); cp. Ebel Ztschr. IV 335. We may probably add the town-names *Ἐρέτρια*, *Ἐρεσσός-s* (*Ἐρεσός-s*). But also words which denote motion forwards on land, like Skt. *ratha-s*, Lith. *rāt-a-s*, Lat. *rot-a* [Germ. *Rad*] wheel, cannot be separated; especially as Skt. *ar-i-tra-m* denotes not only rudder, but also, according to the Pet. Dict., 'a part of a carriage', and as O.-Ir. *ara* gen. *arad* auriga (orig. part. pres. act., Z.² 255) certainly also belongs here. But. Lat. *rot-a* cannot be separated from *rot-undu-s*, the form of which, pointing as it does to a derived verbal-stem *rotō*, I have explained in the Symbola philolog. Bonn. I 278. The Pet. Dict. compares with *ἐν-ηρ-έ-τη-s* Skt. *ar-a-ti-s* servant, help. This meaning suits well enough the wider use of *ἐπηρέτη-s*, but not the narrower 'oarsman', which the word with its derivatives certainly has. Hence *ar-a-ti-s* may have been derived directly from the fundamental notion of going, striving (cp. No. 273), *ἐπηρέτη-s* on Greek soil immediately from that of rowing. — On the difference between rts. *ἐρ* and *ἀρ*, st. *ἀρο*, cp. No. 490.

493) Rt. *ἐρ*, *ῥερ* Hom. *εἶρ-ω* say (*ἐρ-έ-ω*, *εἶρη-κα* for *ἔ-ῥρη-κα*, *ἔρρή-θην*, *ῥη-τό-s* for *ῥρη-το-s*), *ῥή-τωρ*, Aeol. *βρή-τωρ* orator, *ῥή-τρα* (Elic *ῥάτρα*) decree, *ῥῆ-μα* word, *ῥῆ-σι-s* speech, *εἶρή-νη* agreement, peace, *ῥη-σκ-ο-μένων λεγομένων* (Hes.).

Lat. *ver-bu-m*, Umbr. *verf-ale* = verbale.

Goth. *vair-d* word, *anda-vaird* answer, *ga-vaird-i* *δμιλία*.

O.-Pruss. *wir-de* word, Lith. *vār-da-s* name.

Again an European root, which has nothing certainly corresponding in the Oriental languages. Cp. Corssen I² 171. For it is very 346 doubtful whether Skt. *brū* = Zd. *mrū* (Pott W. I 1226) belongs here. The same may be said of Fick's groupings (162). — On the Greek forms see Ahrens Formenlehre p. 116, D. Aeol. 34, 36, 226, Ebel Ztschr. XIII 458, Hoffmann Quaestt. Homer. II 48. The latter finds

a distinction in Homer as regards the digamma between the decidedly digammatized words which mean say, and those which mean ask. Anyhow, these distinct words are not to be confused, as is often done. For even if the notion of asking in *εἰρ-ο-μαι*, inf. aor. *ἐρεσθαι* may be arrived at from a phrase like 'I get said to me', this is quite impossible for *ἐρεσόμεν* let us ask *A* 62, *ἐρέων* seeking *φ* 31. Now as we have unmistakably belonging to these words not merely *ἐρω-τάω* and *ἐρεσέειν* ask, but also *ἐρευνά* a tracing (cp. Bugge Ztschr. XX, 9) *ἐρευνᾶν* to trace out, a chasm opens between these words and those of saying, which cannot be filled up. I should, without any more hesitation, give by the side of rt. *ῥερ* say, a root *ἐρ* seek, and even connect *ἐρω-ς* with the latter, did there not appear in the Ion. *εἰρ-ατάω* and in the Hom. fut. *εἰρήσομαι* I shall ask *η* 237, *τ* 104, 509 a fuller initial syllable, which points to the loss of a consonant. Hoffmann's suggestion of *quaero* is of course incorrect, if only because in this word *r* is for an earlier *s*. Hence the only result at which I can confidently arrive is the separation of the two series of words. — Diefenbach Goth. Wtb. I 199, Benf. II 6, where many strange combinations are to be found. — On *εἰρήνη* cp. Giese Aeol. D. 187. — *ῥ-αφ-ἱ-ω* chat (*ῥαφισ-τύ-ς*, *ῥαφισ-τή-ς*, *ῥ-αφ-ο-ς*) may probably be regarded as a reduplicated form for *ῥα-ῥαφ-ἱ-ω*. Otherwise Bugge Stud. IV 337.

494) *ἐρέβ-ινθο-ς*, ῥοφο-ς chick-pea. — Lat. *ervu-m*, *cr-vilia*. — O.-H.-G. *araweiz*, O.-S. *erwet*.

Pott I¹ 117, Benf. II 313, Hesych. *λεβινθοιοι ἐρέβινθοι*. — Lat. *v* = Gr. *β* as *vicia βικό-ν*. — On the termination Lobeck Paralip. 244. — For the German words, which are possibly borrowed, Grimm Gr. II 222. — *ᾗρ-ανο-ς*, later *ᾗραχ-ος*, a kind of pulse seems to be of kindred root. — Cp. No. 523 b.

495) *Ἐρινύ-ς*. — Skt. *Saranjû-s*.

Kuhn Ztschr. I 439 ff., where he points out some remarkable coincidences between the Arcadian legend of Demeter Erinyes related by Pausan. VIII, 25 and the Vedic legends of Saranjûs. Max Müller II 482 agrees with this etymology, though in a different sense. For him *Ἐρινύς* too is the blush of dawn, while Sonne Ztschr. X 121 sees in it the storm-cloud. — The spir. lenis appears in the place of the aspirate as in the copulative *ᾶ* = *ᾷ*, *sa* (No. 598). *ι* points to an *ι* that has found its way in from the final syllable (cp. *κρίν-ω* for *κρί-νῃω* Aeol. *κρίννω*), for the spelling with one *ν* is the better established, according to L. Dindorf's note in Steph. Thesaurus. No stress is to be laid on the *ει* which once occurs in an inscription (C. I. II p. 353), any more than on the isolated *ν* (C. I. I 916). —

But we may notice the Macedonian form preserved by Hesych. Ἀράν-
τισιν Ἐρινύσι; Pott discusses this (Personennamen p. 107) reminding
us of ἀρά curse, without deciding anything as to its origin.

- 347 496) [ἔρ-ος] Ion. εἶρ-ος, ἔρ-ιο-ν wool, ἔρ-ιν-εο-ς, ἔρεοῦ-ς
woollen.

Skt. *ura* in *ura-bhra-s* ram, i. e. wool-bearer, *ura-
na-s* ram, *urā* sheep, *úr-na-m*, *úrṇā* wool.

Lat. *vell-us*, *vill-u-s*.

Goth. *vulla* wool, *vullarei-s* fuller.

Lith. *vīl-na* wool, *vīln-óni-s* woollen, Ch.-Sl. *vlū-na*
wool.

Cymr. *gulan* lana (Z.² 130. 822).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 1, 565, Benf. II 296, Schleich. Kal. 129,
Diefenbach Goth. Wtb. I 184. — The rt. is rightly taken to be the
var cover, which is preserved in Skt. Hence Skt. *var-a*, shortened
into *ur-a*, *var-na* shortened *úr-na* = *ḥṛ-ṇa* (α) in *ἔρ-ιν-εο-ς*. The form
vara has also been preserved in *var-varo-s* woolly-haired, discussed
under No. 394. The initial digamma has disappeared in Greek with-
out leaving a trace. The shortest substantive *ἔρ-ος* is merely hypo-
thetical; for we actually find only *εἶρ-ος* with Ionic lengthening, and
the compound *εἶρ-εο-ς*. As we have in Skt. Lith. and Slav. a form
with a nasal suffix, it is natural to explain the double *l* as originating
in *ln*, not only in Goth. *vulla* but also in Lat. *vellus* (cp. Corssen
Beitr. 327). Even in Greek there is not wanting a form in which
the *r* has passed into *l*, for the kinship of *οὔλο-ς* curly (*οὔλο-τη(τ)ς*,
οὔλο-θριξ) has long been recognized. — To the words with the harder
liquid seem to belong also Gr. *ἄρν-ες* lambs, *ἄρν-εῖο-ς* ram, *πολύ-
ῥῥην* rich in sheep; for the forms *βαρν-ιον ἄρνιον*, *βάρε-ιχοι ἄρνες*
(Hesych.) and the proper name *Ἰάρνων* on a Boeotian inscription
(Ahrens D. Dor. 45, Aeol. 170) point to an initial labial. There are
traces of this remaining in the Iliad too (Hoffmann Quaest. Hom.
II 39), so that I. Bekker writes *Ἰαρνῶν*. The double *ρ* in *πολύ-ῥῥην*
arose, we must suppose, from *ḥρ* as in *ἑῥῥή-θη-ν*, so that we must
assume an old double form *ḥαρ-ν*, *ḥρα-ν*. The second form is pre-
served as *ῥῥην* in later authors, and in the derived *ῥῥή-νιξ* = *ἄρναίς*
sheepskin, *ῥῥνεια*. *ἄρν-εῖο-ς* with the distinctive accent is a deriva-
tive like the adjective *ἄρνειος*, but it has a decided analogue in the
Skt. *úrṇāju-s* ram (= *varṇā-ju-s*). It is very hard to determine
whether the O.-H.-G. *ram* ram, compared by Förstemann Ztschr.
I 496, is related, because we must also take into consideration Lith.
er-yti-s lamb and Lat. *a-rie-(t)-s* with their initial vowels: and these

have certainly nothing to do with this *rt.* and have been mentioned under No. 491. — Cp. further Grimm Gesch. 35, Pott II¹ 407.

- 497) ἔρσ-η (Hom. ἑέρσ-η, Cret. ἄερσ-α), ἔρσ-η dew, ἔρση-ε-ς dewy. — Skt. *varsh-a-s*, *varsh-a-m* rain, *rt.* *varsh varsh-a-ti* pluit. — O.-Ir. *frass* shower of rain.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 468, Benf. I 327. — The vowel prefixed in the epic form, as in that preserved in Hesych. (ἄερσαν τῆν δρόσον Κρήτης) points clearly enough to *ƒ* (Ahr. d. Dor. 51). Are we to suppose that Skt. *ras-a-s* juice, water, Lat. *rô-s*, Ch.-Sl. *ros-a*, Lith. *rasà* dew, which remind us also of the *rt.* *ars* discussed under No. 491, are related, and that they have lost an initial *Vau*? So Pott conjectures (cp. Corssen Beitr. 506) and he even compares δρόσ-ο-ς, on which Kuhn Ztschr. II 138 offers very different conjectures. — With regard to the meaning it is noteworthy that Hesych. quotes on 348 ἔρση also νοτιά, ὀμβρία. As from *rt.* *ars* comes ἄρσ-ην, so from *rt.* *rars* come Skt. *vrsh-an*, which kept closer to the original meaning (M. Müller Asiatic Society March 1868 p. 10). — As the *rt.* in Skt. never means anything but rain it is unsafe to compare with Benfey the Hom. ἀπό-Ἑρσε tore, swept away, ἀποέρσεις with the second syllable long: this is more probably connected with ἀπ-αυρ-ά-ω, ἀπο-ύρ-α-ς, and even with Ἑρρεῖν to go away, where there is undoubtedly an initial digamma. Cp. Pott II² 596, where Lat. *verrere* sweep is also mentioned. — Ir. *frass* must be traced back to **vras-ta*. O'Reilly has it, with the meaning 'shower, hail'. In the L. U. we find: *atá lim-sa bá frass do nemannáil* 'it seems to me as if it were a shower of pearls' (Journ. I p. 376).

- 498) ἑρωδιό-ς (ῥωδιό-ς) heron. — Lat. *ardea*.

Pott I¹ 213, Förstemann Ztschr. III 56, Benf. II 6. — Probably there is some connexion or other with the word which Hesych. s. v. ἄραμος explains by ἑρωδιός. Instead of this form, which violates the alphabetical order, some conjecture ἄραρος. — We can hardly suppose that the Lat. word is borrowed, but must rather assume a common primitive form *ardja*, so that *ω* would have to be taken as one of the many auxiliary vowels, which are lengthened to avoid too many short syllables. — Herodian indeed taught that the true spelling was ἑρρωδιός (περὶ μονήρωνος λέξεως p. 57, Lehrs, Herod. I p. 116 Lentz), but this perhaps was only to favour his derivation from ῥοίζω.

- 499) εὐρύ-ς wide, εὐρύ-ν-ω widen, εὐρ-ος width, breadth. — Skt. *uru-s* (fem. *urv-i*) wide (comp. *var-ijas*),

uru-gâ-ja-m wide room, *uru-kakshâs*, (*kakshas* eye) wide-seeing. Zd. *uru vouru* wide.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 221, Benf. I 79. — An initial metathesis has taken place. *εὐρεν* : *varu* = *παῦρο-ς* : *parvu-s*, *νεῦρο-ν* : *nervu-s*.

500) Rt. *ὀρ ὀρ-νν-μι*, *ὀρ-ί-ν-ω*, *ὀρο-θ-ύ-ν-ω* (fut. *ὀρσω*, aor. *ὤρ-ορ-ο-ν*) excite, *ὀρ-ωρ-α* am excited, raised, *ὤρ-το* raised himself, *ὀρ-σο* (*ὀρ-σεο*) raise thyself, *ὀρ-έ-οντο* they broke up, *ὀρ-ού-ω* hurl myself, *ἀν-ορού-ω* spring up, *οὐρ-ο-ν* room, *δίσκη-ουρα* (pl.) casts of a quoit.

Skt. rt. *ar ῖ-η-ῶ-μι* (aor. *âr-a-m* 3 sing. aor. m. *âr-ta* = *ὤρ-το*) raise myself, struggle upwards, excite, *îr* to raise oneself, excite. Zd. rt. *îr* raise oneself, rise (of stars).

Lat. *or-i-o-r*, *or-tu-s*, *or-igo*.

Benf. I 53, Kuhn Ztschr. II 396, 459, Pott W. II, 1, 3. — The individual meanings of the Skt. words were demonstrated first in the Pet. Dict.: previously only the colourless '*îre*', and since Westergaard also '*adoriri*, *excitare*' were known. The *î* in *îr* has come, as is often the case, from *a*. The rt. is the same as that discussed under Nos. 488, 490, 491, but even before the separation of the European nations from each other, this parted off into three forms *dp*, *êp*, *ôp* with the three vowels, and essentially different meanings. In this case we can 349 see with unusual clearness the closer community of the Greeks and Italians on the one side, and the Indians and Iranians on the other.

— On the *ov* of *ὀρ-ού-ω* Ztschr. III 77. — Bugge Stud. IV 327 proves that this rt. occurs also with meaning 'shoot forth, grow', so *ortûs* Lucr. I 212, and connects with it, probably with justice, Norweg. *runne*, *rune* with the fully equivalent *êp-vos* (cp. *δῆ-vos*, *ἔλ-vos*, *ἔθ-vos*) which I previously placed under 523 b. We may add O.-N. *renna* shoot-forth, grow quickly. Isolated *ε* by *ο* as in *ἐρμα* under No. 502.

501) Rt. *ὀρ*, Fop *ἐπὶ ὀρ-ο-νται* look after (3 sing. plpf. *ἐπὶ ὀρ-ώρ-ει*), *οὐρ-ο-ς* guard, watchman, *ἐπί-ουρ-ο-ς* overlooker, *φρουρ-ό-ς* (*προ-ορ-ο-ς*) guard, *φρουρά* watch, guard, *τιμᾶ-ορ-ο-ς* (*τιμωρό-ς*) guardian of honour, avenger, *πυλα-ωρό-ς*, *θυρωρό-ς* door-keeper, *ὤρα* care, protection, *ὀρά-ω* (*ἐ-ώρᾱ-κα*, *ἐώρῶ-ν*) see, *ὄρα-μα* look, *ἀ-όρα-το-ς* invisible.

Lat. *ver-e-o-r*, *ver-i-tu-s*, *verê-cundu-s*, *re-ver-e-o-r*.

Goth. *vars visan* to be careful, ware, O.-H.-G. *war* intentus, *giwar* aware, *war-a* intuitio, consideratio, cura, M.-H.-G. *war nemen eines dinges*, to beware of a thing, O.-S. *war-ô-n* animadvertere, observe, Goth. *daúravar-d-s* θυρωρός door-ward, O.-H.-G. *wartên* videre, exspectare, cavere, *war-t*, *war-to* custos.

Cymr. Corn. *gwel-af* for **velam* video (Z.² 508 ff.).

Pott W. II, 1, 582, Benf. II 297, Diefenbach Goth. Wtb. I 201, 210, Döderlein Gloss. 2274, where the explanation here given of ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄρονται (§ 104), ὄροντο (γ 471), ὄρώρει (Ψ 112), which is supported by an old interpretation, and is defended by Lobeck against Buttmann A. Gr. II 260, is confirmed by sound arguments. — For the peculiarities of the augment Ebel Ztschr. IV 171. The existence of the *F* is further proved by βῶροι ὀφθαλμοί (Hesych. Suid.), by πύλαυρός, πύλευρός = πύλωρός (Hesych.) and by the vowel in composition, though on the other hand we find even in Θ 178 οὐδενόσωρος. The length of the *o* in the Homeric πύλᾱ-ωρός is seen to arise from a transposition of quantity, if we compare Dor. τιμά-ωρος (Ep. τιμή-ωρος): hence τιμωρός is 'honour-ward'. — For the meaning see Introduction p. 99. — The root will recur in other uses on p. 574.

502) ὄρ-μή rush, impulse, ὄρμά-ω press on, rush, ἀφορμή, ὄρμη-τήριον incitement, starting-point of a movement.

Skt. rt. *sar* (*sar-â-mi*, *si-sar-mi*) ire, fluere, in compounds also aggredi, irruere, excitare, *sar-a-m*, *sar-as* water, *sar-it* flood. — Zd. *har* go.

Pott W. II, 1, 658, Benf. I 60. — The proper meaning of the Skt. rt. is unfortunately still obscure, and hence some doubts still exist as to its compounds. Kuhn in Haupt's Ztschr. VI p. 131 compares ὄρμη with the Indic *Saramâ*, and *Saramêja-s* the son of the latter with the Gr. Ἐρμῆ-ς (Ἐρμῆ-ς), ascribing to both ὄρμη and *saramâ* the meaning 'storm'. (Ztschr. IV 27). Hence Kuhn and 350 Welcker (Götterl. I 342) are fundamentally agreed about the etymon, though they take it in very different ways, while Max Müller Lect. II 468 regards Ἐρμῆ-ς as 'the dawn-son'. [Cp. also Cox, Aryan Mythology II 231]. I have still some difficulties with regard to the name of the God because of the Greek appellativa *ἑρμαιον*, *ἑρμηνεύς*, *ἑρμηνεύω*, which resemble Ἐρμῆ-ς in sound, but are still unexplained. I cannot think of deriving them simply from the name of the God

(Pott Ztschr. VI 46); at any rate I should not be able to quote any name of a God used thus. — On the other hand *ἔρμα* in *ἔρμα' ὀδονάων* (I 117) must be added here. The word has evidently the meaning of the later *ἀφορμή*. The forced explanation from *ἐρείδω* can satisfy no one. The isolated *ε* as in *ἐρνός* under No. 500.

- 503) *ῥρνι-ς* (st. *ῥρνι*, *ῥρνιδ*, Dor. *ῥρνιχ*), *ῥρνε-ο-ν* bird.
— Goth. *ara* (gen. *arins*), O.-H.-G. *aro*, *arn* eagle
[*Aar*]. — Ch.-Sl. *orŭ-lŭ*, Lith. *erėli-s* (also *eri-s*) eagle.

Grimm Gesch. 1021. — Benfey's objection (I 332), that *ἄ-ορν-ο-ς* proves the existence of *F*, has no weight, for this late word in its isolation can no more prove the initial labial than *ἄ-ορν-ο-ς*, *ἄ-ορνο-ς* prove one in the case of the roots there concerned. — Benfey's treatment II 252 is erroneous. The *θ* as against the Dor. *χ* will occupy us on p. 486. — Ebel Ztschr. V 66 conjectures as the rt. *ῥρ* (No. 500), so that the bird would be denoted as the 'upstriving'. — For the names of the eagle Pictet I 456. Perhaps the name of the Thracian king *Ῥρόλο-ς* or *Ῥόλο-ς*, transmitted also to the father of Thucydides, belongs here. The form of it reminds us most of the Slavonic words.

- 504) *ῥρ-ος* (Ion. *οὔρος*) mountain, *Ῥρέσ-της*, *Ῥρεί-της*,
ῥρε-ιο-ς (Ion. *οὔρειο-ς*) dwelling in the mountains,
ῥρει-νό-ς mountainous, dwelling in the mountains,
ῥρ-εύ-ς (*οὔρ-εύ-ς*) mule.

Skt. *gir-i-s*, Zd. *gairi* mountain (gen. *garōis*).

Ch.-Sl. *gor-a* mountain.

Bopp Gl., who from the Zd. and Ch.-Sl. form justly deduces an older stem *gar-i* for the Skt.; so Schleich. Ksl. 103, Ebel Ztschr. V 65. — A trace of *F* is preserved in *Βορρᾶ-ς*, *Βορ-ία-ς* (*Ῥρε-βόρ-ενοι*), in case this, as is not improbable, means properly 'mountain-wind' [cp. Italian *tramontana*]. Hence I take *gar* as the rt., whence *γφορ*, *φορ* (*βορ*), *ῥρ* were developed. The suffix is different in all three families of speech. — Cp. *αἶα* by the side of *γαῖα* (No. 132) and below p. 474. From *οὔρος* we may perhaps assume a suffix *-ras*; cp. *οὐδ-ας*, *pul-vis*, *cad-ā-ver*.

- 505) *ῥῥφο-ς* os coccygis, rump, *οὔρα* tail, *οὔραχο-ς*, *οὔρ-λαχο-ς* the extreme end. — O.-H.-G. *ars* anus.

Pott I¹ 123, Bent. I 103. — *ῥῥφο-ς* for *ῥρφο-ς*, *οὔρα* with compensatory lengthening. — Perhaps Lat. *urr-uncu-m* 'quod in infima spica' Varro R. R. I 48, 2 is related. — Otherwise Bugge Ztschr. XX 30.

- 506) ὀρό-ς (ὀρόρός) late οὐρό-ς whey. — Skt. *sara-s* curdled milk. — Lat. *seru-m* whey. — Lith. *sūri-s* large cheese, Ch.-Sl. *syřu ruqós*.

Pott I¹ 123, Benf. II 59. — The spir. lenis instead of the aspirate, which we should have expected in place of *s*, as in *ἔρεός* (No. 208), ὀρό-ς = *sucu-s*. — Any connexion with οὐρο-ν (No. 510), certain 351 as it seems to Passow, is untenable; but as the same word in Skt. means also salt and *sara-m* (No. 502) water, other connexions are suggested [cp. Germ. *rennen* run and *rinnen* curdle]. As ὀρό-ς is the oldest form, ὀρόρός, which is perhaps expanded by the use of another suffix, cannot be any obstacle to this comparison, as Pictet II 30 considers it.

- 507) ὄρνυξ. — Skt. *vartaka-s*, *vartakā*, *vartakī* quail.

Benf. I 334, Förstemann Ztschr. III 53, Kuhn 68. The Skt. form *úrtikā* quoted by the last is not given in the Pet. Dict. — A *f* in Greek is established by γόρνυξ ὄρνυξ Hesych. The genitive ὄρνυκος quoted by grammarians (cp. L. Dindorf in Steph. Thes. s. v. contains the earlier *κ*, which was afterwards weakened into *γ*. The suffix is therefore the *k* common in Greek and Latin in the case of the names of birds. The rt. in Skt. is held to be *vart* = Lat. *vertere*, whence also *vart-uka-s* rotundus. Pictet I 495 explains this from the custom of these species of birds to roll round on the ground.

- 508) ὀρνυ-μός-ς, ὠρνυ-ή, ὤρνυ-μα a roaring, howling. — Lat. *rug-i-o*, *rugī-tu-s*. — Ch.-Sl. *ryk-na-ti ὠρνύεσθαι*.

Pott I¹ 213, Benf. II 6. — Both compare also words which point to an Indogermanic *k*, like the Slavonic verb and O.-H.-G. *roh-δ-n* rugire. According to this a weakening from *k* to *g* would be probable (cp. *μυκ-ά-ο-μαι* and Lat. *mug-i-o*). — The verb ὀρνύω or ὀρνύανω quoted by Benfey and also by Pictet Ztschr. VI 183 is nowhere to be found. ὀρνυμός-ς in Hesych. is probably rightly explained by βρυχμός instead of the traditional βρυχόμενος. ὀρνυ-μαδός ψόφος, κτύπος, ὀρνυμάδες θόρυβοι look like mere corruptions of the better established ὀρνυμαγδός-ς. Cp. ὠρνύ-ω (No. 523).

- 509) οὐρανός-ς (Aeol. ὤρανο-ς, ὄρανο-ς) heaven, firmament, palate, οὐράν-ιο-ς heavenly, οὐρανί-ων-ες caelites. — Skt. *Varuna-s* God of water, 'all-embracing' (Pet. Dict.).

Benf. I 324 (otherwise II 298), Pott W. II, 1, 554. — Kuhn Ztschr. I 457 '*Varuna-s* in its oldest form equivalent to Gr. Οὐρανός-ς,

later God of the waters, which are called the wives of *Varuṇa*'. — Schweizer III 387 against Bopp, who derives *οὐρανός* from Skt. *varṣa* rain (No. 497). — The root of this old word is *var* cover. For the Aeolic forms see Ahr. 93, 101.

- 510) *οὐρο-ν* urine, *οὐρ-έ-ω* pass urine (impf. *έούρουν*), *οὐράνη*, *οὐρήθρα*, *οὔρη-μα*. — Skt. *vāri* water. Zd. *vāra* rain, *vāreñti* it rains. — Lat. *ūr-ina*, *ūrīn-ā-ri* dive, *ūrīnā-tor* diver. — O.-N. *úr* (n.) fine rain, *ýra* to rain fine. — O.-Ir. *fual* water, urine (Z.³ 949).

Pott W. II, 1, 596, Benf. I 324, Bugge Ztschr. XX 29. — For the peculiarities of the augment Ebel Ztschr. IV 166. — Bopp Gl. refers here, as Varro l. l. V 126 did before him, *urna* and also *ur-cu-s*, but the former is more likely to be connected with *ur-o* (rt. *us*) as being a vessel of burnt earth, the latter probably has its origin 352 in the Gr. *ὑρξη* (Lob. Paral. p. 34). For the meaning of the words here compared the Lat. *urināri* is especially instructive, inasmuch as it has developed quite independently from the idea of water. Döderlein however (Gloss. 2318) compares Gr. *ἀρνευτήρ* with the equivalent *urinator*. In that case the word must have lost a *f* and must be connected with the fuller stem *vāri*, but could have nothing to do with *ἀρν* (No. 496). — Italian proper names which presumably belong here, are discussed by Corssen Beitr. 238. — For Ir. *fual* cp. Stokes Ir. Gl. 222, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 79. We should properly expect either *fal* (primitive form **vala*) or *ual* (prim. **aula*). Ought we to recognize in *fual* the prothetic *f* of the Middle Irish, treated by Stokes F. A. p. 25?

- 511) *ῥάπυ-ς* turnip (later *ῥάφυν-ς*), *ῥάφ-ανο-ς* cabbage, *ῥάφ-ανί-ς* radish. — Lat. *rāp-a*, *rāp-u-m* turnip. — M.-H.-G. *rüebe* turnip. — Ch.-Sl. *rěpa*, Lith. *rópė* turnip.

Pott I¹ 109, Benf. I 73. — We might suppose borrowing both in Latin and in German. Still this does not seem probable. If we start with the form in *π* and assume aspiration in Greek, all is easily explained. For this and for many dialectic forms W. Roscher 'Studien' I, 2, 74. — Cp. No. 513.

- 512) *ῥάχι-ς* spine (by-form *ῥάχ-ε-τρο-ν*, *ῥάχ-ία*), *ῥάχι-ατο-ς*, *ῥάχι-τη-ς* spinal. — O.-H.-G. *hrucki*, O.-N. *hrygg-r* back.

Pott II¹ 205, Grimm Gesch. 307 'a Gr. *ῥ* may exceptionally cor-

respond to an O.-H.-G. *hr'*: this is however probably the case only when *π* has been lost in the Greek. The origin of the word and its relation to *ῥάχ-ος* thorn-hedge (cp. *spina dors*), *ῥάχ-ος* rag &c., is still very obscure. But in the presence of the complete identity of meaning the comparison here stated may be justified. — Benf. II 316.

- 513) Rt. *ρεπ*, *φρεπ* *ῥέπ-ω* incline (of the balance), *φοπ-ή* inclination, turning of the scale, momentum, *ἀντί-ῥόφοπο-ς* of equal weight, *ἀμφι-ῥόφει-ής* inclining to both sides (*amb-ig-uu-s*), *ῥόπ-αλο-ν* stick (for throwing), cudgel, club, *ῥόπ-τρο-ν* knocker, clapper, bird-trap, *ῥαπ-ί-ς* rod, *καλα-ῦροψ* shepherd's staff.

Lat. *rep-en(t)s*, *rep-ente*, *repent-inu-s*.

Lith. *virp-iu* quake, tremble, waver.

Döderlein Syn. und Etym. VI s. v. *repente*, Gloss. 2320 suggests the extremely probable comparison with *rep-ente*, which we must regard as a locative adverb formed from the participial stem (cp. *ἔθελ-οντι*); hence it means *ῥοπῇ τινι*, *momento*. — The only trace of the *ρ* is retained in the *ν* of *καλα-ῦροψ*: as to the first part of this word Döderlein Gl. 2104 offers some conjectures; but it is very probable that *κάλο-ς* 'cord' underlies it, and that so the word means 'cord-stick'. This stick is used by shepherds for throwing, like the *ῥόπ-αλο-ν* [cp. Ψ 846, and Paley on Theocr. IV 49]. Hence the notion of a quivering motion through the air runs through all these words, and this is just as suitable to the wavering and trembling of the tongue in the balance. — *ῥαπ-ί-ς* rod seems — like the swinging ring used for 353 knocking at a door, and the quivering tambourine, both *ῥόπτρον* — to be also named from swinging, and, as the word is quoted in Hesych. also with the meaning *ῥάπν-ς*, so are perhaps all the words of this stem treated under No. 511. — But *ῥάβ-δο-ς* resembles still more the Lith. *virba-s* twig, rod, Ch.-Sl. *vrŭb-a* salix (cp. also *verb-cr*, *virg-a*). — Benf. II 310 offers all kinds of other combinations. — *ῥέπ-τω*, *ῥεπ-ή*, which in spite of the neglect of the 'shifting of mutes' can hardly be separated from Goth. *vairp-a* [cp. *mold-warp*] is distinguished from the other forms by its *ι*, though not more, as Delbrück Stud. I, 2, 132 proves, than *βρῖ-θω* from *βαρύς*, *κρῖ* from *hord-eu-m*. Further cp. for *ῥέπτω* and *ῥερίπω* Pott I¹ 257, Leo Meyer Ztschr. VI 176, XV 5, Grassmann XII 108, Fick XIX 264. — It is better to suppose that *ῥέμβ-ω* turn, *ῥόμβο-ς* turning &c. have come from rt. *φρεπ* by a nasal strengthening and a consequent softening of the *π* into *β*. Pott I¹ 260 holds *ῥέμβ-ω* to be equivalent to Goth. *hvairb-a*

verto — whence the German 'Wirb-el': if this is correct, *kvarp* must be taken as the full form of the root. — Cp. Walter Ztschr. XII 388 f.

- 514) *ῥίγ-ος* cold, *ῥίγ-ιον* colder, worse, *ῥίγ-ηλό-ς*, *ῥιγε-δανό-ς* frosty, awful, *ῥίγ-έ-ω* (*ἔρῥιγα*) shudder, *ῥιγό-ω* freeze.

Lat. *frig-us*, *frig-idu-s*, *frig-e-o*, *frig-e-sc-o*.

Pott I¹ 258, Benf. II 110. — It is easier to assert than to prove a connexion with *rig-e-o*, *rig-or*, *rig-idu-s*; the entirely similar formation of derivatives where the quantity and the initial letter are alike different, would of itself oppose the assumption that *frig* and *rig* are originally identical. Cp. Corssen I² 451. — Gr. *ῥίγ* has lost an initial labial. So the question must remain open whether this *φριγ* may be perhaps only weakened from *φριχ* (*φρίσσω*, *φρίξ*, *φρίχη*). — All further comparisons are extremely uncertain. The O.-H.-G. *fríos-an* freeze, in particular, agrees neither in its initial nor in its final letter. — Lat. *frig-ē-re* roast belongs to No. 162.

- 515) *ῥίζα* (Lesb. *βρίσθα*) root. — Lat. *rad-ix*. — Goth.

vaurt-s root (*wort*), O.-H.-G. *wurz-ā*, *wurz-ala*. —

Cymr. *gwreidd-yn*, Corn. *grueit-en* radix (Z.² 1077).

Bopp Gl. s. v. *rdh*, Pott I¹ 250, who has rightly seen that neither Skt. *rdh* nor *vrdh* suit these words, which rather point to a rt. *vard*, *vrād*, Corssen I² 403. — For Aeol. *βρίσθα* = *φριδ-ια* Ahr. d. Aeol. 34 sq. There are suggested for comparison also Aeol. *βράδ-ινό-ς* (*ῥαδινός*), *ῥοδ-ανό-ς* with the by-forms *ῥαδ-αλό-ς*, *ῥοδ-αλό-ς* (Σ 576), *alim*, slender, *ῥάδ-αμνο-ς*, *ῥάδ-αμο-ς*, *ῥόδ-αμνο-ς*, *ῥόδ-αμνο-ς*, *ῥάδ-ιξ* shoot, twig, the somewhat varying meanings of which have their analogy in the Teutonic languages, where *wurz*, *wirs* mean also vegetable, 'wort'. The rt. *vrād* which is thus deduced Sonne Ztschr. XII 367 finds in the Nirukta V 15 f. as a by-form of *mrād* to be pliant, yielding. He connects with it also *ῥοδ-ό-ν* rose, Aeol. *βρόδον* following Spiegel Beitr. I 317, Fr. Müller II 493, according to Hehn 165, 434 of Iranic origin (Armen. *vard*), Lat. *rosa* from *ῥοδέα*, *ῥοδία*, like *Clausus* from *Claudius*. [Cp. Max Müller in the Academy for 1874, V 488, 576]. — Perhaps Düntzer is right in connecting with this root the difficult *περι-ρρηθής*, which in χ 84 *περιρρηθής δὲ τραπέζῃ κάππεσε* is explained by *περιρρηθής*, while in Hippocrates it means
354 wavering. We may therefore translate it in the Homeric passage by 'reeling'. Lobeck Paralip. 156 connected the word with *ῥαδές* τὸ ἀμφοτέρωσθε ἐγκυλιμένον i. e. waving evenly. But it does not appear, what ground Düntzer has to declare dogmatically that the comparison of *radix* and *ῥίζα* is erroneous. Both we suppose to have meant originally 'twig' whence the transition to 'root' is easy. It is doubtful

whether *rad-iu-s* and *rā-mu-s* (which may easily have lost a consonant) are related. But *rūd-i-s* staff certainly belongs to the rt. *rudh* (also Skt. *ruh*) grow, for it corresponds to A.-S. *rōd-a*, O.-H.-G. *ruot-a*, which require an ante-Teutonic *dh*. Add Zd. *rud* grow, Goth. *liud-an* with *l*, Ch.-Sl. *rodi-t-i* parere &c. — Cp. Lobeck Elem. I 85. The weakening of *ā* into *i* is as in *lŕw*, *πινέ-ω*. — Cymr. *gweiddyn*, if we strike off the suffix *-yn* (Z.² 295), gives the primitive form **erad*.

- 516) *ῥίψ* (st. *ῥίπ*) hurdle-work, mat, *ῥίπ-ι-(δ)-ς* fan, *ῥίπ-ιŕ-ω* fan. — Lat. *scirp-u-s* rush, *scirp-eu-s*, *scirp-āre*. — O.-H.-G. *sciluf* rush.

Pott I¹ 140, who compares also *γρίπo-ς*, *γρίφο-ς* as 'rush-mat'. — Gr. *ῥίπ* is thus for *σπρίπ*, whence by metathesis came *scirp-u-s*, and with *l* for *r*, the regular shifting of mutes and a subsidiary vowel, the German word. — Cp. Benf. I 212. — The notion of a *ῥιαντῶδες φυτόν*, which the scholiast on Aristoph. Pax 699 gives to the word *ῥίψ*, comes out clearly in the three languages. — *Εὔ-ῥίπo-ς* no doubt belongs here. — *ῥίπ* : *scirp* = *rép* : *serp*.

- 517) Rt. *ῥυ*, *cpu ῥέ-ω* (*ῥεῖ-σω*, *ἔ-ρῥύη-ν*) flow, *ῥέ-ος*, *ῥό-ο-ς*, *ῥεῦ-μα* flood, *ῥο-ή*, *ῥύ-σι-ς*, *ῥεῦ-σι-ς* flowing, *ῥυ-τό-ς*, *ῥευσ-τό-ς* flowing, *ῥέ-ε-θρο-ν* bed of a stream, stream, *ῥύ-αξ* stream of fire, *ῥύ-μη* swing, press, *ῥυ-θ-μό-ς* time (in music). Skt. rt. *sru srav-ā-mi* fluo, *srav-a-s*, *srav-ant-i*, *srō-t-as* stream.

Lat. *Ru-mo* (older name of the Tiber), *ru-men* udder, *Rumin-a*.

O.-H.-G. *strou-m* stream.

Lith. *srav-j-ù* flow, bleed, *srov-ě* a streaming. —

Ch.-Sl. *s-t-ru-ja* fluentum, *o-s-t-rov-ŭ* insula (literally *ἀμφί-ῥυ-το-ς*).

O.-Ir. *sruith* flumen (u-stem, Z.² 239), *di-sruthigur* derivo (Z.² 991), *sruaim* nom. pl. *sruama* stream (i-stem, O'Dav. Gl. p. 115, F. A. 220).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1370, Personennamen 400, Benf. II 8, Schleicher Ksl. 130, 136, Miklosich Beitr. I 128. — After Kuhn Ztschr. IV 27 had already discussed the *t*, which the Slavo-Teutonic words — but also *Στεφύ-μων* — add to the forms of the other languages, Förstemann Ztschr. IX 277 and now even Kuhn himself XIV 223

confidently assume *stru* as the root. K. lays especial weight on the Zend form *thru* flow (by the side of *gru* go), *thraota* (masc.) stream. It does not seem to me probable that the common combination of sounds *str*, if originally occurring, would become weakened into *sr*, which is nowhere a favourite: while on the other hand from an original *sr str* might very easily have come from the desire for greater ease of pronunciation. Pott W. I 1373 quotes analogies, e. g. Czech. *s-třib-ro* 355 = Ch.-Sl. *sreb-ro* silver. In no case however can we, I think, make use of the aspiration of the *t* to *th* in this *thru* — an aspiration confined to the Zend, and to be explained by the special phonetic laws of this language — to assume a *sthru* for other languages, and to arrive from this, as Kuhn does, even at the Lat. *flu*. For *flu* cp. No. 412 d. — The Latin representatives of this rt. are discussed by Corssen Ztschr. X 18, Beitr. 427, II² 85, 1012. To those quoted above, he adds *Roma* for *Rou-ma* = *Στεῦμα*, stream-town (but see Ritschl Rh. Mus. XXIV, 17), *Romulu-s*, *Re-ate* for *Rev-ate*. But it seems to me probable that *ru-o* also (for *rov-o*) has lost an initial *s*, mainly because we find a precisely similar usage in *ῥύ-μη* (otherwise Corssen I² 210, Pott W. I 1265). Closely connected with Lat. *ru-o* is Gr. *ῥά-ο-μαι*. *ῥά-ο-ντο* A 50, II 166 can be translated exactly by *pro-ruerunt*. The stem *ῥω* : *ῥυ* = *πλω* : *πλυ* (No. 369), so that Pott was quite right in referring *Εὐ-ῥά-τα-ς* here. But with these words is also connected *ἔρω-ή* swing with a prothetic *ē*, related in meaning to *ῥύ-μη*: from this we have again *ἔρωέ-ω*, whose meaning as stated by Buttman Lexil. I 70 ff. [p. 310 E. T.] may be developed from the ideas stream, stream back. So also Döderlein Gloss. 2310, where much more is quoted, and where also the connexion with *rure* is maintained. The *ῥυ-θ-μός-ς* (with an expansive *θ*) the Greeks doubtless noticed first in the beating of the waves of the sea. In Zd. we find *rud* flow, which is probably for *srudh*, and identical with *ῥυθ*. Similarly from the strengthened stem *ῥω* we get *ῥά-θ-ων* nose, which like *násu-s* (No. 443) must have been named from flowing. Pictet I 136 even adds *ῥί-ς* (st. *ῥις*) nose. — *ῥά-ννυμι*, *ῥά-μη* with *ρόθ-ωρ* (otherwise Max Müller Rigv. Sanhita I 200) is connected by Kuhn Ztschr. VI 390 with Skt. *rádth-as* store, riches, strength, *rádth-nó-mi* perficio; and this is at any rate deserving of consideration. Still I cannot quite make out the relation of the meanings. The *σ* in *ἔρω-σ-θῆ-ν* by no means proves a final dental in the rt., especially as we have by the side of it *ῥά-μη*, *ἔρω-μαι*, and the insertion of an *σ*, perhaps arising from a *θ*, in such forms cannot be denied. *ῥάμη* is not rarely coupled with *ἰσχύ-ς*, e. g. in Plato Symp. 190^b, and touches so closely upon *ῥύμη*, that it is after all very natural to regard it as force of impetus. Thus *ῥάμη* and *Roma* would be connected, though in a very different sense from that which used to be assumed. — *ρίτ-ω-ς* had

better be left out of the question, as Corssen I² 364, 534 and Fick² 170 are probably more correct in referring it to a rt. *ri* flow. Otherwise Pott W. I 1376.

- 518) Rt. *cep* (ἐρ, ἐρ) *σειρ-ά* rope, *σερ-ί-ς* ζωστήρ Hesych.,
ῥο-μο-ς necklace, *ὀρμα-θό-ς*, *ὀρμ-ιά* fishing line,
ῥο-μα ear-ring, *εἰρ-ω* (ῥ-ειρ-ε, ἐ-ερ-μένο-ς) fasten,
 bind, *εἰρ-μό-ς* fastening, *εἰρ-ερ-ο-ς* bondage.

Skt. *sar-at* wire, *sar-it* thread.

Lat. *ser-o* range, fasten, *ser-a*, *re-será-re*, *ser-tu-m*,
ser-ie-s, *ser-vu-s*.

Lith. *seri-s* thread, cobbler's waxed thread?

O.-Ir. *sreth* series, ordo, strues (Z.² 992), *bíd com-srithi* 'cum his manus conserenda est' (Z.² 480, part. necess.).

Bopp Gl. s. v. *si* and Pott I¹ 206 (but cp. W. I 631) group these 356 words, with the O.-H.-G. *seil*, Ch.-Sl. *siŕo* laqueus (Grimm Gr. II p. 44 No. 491) under the Skt. rt. *si* ligare, which is represented in Greek by *ί* (No. 602). Cp. also Kuhn Ztschr. II 132. But the rt. *cep*, Indog. *sar* clearly occurs in Greek, and indeed in three forms, which even Lobeck Rhem. 136 sq. following old grammarians holds to be related. For *ῥο-μα* Butt. Lexil. I 111 [p. 300 E. T.]. — *ῥ-αρ* wife (Hes. ἄρ-ε-ς) is explained by Pott Ztschr. VI 262 from the copulative *ó* and rt. *dp* join. But so the hiatus is not accounted for. If we divide it into *ó-σαρ* the word becomes quite a parallel to *συν-ήρο-ς* and *con-jux*. (Cp. Lobeck El. II 74.) I cannot believe that *ῥαρ* and *soror* (Skt. *svasar*) have anything in common. — Lobeck El. I 176 refers here also the *ἄναξ ἐλεημένον ἐρ-ερ-ος* (§ 529) explained by Apollonius in his Lexicon by *δουλεία*. But as the spir. lenis has here arisen from the sibilant, we cannot with him compare Lat. *eri-tudo* but rather *servitudo* and *servus*, which may be connected most simply with this rt., as *nexu-s* with *necto*, *δοῦλο-ς* perhaps with rt. *de* (No. 264); the suffix is the same as in *ner-vu-s* (No. 434). Cp. Lange Röm. Alterth. I² 169. — *sér-a* is explained, not so much from the equivalent *σειρά*, which is later, as from the Homeric custom of moving the bolt to and fro with a thong (α 442). *rê-te* probably for *sre-te* with metathesis as in *rêp-o* compared with *serp-o*, in *(t)lâ-tu-s* by the side of *tul-i*. Cp. on No. 489. — But even *sar* is perhaps not the full form of the root. — For the forms ῥερε, ἐρεμένος which point to an initial consonant see Das Verbum p. 117 Ebel Ztschr. IV 165, 171. The latter hence deduces a rt. *svar*. Thus the Lith. *sver-iù* weigh, *svár-a-s* weight, pound, *svir-ti-s* pump-handle, *svyrû-ti* dangle,

svâr-ti-s scale-beam, weight to sink the net, are probably related; and with these the *ἐρματα* ear-pendants, especially are nearly connected (analogies from Old Norse are supplied by Bugge Ztschr. XX 32), as well as *ἐρ-μα* ballast, centre of gravity, support, which is probably akin. But this carries us further. *ῥε-μο-ς* is on the one hand equivalent to *ῥημα*, while on the other hand it means anchorage, roads, where the ships swing, or as the English say 'ride' at anchor. Hence *Πάνορκος*, *Ὀρκυαί*, according to Strabo V 233 the older name of *Formiae*, which seems to have arisen by Italization, for *σφορμαί* (cp. Christ Lantl. 174, Bugge Ztschr. XX 19). The same notion reappears in *μετ-έω-ο-ς*, the Attic expression for ships out at sea. But *μετ-έω-ο-ς* (Ion. *μετ-ήω-ο-ς*, cp. *παρ-ήω-ο-ς*, *συν-ήω-ο-ς*) points to *ἀέλω-ω* st. *ἄφεω*, which has probably arisen from *ἀ-σφεω* with a prothetic *ἀ*, while its numerous ramifications may all be well developed from the idea of swinging or making to swing (*ἄωω*, *ἀορτήω*, *αἰώω*, *ἄπτω*, *ἄπτάνη*); many of them, especially the Hom. *ἥε-ἐ-θ-ονται* (B 448 *τῆς ἑκατόν θύσανοι παγγυῖσαι ἥε-ἐ-θ-ονται*) approximate very closely to the words discussed above. Cp. also Pott Ztschr. VI 261 f. To these belong also the *πόδες ἄωροι* of Scylla (μ 89), properly penduli (*πεμαστοί* Schol.), as Nitsch, Lobeck El. II 76 and Classen Jahn's Jahrb. 79, 310 explain the word. Also *ἀπήωροι ὄζωι* removed (from reach). — To sum up then comprehensively, we assume a rt. *svar*, appearing in Greek as *σφ*, *ἐρ*, *ῥε* and *δερ*, to which the
357 meanings swing, hang, bind, attach themselves. Corssen in his attack upon this view I³ 464 leaves out of sight the Greek words, which point to the form *svar*.

519) *σῦρ-υγξ* pipe, shepherd's flute, *σῦρξ-ω* pipe, *σῦριγ-μός*, *σῦριγ-μα* piping. — Skt. rt. *svar svar-ā-mi* sono, canto, *sva-a-s* sonus. — Lat. *su-sur-rus*, *ab-sur-du-s*. — Ch.-Sl. *svir-a-ti*, *svir-i-ti* 'αὐλεῖν, *σφύρτειν*, *svir-ěti* *σῦριγξ*, Lith. *sur-ma* flute, pipe (Nesselm.).

Bopp Gl. s. v. *svr*, Pott W. II, 1, 721, Benf. I 460. — The connection of *ab-sur-du-s* (cp. *absonus* and Cic. de Divin. II 41) was proved by me more fully Ztschr. I 268. — If the form *σφύρδω* were really established, it would cause some difficulties, inasmuch as an initial *τ* cannot come from *σ*. But Ahrens d. Dor. p. 65 rejects it on M.S. authority as hyper-Doric. Cp. also Meineke ad Theocr. ed. tertia p. 17. — Ebel's attempt (Ztschr. IV 160) to justify the form once more seems to me as unsuccessful as his endeavour to explain *sur-du-s* completely from the modern German *schwirren*. Cp. Corssen Beitr. 99, I³ 488 and No. 388.

520) ὕραξ (st. ὕρακ). — Lat. *sorex* (st. *sórec*) shrew-mouse.

Benf. I 461, Grimm Gesch. 303. — Benf. conjectures that the word is to be referred to the rt. *svar* mentioned under No. 519, and hence that the animal was named from its cry, which among the Romans was thought worthy of particular attention (Plin. N. H. II 41). So Pictet I 413.

521) ψάρ (modern Greek ψαρ-όνι). — Lat. *stur-nu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *star-a* (fem.) starling, M.-H.-G. *star* (masc.), A.-S. *stear-n*. — Bohem. *skor-ec* starling.

Pott II¹ 297, Benf. I 677, Förstemann Ztschr. III 48, Kuhn IV 34. For the initial letter see p. 693. — Hesych. has preserved a form with στ, α-στρα-λό-ς· ὁ ψαρὸς ὑπὸ Θεταλῶν, for with Lobeck Prolegg. 93 we may regard ψαρὸς as equivalent to ψάρ, and the connexion of this with *stur-nu-s* even L. declares to be 'non admodum incredibile'. If we consider the Slavonic form, it becomes probable that *sk* was the original commencement of the word. Cp. No. 106, Pictet I 482.

522) ὥρα time of year, time, season, ὥρο-ς year, ὥρα-σι at the right time, ὥρα-το-ς timely, seasonable, ἄ-ωρο-ς untimely, ὀπ-ῶρα late summer. — Zd. *yäre* (neut.) year. — Goth. *jēr ētos*, O.-H.-G. *jār*. — Bohem. *jaro* spring.

Pott W. I 1040, Ahrens d. Aeol. 25, Kuhn Ztschr. II 269, Diefenb. Wb. I 120. — Benfey's objections to this grouping (I 329, II 297) have no weight, if we start from the meaning spring, blooming season of the year, which is faintly discernible in Greek, and actually present in Slavonic; for from this the notion of year ('sixteen summers') may easily be deduced, just as Ch.-Sl. *lěto* year, according to Mikl. Lex., (where the identity with *Lenz*, Lent is denied) means both summer and year. — This would not prevent us even from tracing it back to the rt. *ja* go, come (cp. Skt. *jā-tu-s* time), for the spring might be regarded especially as the coming, the stirring of the season. We may remember 'timely'. In Greek this narrower meaning is the more 358 prominent; but the more general meaning meets us not only in ὥρο-ς but certainly also in the Hom. *ἐννέωρος* (τ 179) which Apollonius and others explain by *ἐνναετής*. — Very differently Savelsberg Ztschr. VII 384 ff., where ὥρα is brought into comparison with *ἐαρ* (No. 589). The view stated there rests, however, on the false assumption that the form ἄωρο-ς presumes *F*, but *j* may just as well have dropped out. We may admit that the origin of ὀπ-ῶρα (ὀπ- perhaps belonging to ὀπίσσω, ὀπισθεῖν) is not yet entirely cleared up, but, as to the absence of the aspirate, we may compare ἄμπ-ελο-ς (No. 527). Savelsberg ex-

plains *ὀπ-ώρα* — Alkman in Athen. X 416 perhaps *ὀπάρε* [Bergk³ p. 866 *κῶπῶραν*, but Schweig. *κῶπάραν*, MSS. *χειμάζω παραν*] — (cp. *θαλπ-ωρή*) from the rt. *ὀπ* = *πεπ* (*ὀπ-τά-ω*, *πέσσω*) as the cooking time, but I cannot see the likelihood of this. — Pott acutely breaks up the Lat. *hōrnu-s* into *ho-jor-nu-s* (*bīga* = *bi-jug-a*), so that as far as the appended nasal suffix it would quite correspond to the M.-H.-G. *hiure*. I do not of course by any means consider the pronominal stem *ho* identical with that which occurs in the German word. However who can say whether *hōrnu-s* is not *ho-ver-nu-s*? Cp. Corssen Nachtr. 298, I² 308. — Pictet (II 606) compares *ώρα* with the Skt. *vāra-s* tempus opportunum, in composition 'times', and completely separates both from the words meaning year. This seems to me improbable, inasmuch as the Greek words may well be shown to agree phonetically with the former. He thinks that he can find a trace of the old stem *jā-ra* in the Skt. adv. *par-āri* the last year but two.

523) *ὠρύ-ω* howl, roar, *ὠρυ-θ-μός* roaring, *ὠρύ-ε-ται ὕλακτε* (Hesych.), *ὠρυ-μαγδό-ς* din, noise. — Skt. rt. *ru* (*rāu-mi*) roar, howl, *vi-ru* howl, cry, *rav-a-s* roaring, sound. — Lat. *rū-mor*, *rūm-i-to* (Naev.) *rāvi-s*, *rau-cu-s*. — Ch.-Sl. *rev-a* inf. *rju-ti μυκᾶσθαι*, *ὠρύεσθαι*.

Pott W. I 1256, Bopp GL., Schleich. Ksl. 130, Benf. II 5, Corssen I² 360. — Cp. No. 508. Here as there an initial vowel has been added. *rū-mor* is like *clā-mor*.

A

A Greek *λ* corresponds in the following cases to an *l* in the kindred languages, which is sometimes represented by an *r*.

523 b) Rt. *ἀλ* Hom. *ἄν-αλ-το-ς* insatiable, *ἄλ-σο-ς* grove, *ἄλ-τι-ς*.

Lat. *al-o*, *al-u-mnu-s*, *al-i-mentu-m*, *al-tu-s*, *co-al-e-sc-e-re*, *ad-*, *sub-ol-e-sc-o*, *prōle-s*, *ele-mentu-m*.

Goth. *al-an*, *al-jan* bring up, *alith-s* σιτεντός, *us-alith-an-s* γρᾰώδης, O.-H.-G. *alt*.

O.-Ir. *no-t-aíl* alit te (Z.² 430), *altram* nutritio (Z.² 771).

A root surviving only in the European languages, with the fundamental notion grow, transitively taken, make to grow, nourish. In 359 all three languages these meanings clearly present themselves. *ἄν-αλ-το-ς* is certainly taken aright (Lobeck Rhem. 74) as *ἀναύξητος*, *ἀπόρεστος*. Düntzer's notion (Ztschr. XIII 2) of taking *βόσκειν ἦν γαστήρ' ἀναλτον* (p. 228) as 'unsalted' will not find much assent. *ἄλσος* is like *ἄρσεα· λειμῶνες* (Hesych.) from the rt. *ἀρδ*, and *φάροςος*, *ἄφος*; *Ἄλ-τι-ς* the sacred grove at Olympia is formed by the suffix *-τι-*. — In Latin we find all three vowels, but so occurring, that the transitive meaning attaches itself exclusively to the form *al*. It is not needful to prove that *al-tu-s* is essentially like *ad-ul-tu-s*, and that it has arisen from the idea of growth like the German *gross* great from the root surviving in the English *grow*, while the German *alt* old has found another closely related meaning. Trendelenburg however (Elementa Log. Aristot. ed. quinta 1862 p. 50) is certainly right in adding *elementu-m*. So Corssen Beitr. 129, Nachtr. 280. The *e* corresponds to the *o* of *ol-esco* just as in *vel-i-m*, *velle* by the side of *vol-o*. The meaning 'incrementum' germ suits excellently the entire usage of the word, as Tr. illustrates further by the similar use of *semina*. — I will not attempt to decide whether Skt. *al-aka-s* lock of hair, *al-aká* girl of from eight to ten years, are connected with this rt. But certainly *ἄλ-θ* (No. 303) and *ἄλ-δ* have been derived from rt. *ἄλ* by expansion. In *ἄλδ-αίν-ω*, *ἄλδ-ήσκ-ω* the latter shows the two main meanings of the root unaltered. — Cp. No. 494. Pott W. II, 1, 123.

524) *ἄλλο-ς* another, *ἄλλ-ήλο-υς* one another, *ἄλλά* but, *ἄλλο-το-ς* of another kind, *ἄλλάσσ-ω* change, exchange, *ἄλλό-τροιο-ς* strange.

Lat. *ali-u-s* (Old Lat. *ali-s*, *ali-d*), *ali-bi*, *ali-qui-s*, *ali-ēnu-s*, *al-ter* (st. *al-tero*). — Osc. *allo alia* (nom. s. fem.).

Goth. *ali-s* ἄλλος, *alja* (conj.) beside, *aljar* elsewhere, O.-H.-G. *ali-lanti*, *elilente* foreigner, foreign country, Goth. *alja-thrō* ἄλλαχό-θεν, O.-H.-G. *alles*, *elles* (conj.) else, otherwise.

O.-Ir. *aile* st. *alia* alius, *araile*, *alaile* alius (Z.² 358, 359), *ailigid* mutat (Z.² 437).

Cp. *ἐνοι* No. 426, from which stem we felt compelled to distinguish this. — Diefenbach Wtb. I 38. — The distinction is especially supported by the fact that both in Greek and in Gothic both stems (*an* and *al*) occur side by side. Cp. Schleicher Comp. ² 225 [E. T. 115],

Corssen Beitr. 295. The reduplicated *ἀλλ-ήλο-υ-ς*, like Skt. *an̐jōja* (No. 426) has a noteworthy dissimilation in the second member. A comparative suffix occurs not only in *al-ter*, but also in *ἀλλό-τε-ιο-ς*, which, as the Lesb. *ἀλλό-τε-ρο-ς* shows (Ahrens d. Aeol. 55), is derived from a st. *ἀλλο-τερο*. Aufrecht Ztschr. V 365 prefers to assume in the suffix a derivation from the Skt. adverbial suffix *trā* — *an̐ja-trā* alibi —, but it can hardly be denied that this suffix also is akin to that of the comparative. On the wide ramification of these suffixes cp. Corssen Ztschr. III 242 ff. — *ἀλλάσσω* goes back to a stem *ἀλλαο*, which is developed from *ἀλλο* just as Skt. *an̐ja-ka* from *an̐ja*, Ind. lect. Kil. aest. 1857 p. VIII. — Ir. *ailigim* is formed like Gr. *ἀλλάσσω*; cp. Z.² 795.

360 525) *ἀλώπηξ* (st. *ἀλωπ-εκ*). — Lith. *lápė* fox, *lapū-ka-s* young fox (Nesselm.).

Pott I¹ 258 compares Skt. *lōpāca-s* 'carrion-eater', fox. But Skt. *ō* is not Gr. *ω*, and the preservation of such a compound is the less probable in that neither of the two stems can be proved to exist in Gk. We rely upon the evident agreement, which even extends (Schleicher Lit. II 286) to the quantity of the vowel in the stem-syllable. — Hesych. gives *ἀλωπό-ς* *ἀλωπεκώδης*, *πανούργος* *Σοφοκλῆς* and *ἀλωπά* ἢ *ἀλώπηξ*, though the latter is suspected and does not occur in its place (M. Schmidt p. 136). Hence *εκ* is a hypocoristic termination, and *ἀλώπηξ* (*vulpe-cula*) is in itself parallel to the Lith. diminutive. Cp. *μύρμ-ηξ* and *μύρμο-ς* No. 482. It would not be possible to identify it with *vulpe-s* without assuming a loss of the *υ* in Gr. and Lith., and in no way could we identify it with Goth. *faúhō*, in spite of Förstemann Ztschr. I 498. — *ἀ* prefixed as in *ἀ-λείφ-ω*. — *ἀλωπ-ήκ-ων* Anan. fr. 5, 5 (Bergk³ p. 787).

526) *γλυκύ-ς* sweet (by-form *γλυκ-ερό-ς*), *γλυκύ-τη(τ)-ς* sweetness, *γλεῦκ-ος* must, *ἀ-γλεικ-ής* bitter. — Lat. *dulci-s*, *dulc-ēdo*, *dulce-sc-o*.

If these words go together, *g* must be earlier than *d*, for Skt. *gul-ja-n* sweetness, which Benfey II 137 compares, as well as the more remote Lith. *gardū-s* of pleasant taste, and refers to a root akin to *glu-tire*, closely approximates. — Can *dulci-s* have come from *gulci-s* by dissimilation, as *tenebrae* from rt. *tam*, *mīhi* from *mīdhi* by the side of *tibi*? — The assumed *deũkos* for *γλεῦκος* has no authority.

527) Rt. *Feλ*, *Faλ*. — *ἐλύ-ω* wind, curve, *εἰλύ-ω* *ἔλω* roll, wrap round, *ἐλυ-μα*, *ἔλυ-τρο-ν* cover, *ἐλ-εό-ς* twisting of intestines (*ileus volvulus*), *ἔλ-ιγξ*, *ἔλ-ιγγ-ο-ς* whirling, dizziness, *ἔλλά-ς* cord, Hom.

ὄλοοι-τροχο-ς (ὄλοῖ-τροχο-ς) rolling stone, ὄλ-μο-ς mortar, οὐλαί (οὐλοχύνται) bruised barley, ἀλέ-ω grind, ἄλευ-ρο-ν, ἄλειαρ meal, ἄλε-το-ς grinding, ἄλε-τρίβ-ανο-ς pestle, Ἀλευάδαι, ἄλο-ά-ω thresh, ἄλω-ή, ἄλω-ς threshing-floor.

Skt. *var-a-s* circle, *ūr-mi-s* (for *var-mi-s*) wave, fold, rt. *val* to turn here and there, *val-aja-s* circle, enclosure.

Lat. *volv-o*, *volū-ti-m*, *volū-tā-re*, *volū-men*, *vol-va*, *vol-ū-ta*.

Goth. *valv-j-an* (*at-valvjan* προσκυλίνδειν), O.-H.-G. *wellan* roll, *wulluh* involucrum, O.-H.-G. *wulsta* corona, labium, O.-H.-G. *wella* unda.

Lith. *vėl-ti* to full, roll, *vólio-ti*, Ch.-Sl. *val-i-ti* volvere, Ch.-Sl. *vla-ja-ti* fluctibus agitari, *vlī-na*, Lith. *vīl-ni-s* wave.

O.-Ir. *fulumain* volubilis (Z.² 777).

One of the most widely ramifying Greek roots, and at the same time a most difficult one, inasmuch as a number of forms present themselves which to some extent admit of comparison. The difficulty 361 here, as often, lies in the proper division. Buttmann Lexil. II 141 ff. [430 E. T.] was the first to separate these words correctly from those which, like εἶλω, ἀλῆναι (No. 660) mean to press, while in those here grouped together a circular movement appears with the three modifications of winding, rolling, and grinding. The last modification is to a certain extent linked to the second by the notion of 'fulling' and this again approximates to threshing. Cp. No. 660. — From the rt. *Fel* we have the further expansion *έλιx* with a *κ* (*έλιξ*, *έλισσω*). In this derivative stem the most decided traces of the initial digamma show themselves (Hoffmann Quaest. Hom. II 22), though these are not quite wanting even in *ελίω* (§ 479 *σάκεσιν* *ῥειλυμένοι ὄμους*). Thus the *ει* in *ελισσον* is satisfactorily defended against Ebel Ztschr. IV 168. With the forms in *α* is connected *άλιν-δέω* roll (fut. *άλλω*). — A number of words with the meaning of grind remind us much of No. 481. But as an initial *μ* is not usually either simply dropped or changed into *ϕ*, the two stems must be kept distinct. The word *μάλευρο-ν* = *ἄλευρο-ν*, for which we have the authority of Hesych. and other grammarians, is in its form so like the latter, that we can hardly regard it possible that the existence of so similar a form in the case of different stems should be accidental: and we must probably explain the *μ* from the *ϕ* once present

in *Fálsvopu-v* (cp. p. 577). — With *ἄλσιν* in the meaning to turn, to wind (reflexive), Lobeck de metaphora et metonymia p. 6 connects *ad-úl-o*, *ad-úl-o-r*, which denoted originally the wagging of the tail and fawning of brutes. — Skt. *ul-úkhala-m* mortar reminds us of *ὄλμος*, but the latter part of the word is unexplained. Pott's (I¹ 224) comparison of *ἔλυ-τρο-v* with Skt. *var-u-tra-m* upper clothing (rt. *var tegere*) has much plausibility; but while in Greek, Latin, Teutonic and Lithuanian the notion of wrapping up, which in spite of Corssen I² 460 is easily derived from that of rolling, turning, is clearly to be seen, this is not the case in Skt. It is the same with *ul-va-m* the integument which surrounds the womb, itself evidently identical with *vol-va* (cp. *val-volae* pods), but far removed from *volvere*. The other Skt. words I have borrowed from Fick³ 185. They have now the express evidence of the Pet. Dict. — Cp. also Benf. II 299, Lottner Ztschr. VII 190. It is worth noticing Pott's (I 120) explanation of *ἀμπ-ελ-ο-ς* from *ἀμφί* and *Feλ*, hence 'the clasping (with tendrils)' especially as *ἔλιν-ο-ς* occurs in the Alexandrine writers for tendril, twig. — The final letter present in *ἔλυ*, *volu*, Goth. *valv*, is, as Buttmann saw, a shortened reduplication; the same *f* appears in the second *o* of *όλοοί-τροχο-ς*, as in that of *άλο-ά-ω*. Examples of this broken reduplication will meet us again frequently. In the same way we explained the *β* of *φόβο-ς* No. 409 and of *φέρεω* No. 411, the *π* of *πύρ-π-η* No. 356. Corssen, who unjustly denies this phenomenon (cp. Lat. *ste-ti* for *ste-st-i*) is compelled to explain the *v* of *volvo* as a mutilated suffix. — On the Slav. words see Miklos. Lex. 68.

- 528) *ἔλαιον* oil, *ἐλαία* (Att. *ἐλάα*) olive. — Lat. *oleu-m*, *oliva*. — Goth. *alēv* (n.) *ἔλαιον*, *alēv-i* *fairguni* Mount of Olives, O.-H.-G. *oli*. — Lith. *alėju-s*, Ch.-Sl. *jelej*, *olěj* oil.

With Benfey II 120, Diefenbach Wtb. I 36, Hehn 422 I now regard the words in all other languages as borrowed from *ἐλαία*; *oliva* 362 is to *ἐλαία* as *Achivi* to *Ἀχαιοί*; initial *o* for *e* as in *dogium* = *ἔλγειον* Ber. der k. s. Ges. d. W. 1864 (histor. phil. Cl.) p. 5. We ought perhaps to consider as the root of *ἔλαιον* (with Pott I¹ 208) the rt. *li* liquefacere to be mentioned under No. 541. In Greek the prefixing of a vowel is justified; it would not be so in the other languages. This is the main reason for my present view.

- 529) *ἔλ-α-φο-ς* stag, *ἐλλό-ς* (*ἐλλό-ς*) young stag. — Lith. *ėl-ni-s* elk, Ch.-Sl. *jel-enī* stag.

Benfey II 9, who compares also Skt. *ṛgha-s*. But in the Pet. Dict. *ṛgha-s* is explained to be the older form, and the meaning 'antelope-buck' is given to the word. We should be thus brought to

a st. *ark*, which reminds us rather of No. 5. But the Gr. and Slavo-Lith. names agree unmistakeably, for the Ch.-Sl. *j*, as in countless instances, has grown out of the spiritus lenis. Apollonius Lex. and other grammarians write *ἔλλο-ς* with spir. len. Perhaps it is for *ἐλ-σο-ς* and so corresponds almost exactly to the Slavo-Lith. form. Pictet I 438 regards *ar* as the root, in the sense of hurry, drive; and with this he connects also *ἐλαύνω*, adding Ir. *arr* stag. The suffix of *ἐλ-α-φο-ς* is the same as in *ἐρι-φο-ς* and Skt. *r̥sha-bha-s* (cp. on No. 491), *vr̥sha-bha-s* ox. Cp. Jahn's Jahrb. 69 p. 95.

530) *ἔλος* (*φέλος*) low ground, *Ἔλος*, *Ἐλέα*, *Ἥλι-ς*. — Lat. *Vel-iae* (?), *Velitrae*, *valli-s*. — O.-N. *völl-r* plain.

The comparison with Skt. *saras* water, suggested by Bopp Gl. and Kuhn Ztschr. II 129, has been doubted by Pott I¹ 225 because of the *ῥ*, and Benfey II 299 agrees with him. It reappears however in Leo Meyer Vgl. Gr. II 110. — The *ῥ* has a good deal of authority for it, especially in the case of the town in Lower Italy *Velia*, which in Herodotus I 167 is called *Τέλιη* (Strabo VI p. 252). Servius ad Aen. VI 639, Dionys. Halic. Arch. I 20 derive the name of the Roman *Velia* from *φέλος*. But *ἔλος* does not properly mean 'marsh' at all, but according to Suidas *δίνλον δάσος*, according to the Et. Gud. *ὕγρὸς καὶ δασὺς τόπος*, that is, low ground, meadow-land: in T 221 horses feed in the *ἔλος*, but nobody drives horses into a marsh. So too E. Curtius Peloponnesos II 288 explains the Laconian *Ἔλος*. — From the same root comes the name *ῥᾶλι-ς*, which quite corresponds to the Lat. *valli-s*; hence *ῥαλήιοι* = *Ἥλειοι* (Ahr. d. Aeol. 226); thus *Ἥλις* means Sunken Land, Holland (E. Curtius Peloponn. II 97). Are the length of the vowel in Greek, and the doubled *l* in Latin to be explained from a suffix *vi*, so that *val-li-s* would be for *val-vi-s*? So also Corssen Beitr. 321. — The Lat. *Vélâ-bru-m* cannot belong here because of its *é*, but Corssen Ztschr. III 260 finds the clearest analogue of the Gr. *φέλος* in the Volscian *Veles-tro-m* which we find on the *tabula Veliterna* (Mommsen Unterital. D. 320) as the gen. plur. of the name of the inhabitants of *Velletri*, which 'lies on the northern edge of the Pontine marshes'. Voretzsch de Inscript. Cret. p. 5 is perhaps right in adding the Cretan *Βολοέντιοι*.

541) *ῥίλο-ς* nail, knob, *ἔφ-ῥίλο-ς* provided with nails, *ἔφ-ῥιλό-ω* nail fast. — Lat. *vallu-s* stake, tooth of a comb.

Ahr. d. Aeol. 58. — *ῥ* may be discovered plainly from the form 363 *γάλλο-ς* recorded by Hesych. — the *λλ* of which makes the agreement with *vallu-s* still more clear, — and from the Hom. *ἀργυρό-ῥίλο-ς*. —

Other explanations in Pott I¹ 223. — Vossius Et. 535 regards *vallu-s* as a diminutive of the adjective *vāru-s* bandy-legged (cp. on No. 81). To me the difference of meaning does not seem great enough to separate ἥλο-ς from *vallu-s*. *vallu-m* is probably only a collective from *vallu-s*, just as the Gr. χάραξ denotes both. — Pictet compares various Sanskrit forms from the rt. *var*, for instance *ā-vara-paṇam*, which among other meanings has that of bolt. These words must have derived their name from the notion of protecting. Similarly Corssen Beitr. 320, cp. I² 459.

532) Rt. *lā* (λα) *lā-ō* (Dor. *lā* *lā̃s* *lā̃*, 3 pl. *lā̃nti*) wish, *lā̃-μα* *lā̃-σι-ς* will, *λι-λα-ί-ο-μαι* desire, *λε-λίη-μαι* desire, strive, *λία-ν* mightily, very.

Skt. rt. *lash* (*lash-ā-mi*, *lash-jā-mi*) desire, *las* (*las-ā-mi*) glitter, play, *lā-las-a-s* desirous.

Lat. *las-cīvu-s*.

Goth. *lus-tu-s* ἐπιθυμία, *lus-tō-n* ἐπιθυμεῖν.

Ch.-Sl. *las-k-a-ti* adulāri, *las-ka* adulatio, *laska-vū* blandus.

O.-Ir. *air-le* voluntas, *com-air-le* consilium, *ir-lithe* oboediens, *ir-ladigur* oboedio, *lam*, *air-lam* paratus (Z.³ 770, 248, 802, 868) (?).

Pott W. II, 2, 459, Bopp Gl. s. v. *lash* and *las*, Kuhn Ztschr. II 268, Benf. II 136 f. — The rt. *las* has lost its *σ* before vowels in Greek (cp. γέσσω No. 131). For *lā̃* and the other Doric forms Ahrens d. Dor. 348. *λι-λα-ί-ο-μαι* for *λι-λασ-ιο-μαι*, where the *j* denotes the present stem, reduplicated like Skt. *lā-las-a-s*; *λε-λίη-μαι* perhaps to avoid lambdacism from *λε-λί-λη-μαι*, so *λίαν* (*λίην*) for *λι-λα-ν*. The *σ* seems to have been preserved in *λάσ-τη πόρνη* Hesych., with which *λάστανρο-ς* = κίναιδος (Lob. Proleg. 259) is certainly related (suffix *vara*?), also probably *λάσ-θ-η* ludibrium (ἐπὶ γέλωτι καὶ λάσθῃ Herod. VI 67): further according to Benfey *λαῖ-ς*, *λά-μαχο-ς* (Hesych. *ἄμαχος*), *λαί* (ἐπὶ αἰσχρολογίας Hesych.) and other words seem to be related: we may probably add also *λᾶ-ρό-ς* lickerish (greedy), *λᾶ-μυρό-ς* (cp. *λαιδρό-ς* Hesych.) greedy, bold, *λαι-κάξειν* to wench, though I should prefer to connect *λωίων* with rt. *lav*, *lav* (No. 536), for through all the Greek words here adduced there runs the fundamental idea of unrestrained desire, bold lust, with which *λωίων* will not fit in; on the other hand this all the better suits *λεωργό-ς* sinner, probably from *λᾶ-φοργό-ς*, where *λᾶ* is a contracted adjective stem from *λαε*, *λαεο* (cp. Hartung on Aesch. Prom. 5). Hence *λεωργός* is one who acts in opposition to *θέμις* or *δίκη* according to his own desires. *λᾶ-σθαι*.

παλζειν, *λά-σθω* *χλεναζέτω* (Hes.) quite recall the meaning of the Skt. *las*. — *las-c-ivn-s* presupposes *las-cu-s*, whence it is derived as *fest-ivn-s* from *festu-s*. — Ascoli Fonol. 228 regards the Skt. *sh* here as in *bhāsh* (No. 407) as a representative of *sk*. — With respect to the loss of *s* in the Irish words the rt. *gus* (No. 131) offers parallels; cp. *ro-i-gatar* for **ro-gegusatar*; *tuicse* (for **do-fo-gustia*) and *ir-lithe* differ only in that in the latter the suffix *tia* is not added immediately to the last consonant of the root, any more than in *oingthe*, *remeperthe* (Z.² 479). Stokes Ir. Gl. 884 adds our rt. to rt. *var* (*comairle* = *com-364 are-valia*). Against this etymology is the absence of *f* at the beginning of *lam*. It is more correct to refer *tol* voluntas (Z.² 241), which we have not quoted, to **du-valā*, though we might also regard it as *do-fo-lasā*.

533) *λαίό-ς* left. — Lat. *laevu-s*. — Ch.-Sl. *lěvŭ*.

Pott I¹ 119. — Schleich. Ksl. 128. — Benf. II 306. — Hesych. gives the derivative words *λαί-διο-ς*, *λαί-δρό-ς*, and *λαίβα ἀσπίς*, *λαίβας ἀσπίδας* *Κοῦρες*, which Ahrens d. Dor. 49 aptly refers here. — Angermann regards the cognomen *Laeca* as the same as *Scaevola*, cp. *Nas-ica*.

534) *λάξ*, *λάγ-δην* with the heel, with the foot, *λακ-τ-ίζ-ω* strike out with the foot, *λακ-πάτη-το-ς* trodden with the feet. — Lat. *calx* (st. *calc*), *calc-ar*, *calc-eu-s*, *calc-ā-re*, *calc-i-trā-re*. — O.-N. *hœl-l* *calx*. — Lith. *kul-ni-s* heel.

Pott II¹ 204, Benf. II 316. — A *κ* has been lost at the beginning of the Greek word, so that *καλξ* must be regarded as an older form of *λάξ*, and as a metathesis of *calx*. The *ξ* as in *πύξ* arose from a case-suffix *s*, so that *καλκ* = *calc* remains as the noun-stem. In this the second *k* is derivative, hence the rt. is *kal*, which probably occurs also in *καλ-ε-τρά-ω* (cp. *cal-c-i-trā-re*) stamp, and reminds us on the one hand of Lat. *cel-l-o*, on the other hand of Lith. *kul-ti* strike, thresh. Add *λάκ-τι-ς* club, in the Alexandrian writers. Cp. No. 55.

535) *λαῖ-ό-ς* people, *λαῖ-οί* folk, *λά-τ-το-ς*, *λή-τ-το-ς* publicus, *λειτ-ουργία* public duty. — Goth. *jugga-lauth-s* youth, O.-H.-G. *liut* populus, pl. *liuti* folk (*Leute*). — Ch.-Sl. *ljud-ŭ* *λαό-ς*, *ljud-ije* *λαοί* homines, Lett. *laudi-s* folk, people.

Pott W. III 1017, Benf. II 28. — The Greek word contains the stem *λαφο*, established by *λαναγήτα* C. I 1466 and *λαφο-νό-φων*, which Priscian read (I 22, VI 69 H.) 'in tripode vetustissimo'. If

only for this reason, but also because the change of *d* into *l* can only be proved to take place in Greek in a few dialects, I cannot admit the conjecture of Bréal (Mythe d'Oedipe p. 18), that *λαός* corresponds to the Skt. *dāsa-s*. Nor can Bernhardt's derivation from the rt. κλυ be maintained. The other languages point to a primitive form *laudh*. Hence the Goth. *liud-an* crescere cannot be compared at any rate directly: for the attempt to regard this verb with the Skt. *rudh* (*ruh*) as the rt. of the Gr. *λαF-o*, which would thus stand for *λανθ-o*, is devoid of any certain analogies. — The derivation of βασι-λεύς i. e. Herzog (leader of the people), from rt. βα and Ion. λευ = λαο (cp. λευ-τυχίδης), compounded like Στρωτός-χορος, is more fully established in the Rhein. Mus. IV (1845) p. 258 f. Cp. also Döderlein Gloss. 2007. An important parallel is supplied by ξυξί-λεω-ς, as Sophocles Fr. 136 D. called the king 'ὃ ὑπεξενυγμένοι εἰσι λαοί' (Hesych.). — Lately another etymology has enjoyed much acceptance. Kuhn Ind. Stud. I 334 first referred βασι-λεύς to the stem λευ = λαFα (*lāα-ς*) stone, so that it would mean 'stone-treader', referring to the old Teutonic and Keltic custom that the king should show himself to the people on a stone. He compares also Σ 503 οἱ δὲ γέροντες εἶατ' 365 ἐπὶ ξυστοῖαι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ. Pictet II 395 adds some further illustrations; Bergk Rhein. Mus. XIX 604 states the same etymology as his 'thesis'. Pott II² 250 does not decide. Phonetically both explanations are possible. The former seems to me the simpler, and the custom on which the latter is based does not appear sufficiently proved for Greece. For there is a great difference after all between a high stone which the king *stands* upon in order to be seen, and the stone *seats* of the old judges. — Perhaps Cymr. *liti-maur* frequens populis (Stokes Beitr. IV 395) belongs here; probably Ir. *lucht*, Cymr. *llwyth* populus, homines, copia (Z.² 364, 156) are to be regarded as quite distinct.

536) Rt. λαF *λά-ω*, ἀπο-λαί-ω enjoy, λε-ία, λη-ῖ-(δ)-ς booty, λη-ῖ-ξ-ο-μαι capture, λη-ῖ-τι-(δ)-ς she who gives booty, λά-τρι-ς mercenary.

Lat. *lū-cru-m*, *Lav-er-na* goddess of thieves, *lav-er-n-ión-es* thieves.

Goth. *lau-n* (n.) reward (Lohn), *anda-launi* recompense.

Ch.-Sl. *lov-i-ti* hunt, catch, *lov-ŭ* chase, capture.

O.-Ir. *lóg*, *luach* pretium, fœnus (Z.² 270).

Pott W. I 1292, Benf. II 2, Stokes Ir. Gl. 792. — *λά-ων* τ 229 (cp. *λάε* 230) according to Aristarchus (Apollon. Lex. p. 107 Bekk.) ἀπολαυστικῶς ἔχων, hence 'feasting' (Schol. B. ἀπολαυστικῶς ἐσθίων).

Quite otherwise Döderlein Gloss. 2270, who on the strength of a gloss of Hesych. translates the word by 'bellen' bark, while others explain *λάων* by *βλέπων*. I follow Aristarchus and regard *λά-ω* for *λαφ-ω* as the stem-verb, whence all the rest is developed. Probably the word *λω-ίων* (for *λωφ-ίων*), superl. *λω-στο-ς*, mentioned already under No. 532, belongs here, so that it would properly mean 'the more paying'. Cp. Tobler Ztschr. IX 262. — For *laverniones fures* Paul. Epit. 117. *λά-τρο-ν* pay is tolerably late. Like *λά-τρι-ς* it goes back to *λα*, which is related to *λαφ* as *κο* to *κοφ* (No. 64). — Lottner compares Lat. *latro(n)* with. Lith. *lātra-s* knave, good-for-nothing. This is opposed by the older use of the Latin word (e. g. Plaut. Mil. 949), which is quite equivalent to that of the Gr. *λάτρι-ς*. Hence I consider *latro* as a borrowed word, which received an ampliative ending on Italian soil, and by degrees passed into a contemptuous sense. According to Schleicher the Lith. word is borrowed from the Germ. *lotter* (O.-H.-G. *lotar*) and this from the Lat. *latro*. — Corssen I² 359. — It is natural to compare with Lat. *Laverna* Corn. *louuern* vulpes and *louennan* mustela (Z.² 827. 1075).

536 b) *λάπ-τ-ω* lick, lap, *λαφ-ύσσω* devour, swallow.

Lat. *lamb-o*, *lab-ru-m*, *lab-iu-m*, *lab-ea*, *Labeo*.

O.-H.-G. *lef-sa*, N.-H.-G. *Lefze*, *Lippe* lip, O.-H.-G.

laff-an to lap.

Lith. *lūpa* lip.

Pott I¹ 259, Benf. II 12, Lottner Ztschr. VII 185, Corssen Beitr. 353. — We must take *λαπ* as the rt., with which however we can hardly connect *λαπάσσειν*, *ἐξαλαπάξειν*. In Latin *p* is weakened to *b*. In Greek the *p* is also aspirated. — Fick² 392 places here also O.-N. *lepī-l*, O.-H.-G. *leffl*, O.-Pruss. *lapini-s* spoon, connecting them with O.-N. *lep-ja*.

537) *λάχ-νη* wool, down, *λάχ-νο-ς* sheep's wool, *λαχ-νή-366*

ει-ς woolly, rough, *λαχνοῦ-σθαι* to become hairy,

λῆ-ν-ος wool. — Lat. *lā-na*, *lān-ūgo*, *lān-eu-s*,

lān-iciu-m.

Benf. II 111. — Although in meaning the words *λάσιο-ς* rough, shaggy, and *λαισ-ά(δ)-ς ἡ παχεῖα ἐξωμῖς* (Hesych.), with *λαισήτιο-ν* shield of raw hide (which are certainly akin to it), are nearly related, yet I do not know how to pass from *χ* to *σ*. — A connection with *χλαῖ-να* (cp. *χλα-μύ-ς*, *χλα-νί-ς*) could only be admitted under the supposition that *λάχνη* stood for *χλάχ-νη*, and how ought we then to regard the second *χ*? — Fick² 184 connects *λάσιο-ς* with Zd. *varēpa* and Ch.-Sl. *vlasŭ* hair, Lith. *varsa* flock of wool (Nesselm.). In that

case it would be for *Flas-io-s*, with a surprising retention of the medial *s*. — Otherwise again Corssen I² 634. — Cp. No. 496.

588) Rt. λεγ λέγ-ω pick, collect, count, tell, speak, λεκ-τό-ς, λογ-ά(δ)-ς chosen, κατα-λέγ-ω specify, συλλογ-ή collection, ἐκ-λογ-ή selection, λόγ-ο-ς, λέξι-ς speech, λογ-ίζ-ο-μαι reckon, consider.

Lat. *leg-o*, *leg-io(n)*, *de-lec-tu-s*, *lec-tu-s* chosen, *leg-ulu-s* collector, *leg-ū-men*, *lec-ti-o(n)*, *lec-tor*, *di-lig-ens*, *neg-leg-o*, *intel-leg-o*, *re-lig-io*.

Goth. *lis-a* συλλέγω.

Lett. *lasz-it* collect, Lith. *lès-ti* gather up, *api-las-ù-s* dainty (?).

Pott W. III 606; Ahrens Philol. XXVII 251, H. Romundt 'The root λεγ in Greek' L. 1869. — Buttmann discusses the use of λέγω Lexil. II 96 ff. It appears from this that the meaning 'speak' is quite the latest; for this is developed in Homer only gradually from the earlier meaning, through the intermediate notion of 'counting one's words' (cp. Eng. *tale* and Germ. *zählen*). This is one among several objections to Benfey's combinations II 127. The name Λέ-λεγ-ες, if at all of Greek origin, would rather denote select bands (*λελεγμένοι*, *λεκτοί*) than a collected nation. — Lobeck El. I 40 connects ἄ-λέγ-ω with this rt., reminding us of λέγεσθαι, λογίζεσθαι count. But the Homeric use of ἀλέγω, ἀλεγίζω, ἀλεγύνω, as stated by Döderlein Gloss. 109, will not quite suit this. It is clear however that ἄ-λέγ-ω is the opposite of Lat. *nec-leg-o*, and θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες (II 388) is the exact counterpart of Lat. *religens* and *religio* (Gell. IV 9). For the application of the rt. to what is immaterial cp. Max Müller II 63, Pott I² 201. — λέσχη place of conversation, talk, converse, is not yet quite cleared up as to its suffix (Pott II² 644). — The Teutonic and Lithuanian words, like the Irish, must be referred to a stem *laks*, expanded by the addition of *s*. There is a similar loss of explosives in the Goth. *thus-undei* = Lith. *tūhstanti-s* a thousand, *vairstō* (rt. *varg* No. 141), Goth. *nithji-s* (No. 342), *sibun* (No. 337), in the O.-H.-G. *fū-st* (No. 384), *mist* = Goth. *maths-tu-s* (note on No. 175). — The Lith. *lès-ti* is only used of birds, which gather, pick up grains, in a manner quite corresponding to the meaning which has seemed to us the original one. From this the application to the reading of what was written seems to have been developed independently in the Gr. 367 ἐπι-λέγομαι (Herod.), ἀνα-λέγομαι (Plutarch.), in the Lat. *leg-o*, and perhaps also in the German *lesen*. As it is only in Greek, and here proportionately late, and never in the Italian region, that this rt. means 'speak', *lex* cannot possibly mean 'what is spoken'; so that

Lottner's connection of it (Ztschr. VII 167) with the equivalent O.-N. *lōg* = Engl. *law*, and his derivation of these words from the rt. *λεχ* (No. 173, cp. Pott W. I 159, and 'οἱ κείμενοι νόμοι', *δέ-μ-ς*) deserve every consideration. Cp. Bugge Stud. IV 206. The only difficulty that remains is presented by the Osc. *lig-ud* = *lēge* with a *g* which cannot be explained from *gh* (Ascoli Ztschr. XVII 256). — From *lego* Jos. Scaliger derives not only *leg-ūmen* but *lig-nu-m* (Θ 547 ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ λέγοντο), which would thus have meant properly brushwood, faggots: this etymology as regards the meaning has quite as much probability, and as regards the sounds more, than that from the Skt. rt. *dah* burn (Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 282), for *lig-n-um* : *leg* = *tig-nu-m* : *teg* (for *tec* No. 235). — Corssen differs on many points I² 444, 447, 531. — O.-Ir. *legais* *legisti*, *legit* (Z.² 462, 463) &c. are borrowed from the Lat. *lego*: cp. Ebel Beitr. II 147. Ir. *lesugud* teach, *ni ro-s-lesaiged* 'they taught them not' (F. A. 239) are evidently connected with the *lesa* in *luach lesa* 'the reward paid by a pupil to his tutor' and *fer lesa* 'guardian' (Ir. Gl. 792). These words seem to belong here, but whether as genuine Irish, or as words borrowed from the German is still a question.

539) *λετ-ο-ς*, *λεν-ρό-ς* smooth, even, *λει-ό-τη(τ)-ς* smoothness, *λει-αίν-ω* smoothen. — Lat. *lén-i-s*, *lén-i-tá-(t)-s*, *lévi-g-āre*, *lén-āre*.

Pott II¹ 277, Benf. II 121. — The form *λεν-ρό-ς*, which Hesych. explains by *λεῖος*, and which occurs elsewhere in the sense of level, wide, has preserved the *v*, which corresponds to the Lat. *v*, for *λεν-ρό-ς* : *lén-i-s* = *λιγν-ρό-ς* : *λιγν-ς*, while Lat. adjective-stems in *vi* regularly correspond to Greek stems in *v*. For the rt. cp. No. 544. — Here belongs also *λίαιξ*, with hypokoristic suffix, *παῖς ἀρχιγένειος* (Hesych.) 'smooth-chin'.

540) *λέχ-ριο-ς*, adv. *λέχ-ρις*, Hom. *λικ-ρι-φί-ς* cross, awry, *λοξό-ς* cross, crooked, *λίγξ*, *λίξ πλάγιος* (Hesych.). Lat. *lic-i-nu-s* with crumpled horns, *Licin-iu-s*, *obliquu-s*, *li-mu-s* distorted, awry, *luxu-s* sprained, *lux-āre* sprain.

Lith. *lėnk-ti* bow, *lėnk-ti* bend oneself, partic. *lėnkės* bent, crooked, *-lėnk* (in compos.) -wards, Ch.-Sl. *лѣк-а* κάμπτω, *лѣк-ѣ* arcus.

Pott W. III 257, Benf. II 316. — We must start from the st. *λεν*, which was modified in two ways, by aspiration, and by the weakening of *ε* into *ι*. But the original state of the sounds is clearly shown in *λεκροί* by the side of *λικροί*· ὄζου τῶν ἐλαφείων κεράτων

(Hesych.), the meaning of which is closely akin to that of *lic-inu-s*. We may with Döderlein Lat. Wortbildung p. 35, add *licula*, cake, cracknel, according to Varro L. L. V, 107 M. a Sabine word, and belonging to the shorter form. With a raising of the *e* to *o* and an expansive or derivative *σ* we have *λοῖό-ς*, which is quite parallel to *luxu-s*. Without the expansive *s* the stem probably appears with a dull vowel in *luc-un(t)-s* 'genus operis pistorii' Paul. Epit. 119. Cp. Symbola 368 Philol. Bonn. I 276. Corssen I² 35 adds *li-m-σ(t)-s* as cross-road, *li-men* as cross-beam, and (on p. 498) other Latin words. Bücheler in Joh. Schmidt's Vocal. I 107 points out from Attius (Ribbeck trag. ² p. 284) a Lat. verb *lingu-ier* = obliquari. Schmidt places here also Lat. *lax* (dolus) and *lac-io* (*pel-lic-io*) with Ch.-Sl. *lqk-a* dolus (also sinus): cp. Mikl. Lex. — Grimm Gesch. 990 adds also the German *links* left, *lenken* turn: but I do not venture to follow him, because of the absence of the 'shifting of the mutes'.

541) Rt. λιβ *λείβ-ω* drop, pour, pour out, *λοιβ-ή* drink-offering, *λίψ* (st. *λιβ*), *λιβ-ά(δ)-ς*, *λίβ-ος* moisture, drop, *λιβ-ρό-ς* moist, *λείβ-η-θρο-ν* channel, meadow, *λιβ-άδ-ιο-ν* water, meadow.

Lat. *dē-lib-ū-tu-s* moistened, *lib-ā-re*, *lib-ā-tio*, *Lib-er*.

Benf. II 123, who follows the old explanation of *λίψ* (st. *λιβ*), according to which the S. W. wind is called the 'wetting' (cp. *Νότος* No. 443) and hence *λιβύ-η*, with a *ν* which reminds us of *delibū-tu-s*. For the forms *λίψ*, *λιβάς* Lobeck Paralip. 114. In Hesych. we find also *λιβει*· σπένδει as a shorter present-form, and *λειβήνος* *Διόνυσος*, corresponding to the Italian *Liber*, with which *ιβηνα* τὸν οἶνον *Κρητες* is compared; this, like *ιβ-άνη*, *ιβ-ανο-ς* pail (*ιβ-δη* plug?) and the Hom. *εἰβ-ω*, has lost its *λ* (Lobeck Elem. I 108). Cp. *ιμᾶν*· *λιμᾶν* Hes., on which see p. 456. Pott W. I 606 quotes similar instances from the Wallachian e. g. *ilze* = Lat. *licia*. The *i* of *delibū-tu-s* would be of itself sufficient to banish any idea that the Lat. words might be borrowed. — We may further quote here some words, which seem to be derived directly from a rt. *li*, the expanded form of which lies before us in *lib*. In Skt. *li* means adhaerere, but also, in composition with prepositions, solvi, e. g. *á-li* to become powerless, *pra-li* die, *vi-li* dissolvi, evanescere. As we find also a rt. *ri* with the meaning drop, flow, from which Justi Handbuch der Zendsprache p. 56 derives Zd. *iri-th* pass away, flow away, and Corssen I² 534 *ri-tu-s* and various river-names, we may consider 'melt' as the fundamental idea from which on the one hand 'flow', drop, drip, pass away, melt away, on the other 'melt on to', adhere to, have been developed. Cp. No. 340. Hence Lat. *li-n-o* (part. *li-tu-s*), *po-li-o*, O.-Ir. *li-n-im* mano, polluceo (*ro-lil* adhaesit, cp. Stokes Beitr. VII 13, 21), Lith. *lẽj-u* pour,

lý-ti pluere, Ch.-Sl. *li-j-a-ti* fundere, *loj* *στέαρ* belong here (Pott W. I, 600), and also *λί-μνη*, *λι-μήν* (st. *λίμεν*), *λειμ-ών* which in their meanings of pool, harbour, and meadow evidently stand in the closest relation with each other, and probably also with the Lat. *li-t-us* (cp. *pec-t-us*). Pauli however Ztschr. XVIII 23 wishes to connect *li-tus* with *κλι-τύ-ς* slope. *λειμ-ών* is formed from a lost *λειμα(ν)* like *χειμῶν* from *χειμα(ν)* and coincides with *λείβηθο-ν* (*Λείβηθρα*). The rt. *li* occurs also in the Lat. *dé-le-o* (cp. Skt. *vi-lí* dissolvi). It would be somewhat bold to add *λι-μός* hunger and *λέ-tu-m*, though *tábes* (No. 231) might serve as an analogy. In that case the word *λοι-μός*, mentioned under No. 148, would be of similar origin. — On the other hand it is better to omit *li-mu-s* with O.-H.-G. *li-m* (gluten) O.-N. *leim* (argilla) because of the forms with *g*, *γλοιός*, *glis* (Benf. II 119), which are discussed under No. 544. — Much important matter is furnished by Volckmar 'Die Stämme *li* und *ri*' Philol. VI 627.

- 542) *λίνο-ν* linen, flax, thread, *λίν-εο-ς* linen. — Lat. 369
linu-m, *lin-eu-s*, *línea*, *lin-t-eu-s*. — Goth. *lein*
 linen, O.-H.-G. *lín* flax. — Lith. *lína-s* flax-stalk,
lína-i (pl.) flax, Ch.-Sl. *línŭ* linum. — O.-Ir. *lín*
 flax (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 102, *léine* gen. *léinead*
camisia (Z.² 255).

Pott I¹ 119, Schleich. Ksl. 128, Stokes Ir. Gl. 38. — Perhaps we may, with Pott II² 246, place here also the st. *λίτ* (Hom. dat. *λίτ-ί*, acc. *λίτ-α*), the *τ* of which reminds us of the *t* of *lin-t-eu-s*, and also of the Lith. *linta* (Lex.) ornamental band, and O.-N. *linn-r* (for **lindh-r*) girdle. — The difference of quantity in Greek and Latin is remarkable, so that we certainly cannot suppose the one to have borrowed from the other. — Benf. II 181 makes very unsuccessful attempts to discover a rt., and also Pictet I 320: cp. Corssen I² 533. — For the historical facts see Hehn 103. — Ebel Beitr. II 147 considers O.-Ir. *lín* rete (Z.² 21), which cannot be separated from the above words, as borrowed from the Latin, though with some doubt; *léine* is certainly genuinely Irish. [Cp. Fick Indo-Germanen Europas p. 487.]

- 543) *λί-ς*, *λέ-ων*, Ion. *λείων* (st. *λεοντ*) lion, *λέ-αινα*
 lioness. — Lat. *leo(n)*. — O.-H.-G. *lewo(n)*. —
 Ch.-Sl. *lŭvŭ*, Lith. *liú-ta-s*.

Pott W. I 1261, Benf. II 1 are inclined to regard the word as borrowed from the Hebrew *laish*. In that case it must have spread from Greece, and been borrowed again from the Greek by the other languages; but the independent form of the word in the various families of speech is against this. Förstemann Ztschr. I 495 appeals

justly to students of natural history. Cp. Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 385. Pictet I 423 decides for the Indo-Germanic origin of the word *λέων*, appealing to the Homeric similes from lions, and to the evidence of Herodotus (VII 125) and of Aristotle as to the existence of lions in Paenonia. He connects the name, suitably enough, with *λέλα*, and hence with No. 536, but regards the derivation of *λῆ-ς* from the Semitic as demonstrated. But *λῆ-ς* [so Aristarch.] (acc. *λῆν*) with a very surprising lengthening of a preceding short final vowel (*Α* 239 ὥστε *λῆς* Hoffmann Quaest. Homer. I p. 148 [ἐπὶ τε *λῆν* *Α* 380, cp. *Ρ* 109, *Σ* 318] almost makes us conjecture that *λῆ-ς* was the primitive form, with a *ς* corresponding to the O.-H.-G. and Ch.-Sl. *v* and the Lith. *u*. The O.-H.-G. theme *lewon* is equivalent to the Lat. *leon*, while the Gr. *λεωντ* has a *τ* at the end, absent from the fem. *λέαινα* = *λεων-ια* (Ztschr. IV 215). — [From the absence of any corresponding name for the lion among the Eastern Aryans Benfey Geschichte der Sprachw. p. 598 argues that the common Indo-Germanic home must have been in Europe.] — Cymr. *llew* leo is marked in Z.² 109 as borrowed (Ebel Beitr. II 147), cp. Corn. *leu* (ibid.) Ir. *leo*, *leon*, *leoghan*, *leomhan* leo (O'R.).

544) St. *λῆτ* (*γλιτ*) *λῆ-ς* (st. *λῆτ*) smooth, bald, *λῆτ-ό-ς* smooth, sleek, *λίσσό-ς*, *λίσπο-ς*, *λίσφο-ς* smooth, *λίστ-ρο-ν* hatchet, adze.

Lat. *glit-tu-s* 'smooth, *gli-s* (st. *glit*) humus tenax.

Lith. *glitù-s* smooth, sticky.

The shortest stem occurs only in the Hom. *λῆς πέτρῃ*. For *glittis* 'subactis, levibus, teneris' Paul. Epit. 98 with O. Müller's note. *λίσ-πο-ς* appears (cp. p. 588) to be for *λῆτ-φο-ς*, *λίσ-σό-ς* for *λῆτ-ζο-ς*. The *γ* is retained in *γλίττον τὸ ἀπόλουμα* Eustath., *γλιττόν γλοιόν* Hesych. (cp. Steph. Thes.) and in *γλίσ-χο-ς* sticky — for *γλιτ-χο-ς*, 370 cp. *αἰσ-χρό-ς* for *αἰδ-χο-ς* — probably also in *όλισθ-άν-ω* (*όλισθ-ο-ν*) slip, for its stem *όλιτ* : *γλιτ* = *όνομαν* : *gnōmen* (No. 446). We are also probably right in adding the name of the Cretan town *Όλισσίν*, also *Λισσίν*, *Βλισσίν* 'a glitta petra', with Voretzsch de Inscr. Cret. p. 10. Cp. Ahr. d. Dor. 50. — A shorter stem without *τ* appears in *γλοι-ό-ς* sticky oil, *γλί-α* (*γλοιά*) glue, and the closely connected Lat. *glu-s*, *glu-t-en*, *glu-t-inu-m* (Corssen I² 384). — *όλι-βρό-ς* slippery (Hea.) finds a companion in the further expanded *lu-bri-cu-s* (Lobeck El. 85). Corssen Beitr. 430 rejects the connection, and prefers to refer *lubri-cu-s* to the Goth. *sluip-an* slip (*schlüpfen*). It does not seem probable to me that the two nearly related languages possessed two words so similar in sound, which though of the same meaning were of different origin. In that case then we should have also to connect *ό-λιβ-ρό-ς*, as

Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 163 conjectures, with O.-H.-G. *slëffar* (lubricus). — It is probable that *λεῖο-ς* too is akin, and that we must assume an early interchange between *i* and *u*. Cp. No. 539.

545) Rt. λιφ *λίψ επιθυμία* (Hesych.), *λιψ-ουρία* desire of passing urine, *λίπ-τ-ω* strive, desire.

Skt. rt. *lubbh* (*lubbh-j-ā-mi*) to be confused, feel desire, *lub-dha-s* desireable, *lōbha-s* desire, longing.

Lat. *lub-et*, *lib-et*, *lib-i-do*, *pro-lub-iu-m*, *liber*, *Libentina*.

Goth. *liub-s* dear, *brōthra-lub-ō* brotherly love,

O.-H.-G. *liub-an* to hold dear, *liub-ēn* to be dear,

mōt-luba affectus, *lob* laus, *lob-ō-n* laudare, affirmare.

Ch.-Sl. *ljub-i-ti* φιλεῖν, *ljub-ŭ* carus, *ljub-y* ἀγάπη,

Lith. *liub-y-ti* to have a desire, *liub-jauis* dearer,

liefer (?).

λελιμμένος μάχης Aesch. Sept. 380, *λίπτειν* Apollon. Rhod. — *λίψ επιθυμία* is compared with Lat. *libet* by Lobeck Paralip. 113. The case-forms of the word are not known; still from the collection of words given here, we could expect to find no other stem than λιφ. Perhaps this occurs also in the very obscure gloss of Hesych. *λιφ-ερισσόντες· ἐν συνδένδρῳ τόπῳ προσφιλῶς διάγοντες* Stud. III 198. — The clearer analogies in the other languages in Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 260. The interchange between *i* and *u* is as in *φι-τό-ω* rt. *φυ* (No. 417). Lat. *liber* free, according to the gloss in Paul. Epit. 121 *loebes-um liberum* had once a diphthong in the stem. For *ἐλεύθερο-ς*, which has been incorrectly compared with this see p. 488. For the meaning the Ch.-Sl. *ljub-i-mi* sponte is instructive. We must also place here *Libitina* after what Preller Röm. Mythol. 387 has collected on the subject.

546) Rt. λυ *λύ-ω* loosen, *λύ-α* dissolution, separation, *λύ-σι-ς* loosening, *λυ-τήρ* loosener, *λύ-τρο-ν* ransom.

Skt. rt. *lū* (*lu-nā-mi*) cut, cut in two, *lav-i-tra-m* sickle.

Lat. *re-lu-o* undo again, *so-lu-o* for *se-lu-o* (*so-lū-tu-s*), *lu-o* pay for.

Goth. *lau-s-j-a* *λύω*, laus loose, *us-laus-ein-s* λύτρωσις.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1294, Benf. II 8, Bugge Ztschr. XX 10. —

The more forcible idea of cutting apart appears in the European 371

languages for the most part in a milder form. The Teutonic *laus*, O.-H.-G. *lôs*, like the Goth. *lis-a* (No. 538) and like O.-H.-G. *hlo-s-ê-m* (No. 62) is expanded by a sibilant, and is probably rightly connected with Goth. *fra-lius-an* lose (*verlieren*), so that we must assume a new stem *lus*. — Lat. *so-lu-o*, even in Vossius Etym. is broken up into *se-lu-o* and compared to *so-cors* for *se-cor(d)-s*. The uncompounded root probably appears in the old Roman goddess *Lua*, who is mentioned sometimes as *Lua Saturni*, sometimes as *Lua Mater*, and who is to be regarded with Preller Röm. Mythol. 419 as a goddess of destruction, or of reaping. Probably *lue-s* (cp. No. 148) also belongs here. — For *Λω-α-ῖο-ς* Pott Ztschr. VI 136.

- 547) Rt. *λυ* *λῦ-μα* water that has been used for washing, filth, *λύ-θρο-ν* defilement, *λύ-μη* insult, *λυ-μαίν-ο-μαι* insult, *λού-ω* wash, *λου-τρό-ν* (λο(F)-ε-τρό-ν) bath, *λου-τήρ* bathing tub, *λού-τριο-ν* water that has been used for bathing.

Lat. *lu-o* (*ad-lu-o*, *pol-lu-o*, *di-lu-o*), *di-luv-ium*, *ad-luv-ie-s*, *lû-tor* washer, *pol-lû-brum* washing basin, *lu-tu-s*, *lu-s-trum*, *lav-e-re*, *lav-â-re*, *lau-tu-s*.

O.-N. *ló-a* adluo.

O.-Ir. *lóthor*, *lóthur* alveus, canalis (Z.² 782).

Pott W. I 1300, Benf. II 121, Corssen Beitr. 516. — From the fundamental idea of washing all the others are gradually developed, especially that of dirt, as that which is washed off, and hence that of insult (cp. *pol-lu-o* *πρὸ-πηλακ-ῖζω* and *λυμαίνομαι*), and on the other side that of atonement, as with *ποι-νή* (No. 373), so that perhaps not merely *lustrum* mire, but also *lûstrum* sin-offering belongs here: the latter according to Paul. Epit. 120 has a long *u*, and hence probably comes like *λου-τρό-ν* from the strengthened stem: both have the same *s* as *mon-s-trum*. Another etymology also possible was mentioned under No. 63. The old Latin *lav-e-re* (Ennius Vahl. p. 210) is parallel to *λού-ειν* (Hom. praeter. *λό-ε* = *λοF-ε*, even Attic *λό-ε*, and also *λοῦ-ται*, *λοῦ-σθαι*): it is developed from *λυ* by an addition of sound. — The rt. *πλυ* (No. 369), from which some have wished to derive this rt. *λυ* by aphaeresis, has an entirely different ramification and not inconsiderable differences in meaning. — This rt. *λυ* in many of its applications is closely connected with No. 546, especially in *λῦ-μα*, *λύ-μη*, *λυ-μαίνω*, *λυ-μεών*, all of which mean not only aspersión, like *polluere*, but also damage, ruin. Add *ἀπολουσέμεναι* *κολοβώσιν* *Κύπριοι* Hes.

- 548) *λύγξ* (st. *lynx*) lynx. — O.-H.-G. *luhs*. — Lith. *luszi-s*, Ch.-Sl. *rysĭ pardalis*.

Pott W. III 251, Benf. II 126, 372, Förstemann Ztschr. I 498.
— Probably from rt. *luk* see, whence *lynx-εῦ-s* (No. 87).

- 549) Rt. *λυγ* (*σλυγ*) *λύξ-ω* (*λυγγάνομαι*) hiccough, sob (*schlucke*, *schluchze*), *λύγξ* (st. *λυγγ*), *λυγ-μό-s* hiccough.

O.-H.-G. *sluccan* deglutire.

O.-Ir. *slucit* they gulp down (F. A. 176), *ro-slogeth* 372
absorpta est (sc. mors Z.² 477).

Benf. II 12, who also quotes Gael. *sluig-idh* hiccough, gulp. But his other comparisons do not suit. — Ir. *slucit* is for **slungit* (cp. *ni cumwing* non valet, *ni cumcat* non possunt Z.² 431, 438): *ro-slogeth* shows vowel-raising like *ad-fét* relatum est (for *ad-fiadad* Z.² 478). O.'R. quotes: *slugaim* I swallow, *slug* a gulp, *slugán* throat, and others.

- 550) *λώβ-η* insult, *λωβά-ο-μαι*, *λωβ-εῦ-ω* insult, scorn, *λωβη-τίρ* slanderer. — Lat. *láb-e-s* spot, disgrace, *láb-e-cula*.

Pott I¹ 209, Benf. II 10. — It seems to me certain that these words go together, and that *láb-e-s macula in vestimento* (Paul. Epit. 121) is not originally identical with *láb-e-s* fall (cp. *láb-i*, *láb-are*, and Skt. *lamb* labi). Corssen's attempt I² 402 to connect *láb-e-s* spot and *láb-e-s* fall by means of the notion 'damage', I regard as extremely forced. But the Greek words with the meaning of outrage, disgrace, damage, which is distinctly prominent in them, are entirely removed from the notion of slipping, which is so clearly prominent in *láb-i* and *labare*. — It is a mistake to attempt to find the rt. of our words in any form like *βλαβ* in *βλάπ-τω*, and hence to derive *λώβ-η* (for *βλωβ-η*), like *κώπ-η* from rt. *καπ* (No. 34). It would be better to go back to No. 547, and to compare *λύμη*; in that case we should have to regard the *β* as developed from *ƒ*. But *láb-e-s* then offers a difficulty. For in Latin the transition from *v* to *b*, even if not unheard of, as Corssen Beitr. 157 maintains, is at any rate limited to a narrow range, and to certain definite groups of sounds.

- 551) *μέλᾱ-s* (st. *μελᾶν*) black, *μελαίν-ω* blacken, *μολύν-ω* spot.

Skt. *mala-m* (subst.) dirt, filth, *mala-s* dirty, nig-
gardly, *malina-s* dirty, impure, black.

Lat. *malu-s*, *mali-tia*, *mali-gnu-s*, *male-ficu-s*.

Goth. *mail* *ῥυτίς*, O.-H.-G. *meil* macula.

Lith. *mōli-s* clay, *mēlynia-s* blue, Lett. *mel-s* black.

Cymr. *melyn*, Corn. *milin*, Arm. *melen* flavus, fulvus, croceus (Z.² 724); Ir. *maile* malum (Corm. Gl. 24 gaire, Transl. 87), Corn. *malan* 'the evil one, the devil' (Lex. Cornu-Brit.).

Pott I¹ 112, 253, Bopp Gl., Benf. I 478. — These words are all simply developed from a rt. *mal* with the meaning 'to be dirty'. For the moral meaning of the Lat. *malu-s* cp. *hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto*. On the other hand it seems to me doubtful whether Goth. *māl* γραφή, *mēljan* γραφειν can be correctly compared, for in these words the notion of spotting does not come into prominence (Diefenbach Goth. Wtb. II 16). For the formation of *μολύνω*, which points to a st. *μολο*, Ztschr. VI 89. Further *μολοβρός* (p 219, s 26), which the ancients explained by *μολιεύων ἐπὶ τὴν βοράν*, certainly belongs to this group of words; but it can hardly be, as Ameis App. to Od. p. 77 maintains, 'dirt-eater', a very strange description of the beggar, whose appetite for dainty bits has just been derided, and still more strange as used by Nicand. Ther. 622 of a plant which creeps on the ground, and hence may well be dirty, but hardly dirt-eating. Düntzer Ztschr. XIV 197 takes *βρο* as a suffix, without being able to establish this by any analogy. Now Aelian N. A. VII 47 gives us the words *μολόβριον* and *μολοβρίτης* for sucking-pig, and these cannot be separated from *ῥβριον*, *ῥβρίκαλον* (cp. Studien I, 1, 259) young animal, especially sucking-pig. Hence, following Aristoph. Byz. (p. 117 Nauck) I divide *μολοβρός* and translate 'dirty young pig', cp. Skt. *viḍ-varāha*, compounded with *vish* faeces (Pet. W.). In Nicander the remembrance of the main idea has been retained, but not that of the composition. — The form *μολοβρίον* (also *κόλ-αβρο-ς*) equivalent to *μολόβριον* means 'black sucking-pig'. — With the ethical meaning of the Lat. *malu-s* agree the Irish *maile* Cymr. *mall* bad, quoted by Pictet II 559. — The radically distinct *κλεινώ-ς* has been discussed under No. 46.

552) *μόλυβο-ς*, *μόλιβο-ς*, *μόλυβδο-ς* lead, *μολυβδί-ς*, *μολύβδαινα* ball of lead, *μολυβρός* (Hes.) leaden-coloured, *μολυβού-ς* leaden. — Lat. *plumbu-m*, *plumb-eu-s*. — O.-H.-G. *pli* (st. *plīwa*). — Lett. *alwa*, Ch.-Sl. *olovo*.

Pott I¹ 113, who quotes also the Hindustani *miḥwa*, Benf. I 525 f. — We must assume, as it seems, a stem-form *miḥwa*. The

difficult combination of sounds *ml* was softened in Greek by means of the auxiliary vowel *o*, while *m* in Latin, being in immediate contact with *l*, changed into the same *p*, which was produced before *l* in *ex-em-p-lu-m*, *tem-p-lu-m*. In the Slavo-Lith. branch of languages the initial consonant has been entirely lost. — One is tempted to add here also *liv-or*, *liv-idu-s*, *liv-co*, with Pott I¹ 120. — The β in $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\beta\omicron-s$ has originated in *f*, on which see more at p. 572. In Latin the preceding nasal has probably brought about the change of *v* into *b*. Pictet's (Ztschr. V 323) derivation from the words mentioned under No. 551 rests mainly on the Skt. *bahu-mala-s* lead, properly 'very dirty': but this word is unauthenticated. Some objections and varying combinations of Walter's (Ztschr. XII 403) I discussed in XIII 397. — Pictet I 183 entirely separates $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\beta\omicron-s$ from the corresponding words in the other languages. — I do not consider my comparison quite certain.

- 553) $\acute{o}\lambda\iota\gamma\omicron-s$ (comp. $\acute{o}\lambda\iota\zeta\omega\nu = \acute{o}\lambda\iota\gamma-\omega\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi-\acute{o}\lambda\iota\zeta\omega\nu$) small, $\acute{o}\lambda\iota\gamma\omicron-\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ the least [see Ell. Lex. Soph. and Herm. on Ant. 621 (625 D.)], $\acute{o}\lambda\iota\gamma-\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota-s$ a few times.

Skt. rt. *riç* and *liç* (*liç-ā-mi*) pluck, *vi-lish-ta-s* mutilatus, *lēç-a-s* a little bit.

O.-Pruss. *lik-u-t-s* parvus, Lith. *lēsa-s* lean.

Bopp Gl., Benf. II 26. — The *o* is prothetic, as in $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\pi-\tau\omega$ by the side of $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi-\omega$ peel (Lobeck El. I 83); it is wanting in the words preserved by Hesych. $\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu$ (read $\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$) $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu$, $\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ ($\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$?) $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$. γ is weakened from κ as in $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma-\omega$ (No. 474), hence *lik* is the rt., from which we can arrive at the Low Germ. *leeg* (Engl. *low*) low, bad, weak. Perhaps in $\lambda\iota\sigma\acute{o}\nu$, which in Hesych. is explained *inter alia* by $\xi\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$, a trace of the harder stem *lix* is preserved. But the lexicographer has confused this with $\lambda\iota\sigma\acute{o}\nu$ smooth. 374 The comparative is naturally to be accented $\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$.

- 554) St. $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma$ $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\zeta-\omega$ cry, $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma-\acute{\eta}$, $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma-\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ crying, $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma-\acute{\omega}\nu$ cry, note of the frog, name of a screeching animal, $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma-\alpha\iota\alpha$ a name for the night-owl.

Skt. *ul-ul-i-s* ululabilis, ululatus, *ulāka-s* owl, screech-owl.

Lat. *ul-ucu-s*, *ul-ul-a*, *ulul-ā-re*, *ululā-tu-s*, *ululā-bili-s*.

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 46. — The rt. is *ul*, Gr. $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda$, reduplicated *ul-ul*, according to Greek phonetic laws $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron-\upsilon\lambda$ (cp. $\pi\omicron\alpha\pi\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omega$, $\pi\omicron\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$), with

an added *v* (cp. Skt. *ulú-ka-s*) *ól-vl-v*, dissimilated afresh in order to avoid the distasteful repetition of syllables containing *v* (*φῖ-τν-s* No. 417) *ól-ol-v*. From this stem comes directly *ó ólolv-s*, a word quoted from the comedians, and explained by Photius as *γυναικώδης*, i. e. 'shrieker': whence with a guttural comes the derived *ólovv*. For the different meanings of the animal's name *ólovv* cp. Steph. Thes. The fundamental notion of howling sound (cp. *ἀλαλίζω*) runs through all the words quoted. Hence the connection with *ól-á-ω*, *όλα-πο-μωροι*, *όλ-ακ-τέ-ω*, bark, asserted by Benfey and Döderlein (Gloss. 2272), is not to be absolutely rejected. *Ul-ul-äre* looks like a reduplicated *ól-ā-v*. But the connection with *ól-ol-α* assumed by Döderlein (Gloss. 2163) is not to be accepted for a moment.

555) *óvl-ε* *salve*, *όλοός-s* *salvus*. — Lat. *salv-u-s*, *salv-e-o*, *salú(t)-s*, *salú-bri-s*. — Goth. *sēl-s* *ἀγαθός*, *un-sēl-s* *πονηρός*, *sēlei* *χρηστότης*, O.-N. *sæl-l* *felix*, O.-H.-G. *sālig* happy [*silly*]. — O.-Ir. *slán* *salvus* 'quasi *sal-án*' (Z.² 777).

Buttm. Lexil. I 190, Pott I¹ 130, Sonne Epilegomena zu Benfey's Wurzellexikon p. 16. — Benfey I 315 declares the comparison of this word with *salvus* to be impossible. We have however a trace of the initial spir. asp. = *σ* in Suidas: *όλοός* *δασυνομένης* *τῆς* *πρώτης* *συλλαβῆς* *δηλοῖ* *ó* *φρόνιμος* *καὶ* *ἀγαθός*, and on *όλοόφων* there are several traces of the explanation *δύναται* *καὶ* *όλοόφων* *λέγεσθαι* *ó* *ὕμεις* *τὰς* *φρένας* *ἔχων* (Apollon. Lex. p. 120, 16). From *όλοός-s* comes the form mentioned by Hesych. *όλοεῖται* *ὕμιαίνει*. Hence there are glimpses both of the form and of the meaning of *salvus*: as to the second *o*, this certainly represents a *F*. On this see p. 556. In *óvle* the *F* has been transferred into the first syllable, under the form of *v* (cp. *γούνα* = *γονFα*). There is a close connexion with both words in *Óvl-ιo-s*, an Ionic surname of Apollo according to Strabo XIV, p. 635 *ὕγιαστικός* *καὶ* *παιωνικός*, *τὸ* *γὰρ* *ὄvλειν* *ὕμιαίνειν*, and further in *ὄvλείοιεν* [*ὄvλειοιεν*?] *ἐν* *ὕγείᾳ* *φνύσσουσιεν* Hesych.; and according to Ahrens D. Aeol. 284 also in *ἔλλαθι* in Simonides (fr. XCI Schneidewin) and *ἔλλεε* in Callimachus. Both these may remain doubtful. Lobeck Rhemat. 111 and Döderlein Gloss. 472 prefer to find in *ὄvle* a vocative like *macte*; but I see no decisive reasons for this, for there is nothing against the laws of language in a verbal stem *ól-v*, *ólF*. We may without much hesitation add here *όlv-o-s*, *όlv-ιo-s* with *β* for *F*. In all these words the fundamental idea remains the same. *ὄvλή* scar, according to Hesych. *ἔλκος* *εἰς* *ὕγλειαν* *ἦκον*, connected by Schleicher Comp.² 70 [p. 45 E. T.] with Lat. *vol-nus*, Skt. *crāṣa-m* wound, has perhaps nothing in common with our words. — I prefer

also to discuss separately ὄλο-ς whole, with Skt. *sarva-s* quivis, omnis 376 (p. 540). Cp. Corssen I² 485 and No. 570.

- 556) σάλ-ο-ς, σάλ-η tossing, restless motion, σαλ-εύ-ω toss, wave, σαλάσσ-ω toss, σάλαξ sieve, σόλο-ς quoit, σαλάχ-ων braggart, σαλ-ύγη συνεχῆς κίνησις, σαλαγή noise, σαλαγέ-ω shake.

Lat. *salu-s* (Enn.), *salu-m* = σάλος.

O.-H.-G. *swëllan* swell, boil up, *wider-swal-m* whirlpool.

Benf. I 61 compares Skt. *sar-it* flood, *saras* pool, *sal-a-m* with *in-sul-a* (cp. Lith. *salà* island), *sal-ila-m* water (Bopp Gl.), and even ἄλ-ς with the meaning sea; but this meaning cannot be separated from that of salt, and will be discussed on p. 538. On the contrary, through all the words here collected runs the idea of tossing motion, which justified Lobeck (Rhemat. 112) in connecting σάλο-ς with σεί-ω shake. Whether the σέλ-ματα (cp. ἑῷσσελμο-ς) denoted originally the bending timbers I do not venture to determine. In no case have they anything to do with rt. *ced*, ἑδ (No. 280), as Eschmann thinks Ztschr. XIII 106. For the word denotes by no means only the seats of the rowers. The metaphor which occurs in σαλάκιον reminds us of the Lat. *jactare*. The proper name Σόλων also belongs here, as it seems. — Probably a *f* has been lost after *σ*. Thus in the first place σείω (for σ*f*ε-*j*ω), and then also σάλο-ς (for σ*f*α-λο-ς) might be connected with the Skt. rt. *su su-nó-mi*, which means press out, pound (*de mortario et pistillo* Westerg.) and from which the Sôma-drink gets its name. Cp. No. 571, 604, Pott W. I 1344.

- 557) σίαλο-ν spittle, σίαλο-ς fat, grease, σιαλώ-δης spittle-like, fat, late Greek σάλο-ς spittle. — Lat. *sal-iva*. — O.-H.-G. *slî-m*. — Ch.-Sl. *sli-na* saliva, Lith. *séil-è* spittle, slaver. — O.-Ir. *saile* saliva, dat. pl. *selib* (Goid. p. 11), *da sale* duo sputa (Z.² 233), *sult* fat (Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 117 molt).

Pott I¹ 5, Benf. I 414, Stokes, Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 36. — Neither Benfey nor Kuhn (Ztschr. IV 24) can induce me to believe that the Skt. *shṭiv* spit contains the root, for the meaning goes much beyond this. It seems to me the most advisable course to assume a special rt. *sil* (*slî*), strengthened *sjal*. — Bopp Gl. compares with *sal-iva* the same *salila-m* water, which was mentioned above under σάλο-ς: this cannot be done because of the other words.

558) Rt. *καλ σφάλλ-ω* (*ἐ-σφηλ-α*) make to totter, trip, *σφάλ-μα* slip, *ἀ-σφαλ-ής* firm, sure, *σφαλ-ερό-ς* unsure.

Skt. *sphal*, *sphul*, *sphal-ā-mi*, *sphul-ā-mi* vacillo, concutio, *ā-sphāl-ana-m* the attack, assault.

Lat. *fall-o*, *fal-su-s*, *falla*, *fall-ax*, *fallac-ia*.

O.-H.-G. *falla-n* fall.

Lith. *pū'lu* inf. *pūlti* fall.

376 Pott W. II, 1, 514, Benf. I 567. — In Skt. there are three radical forms nearly akin to each other: *skhal* titubare, cadere, *khal* decipere, fallere, and our *sphal* with the by-forms *sphul*, *sphar*. The transitive meaning shake reappears in *σφάλλω* and *fallo*, the intransitive in *σφαλός-ς* quoit. — Cp. Kuhn Ztschr. XII 323, Benary Röm. Lautl. 13, Grassmann Ztschr. XII 96. — The aspirate in Greek and Sanskrit, the spirant in Latin are developed from a *p* (cp. No. 580), hence *spal* is to be assumed as the primitive form, so that thus the *f* in German, after the loss of the *s* is explained. — *falla* = *fallacia* Novius v. 12 Ribbeck (Comici). — Connected with the less material meaning of *fallere* we have *σφάλλον· κολάκνευσον* (Hes.), and also *φηλό-ς* deceitful, *φηλό-ω* deceive, defraud, *φηλητής* rascal, in which the *σ* has disappeared as in Latin and German. I cannot accept the other combinations of Kuhn IV 35. — *σκαλ-ηρό-ς*, which does not mean limping, tottering, but uneven, crooked, is connected with *σκολιό-ς*, and stands quite apart from our rt. — The rt. *skal* slip, akin in sense to *sphal*, *spal* underlies the Goth. *skal* *δφείλω*, properly I fail, and the Lat. *scel-us* = *Schuld* [debt: cp. *shall*]. Cp. *ἀλείτης* p. 547, Delbrück Ztschr. f. d. Philol. I 135.

559) *ῥύλη* wood, forest, *ύλή-ει-ς* woody, *ῥύλημα* under-wood. — Lat. *silva*, *silvestri-s*, *silv-ōsu-s*, *silva-ticu-s*.

Vossius Et. s. v. *sylva*, as the word used then to be written. — Kuhn Ztschr. I 515, II 131, Grimm Gesch. 303 f. — Both refer here not merely *saltu-s*, where the *a* should warn us from such a comparison, but also A.-S. *holt* lucus, O.-H.-G. *holz* lignum, *silva*. But the Teutonic *h* cannot be shown to represent anything but an Indo-Germanic *k*, while on the other hand the Gr. *spiritus asper* here evidently stands for *s*, and what is there common to the forms *sula* and *kalda*, which we should have to presume? Legerlotz Ztschr. VIII 208 attempts an explanation from a rt. *αῖε* burn, which he finds recurring in the Lith. *svil-ti* singe, in the A.-S. *swelan* [*schreden*] to roast by a slow fire, and Skt. *svar*. The latter rt., quite unauthent-

icated, and apparently deduced from words which are discussed under No. 663, means only to shine. Though the idea of glowing and of slow roasting may have developed from this, that of burning up remains still quite distinct. Besides, the use of *silva* to denote under-wood, plantation will not agree with this [cp. Homer's ἄξυλος ὕλη 'copse where there are no logs' A 155]. I would rather attach these words to the rt. *su* procreare, did not this rt. appears to be limited to the propagation of animals. The meaning 'growth' (cp. φυτόν) would suit very well. Perhaps ὕλη originated from ὕλφα, so that, with a weakening of *u* to *i* (cp. *libet* and *iubet*), *silva* — also *sīlva* — corresponds exactly. The initial sibilant remained in the proper name Σκαπτη-σύλη (cleared wood), Lat. *Scaptensula* 'ex ultima antiquitate', as Lachmann saw, ad Lucret. VI 810. Cp. the form σέδα mentioned under No. 280.

560) ὕλλα sole. — Goth. *sulja* σανθάλιον, *ga-suljan* θεμελιοῦν, O.-H.-G. *sola*.

Lobeck Paralip. 34, 338, Diefenb. Wtb. II 289. — ὕλλαι only in Hesych. in the glosses ὕλλει τὰ πρὸς κάσσωσι δέγματα, for which Musurus writes ὕλλαι τὰ πρὸς καττόμασι δέγματα, and ὕλλας τοὺς καρπατίμους (i. e. καρπατίνους) τόμους, hence pieces of leather cut for soles. — Otherwise Benf. I 291, XVII, whose derivation from the rt. *su* Lat. *suere* (No. 578) is not improbable for the Greek words 377 but it is less suitable for the Teutonic groups of words gathered by Diefenbach. Cp. also No. 281, where we placed the Lat. *sol-ea*, since it cannot be separated from *solu-m* (cp. Pott W. I 1350). The rarity of the Greek words makes it impossible to decide.

561) χαλινό-ς (Aeol. χάλιννο-ς). — Skt. *khalina-s*, *khalina-s* bit of the bridle (?).

Benf. I 678, cp. II 282, Ztschr. II 336. — Boeht. and Roth in the Pet. Dict. expressly explain the Sanskrit words by 'bit of a bridle', and prove by quotations that it was put into the mouth of the beast; and according to Pollux A 148 τὸ εἰς τὸ στόμα ἐμβαλλόμενον was called χαλινός, hence T 393 ἐν δὲ χαλινούς γαμφηλῆς ἔβαλον, so that in later writers χαλινός could also mean the corner of a horse's mouth, and the fangs of snakes. Hence the identity of the two words is certain, but A. Weber Beitr. IV 278 regards *khalina-s* as borrowed from the Greek; and he is not without support from other Sanskrit scholars. From this point of view the isolated position and the varying quantity of the word is worth notice. Hence the note of interrogation.

562) ψύλλα, ψύλλο-ς flea. — Lat. *pul-ex*. — O.-H.-G. *floh*. — Ch.-Sl. *blŭ-cha*, Lith. *blusà*.

Pott I¹ 87, Förstemann Ztschr. III 50, Corssen I² 549. — The

identity of the creature, which in all four families of speech is denoted by a labial and *l*, establishes the unity of the name: but a difference in the formation must be admitted. The Lat. *-ex* (st. *ec*, *ic*) is individualising, as in *cul-ex*, *sen-ex*, and finds its analogue in the *h* of the German word. The Slavo-Lith. form shows a *s* — for Ch.-Sl. *ch* = *s* — and a weakened initial letter. Perhaps *sp* was the original initial sound (Kuhn Ztschr. IV 36). We shall find on p. 688 *ψ* for *π* presenting itself in some other words as a metathesis of *sp*. — Skt. *pāla-s* louse (Benf. I 576) I prefer to omit here. Pictet I 413 compares *pulaka-s*, which among its many meanings has that of a kind of vermin. — Misteli Ztschr. XVII 169.

- 563) ὀλένη elbow, ὠλέκρᾱνο-ν the point (head) of the elbow, ὠλενο-ς. — Lat. *ulna*. — Goth. *aleina*, O.-H.-G. *elina* πῆχυς, cubitus. — O.-Ir. *uile* ulna, dat. pl. *uileib* (T. B. Fr. p. 140).

Pott I¹ 117, Benf. II 305. — Originating from the same rts. *ar*, *al*, with different suffixes, but a similar meaning, we have: Skt. *ar-ālas* bent, the bent arm, *aratni-s* elbow (cp. also Lat. *ar-cu-s*), Lith. *al-kū-nė* elbow, *olekti-s* ell = Ch.-Sl. *lakūtī*, Gr. ἄλαξ πῆχυς Ἀθαμάων Hesych., for which M. Schmidt p. 129, probably with justice, writes ἄλεξ, to observe the alphabetical arrangement. But to conjecture with Vossius ἡ ἰσχύς for πῆχυς seems to me the most extreme temerity, in the case of a work like that of Hesych. Cp. ὠλλόν (for ὠλ-νο-ν?) τὴν τοῦ βραχίονος καμπήν. — The Irish word appears also with *ll*: *ar a dibh ullennaib* on his two elbows (L. U. Journ. I p. 378); cp. Stokes Ir. Gl. p. 149, Z.³ 268.

Greek *σ* in the following instances corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *s*, which in the other languages is as a rule retained, but in Latin between two vowels it has almost invariably passed into *r*. In the same position the sibilant is regularly dropped in Greek: while at the beginning of a word before a vowel it passes into the spiritus asper. In Irish *s* is retained only in groups of consonants and at the beginning of a word; between vowels it is lost.

- 564) Rt. ἐς εἰ-μί (Aeol. ἐμ-μι = ἐσμι), 3 sing. ἐσ-τί, εὖ-εσ-τώ well-being, ἐσ-θ-λό-ς excellent, ἐ-ῦ-ς good.

Skt. *as-mi* sum, *as-ti* est, *s-at* being, good, *su-* (prefix) = *εὔ-*, *sv-as-ti-s* well-being. — Zd. *ah-mi* sum, *aç-ti*, *anh-u* lord, world.

Lat. *(e)s-u-m*, *es-t*, *s-on(t)-s*, *sont-icu-s*, Osc. *es-uf*.

Goth. *i-m*, *is-t*, *sunji-s*, O.-N. *sann-r* true, guilty.

Lith. *es-mì*, *és-ti*, Ch.-Sl. *jes-mĩ*, *jes-tĩ*, Lith. *es-a-ba* being, *es-ni-s* constant, sure.

O.-Ir. *am* sum, *at es*, *as*, *is est*, *ammi* sumus, *it sunt* (Z.² 487); *su-*, *so-* bene in *so-nirt* firmus, fortis (*nert* vis, valor), *su-thain* perpetuus (*tan* tempus, Z.² 863).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 228, Benf. I 25, Grimm Gr. I 1070, Gesch. 842, Kuhn Ztschr. I 183, II 137, Stokes Ir. Gloss. p. 127. — The Skt. *as-u-s* breath of life, *asu-ra-s* living, and *ás*, *ás-ja-m* mouth which is quite parallel to Lat. *ós* make it almost certain that the physical meaning of this very ancient verbum substantivum was breathe, respire. According to Renan de l'Origine du langage p. 129 (éd. 4^{me}) the Hebrew verb. subst. *haja* or *hawa* has the same fundamental meaning. The three main meanings are probably developed in the following order: breathe, live, be. So Max Müller II 349. The distinction of this root from the synonymous *bhu* Gr. *φύ* (No. 417) — a distinction traceable in many languages — suits this view. Rt. *as* denotes, like respiration, a uniform continuous existence: rt. *bhu* on the other hand implies a becoming. Hence the two rts. supplement each other, so that the former is used exclusively in the durative forms of the present-stem, the second especially in the tenses which like the aorist and the perfect denote an incipient or a completed process of becoming (*ἔ-φύ-ν*, *ἡ-φύ-να*, *fu-i*). In all languages but Greek, however, the rt. *bhu* also has faded into a simple verbum substantivum. This satisfies the objections of Tobler Ztschr. IX 254. — The differing view of Ascoli (Framm linguist. IV p. 20) and Schweizer (Ztschr. XVII 144), which rests especially on Skt. *as-ta-m* home (adv.), and according to which the rt. *as* had as its fundamental meaning 'stand', 'linger', does not at all suit Skt. *as-u-s*, *asu-ra-s*. *ás* 379 = *ós* may have originated in *as*, just as well as *vák* = *vóc* from *vaċ* (Max Müller Asiat. Society March 1868 p. 35), while the assumption that *ás* is contracted from *avas* or *akas* is not established by any striking example. — It is but a short step from the *living* to the *real*, thence to the *true*, and to that which realizes the purpose of its existence, the *good*. On *é-ṽ-s* (Ep. *ἡ-ṽ-s*) for *é-s-v-s*, in the neut. contracted to *εὔ* see Rhein. Mus. 1845 p. 245 ff.; we must reject however what is said there about the German *wahr*. Bugge Ztschr.

XX 33 tries to show traces of *su-*, good, in European languages. — With the Skt. partic. *s-at* is connected No. 208 *ἑτ-εό-ς* = *sat-ja-s*. Whether *ἑσ-θ-λό-ς* (Dor. *ἑσ-λό-ς*) comes directly from the rt., or, as Kuhn holds Ztschr. IV 30, from a stem *ἑστ* = Skt. *sat* I do not attempt to determine. Further *ἑτοι-μο-ς* like *ἑτν-μο-ς* must have meant originally real, ready; the latter seems immediately comparable to the Skt. *satva-m* truth. The Osc. *es-uf* = Lith. *es-aba*, which according to Lange means *caput*, in the sense which the word has in the Roman law, but which perhaps rather means property, has been discussed by me Ztschr. IV 236. Schleicher indeed holds the Lith. word, as well as *esni-s* to be an invented one, foreign to the popular idiom. — The connexion of *s-on(t)-s* and *sont-icu-s* with this rt. has been recognized by Clemm and established Stud. III 328, while Bugge IV 205 confirms it by northern analogies. Language regards the guilty man as the man 'who it was'.

565) Rt. *ἐκ* *ἑκ* *ἑν-νν-μι* clothe, *ἐλ-μα* *ἡμάτ-ιο-ν* dress, *ἑσ-θο-ς*, *ἑσ-θ-ή(τ)-ς* clothing, *ἑ-ἄνό-ς* (*σιἄνό-ς*) clothes, *ἑ-ἄνό-ς* covering round.

Skt. rt. *vas* (*vas-é*) put on, *vas-man*, *vas-ana-m*, *vas-tra-m* clothes, *vas-ána-s* covering round, covered round. — Zd. *vanh* to clothe, *vanh-ana* (n.) *vaç-tra* (n.) clothes.

Lat. *ves-ti-s*, *vesti-o*.

Goth. *ga-vas-jan* to clothe, *vas-ti* clothes.

Cymr. *gwis-coed* vestes, Corn. *guisc* vestimentum (Z.² 291. 131).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 481, Kuhn Ztschr. II 182, 266. — *F* is clearly seen in *καταελνυσαν* (*Ψ* 135), *ἐπιεμπέρος*, *ἐπιέσασθαι*, *ἑέσασο* (Hoffmann Quaest. Hom. § 118), in the Aeol. *γέμ-ματα* = *ἑεσ-ματα*, Dor. *γῆ-μα*, *γέσ-τρα* *στολή* (Hezych.), Lacon. *βέσ-το-ν*, *βέτ-το-ν* (E. M.), Cypr. *ῥέσι-ς*, cp. p. 550 and Ahrens D. Aeol. 31, Dor. 46. Ebel Ztschr. IV 202 will not allow the Homeric form *εἶμαι* to pass as originally a perfect because of the want of reduplication. But as it has a decided perfect meaning, and as from the early uncertainty of the *F* the initial sound was variable, not much stress is to be laid on this want. The two forms of *ἑανό-ς* differing only in the quantity of the *α* are discussed by Buttmann Lexilog. II 11. He separates the adjective from this rt.; but as he himself recognizes the meaning of 'covering' as a legitimate one for this adjective, we shall add the adjective also here, especially as the striking analogy of the Skt. *vas-ana-m* and *vas-ána-s* comes in to help us. It is formed like

ἀ-μεν-ηρό-ς. For ἡμάτιον p. 702. — The rt. *fec* clothe agrees with that discussed under No. 206, which means dwell, in the common 380 notion of a protecting surrounding. A middle position between clothing and dwelling is held by the Lat. *vas* (*vasis*), which is perhaps rightly placed here, especially as Skt. *vās-ana-m* means clothing, dwelling, vessel. Cp. Pictet II 277. — This and the foregoing root are discussed thoroughly by Hainebach 'Die Wurzeln *fEC* und *EC* Giessen 1860', with many precise deductions and striking remarks, though in other points I cannot agree with him, especially with reference to the number of words, which he derives from these roots.

- 566) ἑσπερο-ς evening (subst. and adj.), ἑσπέρα evening, ἑσπέρι-ο-ς, ἑσπερι-νό-ς of evening. — Lat. *vesper*, *vespera*, *vesper-tinu-s*. — Lith. *vákara-s*, Ch.-Sl. *večerŭ* evening, *večer-ŭnŭ* ἑσπερινός. — Cymr. *ucher* *vespera* (Z.² 828): O.-Ir. *fescor*, Corn. *gwespar*, Arm. *gousper* (Z.² 781, 131, 133), Cymr. *gosper* (Spurr. Dict.).

Pott I¹ 121. — The explanation from '*divas-para* the end of the day', suggested by Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 190, and approved by Benf. II 208, must be abandoned, if only because of the Slavo-Lith. words. As *p* comes from *k*, but not *k* from *p*, these take us back to a primitive form *vas-kara-s*. Hence in Latin, here as well as in *lupu-s* (No. 89), the representation of a *k* by a *p* must be admitted. For the *f* in the Aeol. *fέσπερε* Ahrens D. Aeol. 32. In Homer we have μένον δ' ἐν ἑσπερον ἰδθεῖν δ 786 and the like. — As *vas-a-ti-s* means night in Skt., we may probably see a kindred word here, and in the German *West*, and perhaps the rt. of our word in *vas* cover round (No. 565). — As contrasted with the Cymr. *ucher*, which must be directly compared with the Lith. and Ch.-Sl. words, the other Celtic words which have been quoted might seem to have been borrowed from the Latin, did not the form *espar* in *espar-tain* eventide (Corm. Gl. p. 14, O'R. Dict. Z.² 55) which is certainly borrowed, speak at all events against the borrowed character of Ir. *fescor*. Ebel Beitr. II 166 still quotes the puzzling Corn. *gurthuper*, for which we find however *gurthuher* Z.² 1073.

- 567) Rt. *zec* ξέ-ω (late ξέν-νυ-μι perf. m. ξ-ξέσ-μαι aor. act. ξέσ-σε-ν) seethe, bubble, ξέσ-μα, ξέ-μα decoction, ξέ-σι-ς seething, boiling, ξέσ-τό-ς sodden, ξῆ-λο-ς ardor.

Skt. rt. *jas* (*jas-jâ-mi*, *jas-â-mi*), bubble, seethe,

fatigue oneself, *â-jas* exert oneself, *pra-jas-ta-s* boiling over (*ἐπερξέων*).

O.-H.-G. *jës-an*, *ger-ja-n* [*gären*] ferment, Mod.-G. *Gisch-t* [or *Gäsch-t*] yeast, froth.

Benf. I 681, Pott W. II 2, 453, Kuhn Ztschr. II 137, Roth Nirukta, Erläuter. p. 78, where the meaning 'seethe' is established for some passages in the Rigveda, and conjectured also for the Zend. — For ζ = j see p. 609. The less physical meaning of the post-Homeric *ζῆλος* has its precedent in the use of the verb *ζέω*. The *ā* of the Dor. *ζᾱλος*, which Düntzer Ztschr. XVI 281 opposes to my etymology, finds its explanation in an older rt. *ζας*, which is preserved also in *ζά-λη* tossing of the sea, *ζάλο-ς*, *ζαλά-ω*: and further, the rule, good enough for practical purposes, that *ā* in the Doric dialect is to be expected only in the place of an *α* which has come from *η*, is liable 381 to important exceptions from the well-known fact that even *ε* in various dialects not uncommonly appears in the older form of *α*. Döderlein Gl. 2450 refers to this rt. also the Homeric *ζω-ρό-τερον* (*ἀκρατότερον* Apoll. Lex.) *κέραιε* I 203, which might indeed very well mean *fervidius*. Pott, who discusses this rt. II² 805, refers to *ζοῆ· τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ μέλιτος* (Hes.), which, if taken as froth, foam, suits well here. Cp. Hesych. *ζέουσιν ἀφρῆζουσιν*.

568) Rt. *ἦσ-μαι*, *ἦσ-ται* sit. — Skt. *ās* (*ās-ê*) sit, stay, dwell, 3 sing. *ās-tê*, *ās-a-m* seat, *ās-ana-m* sedes. — Zd. *āh* sit, remain. — Lat. *ā-nu-s*, O.-Lat. Umbr. *ās-a*, Osc. *aas-a*, N.-Lat. *ār-a*.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 299. — That *ἦ-μαι* has nothing to do with *εἶ-σα* (part. *ἔσ-σας*, *ἔσας*), as Buttmann A. Gr. II 202 supposed, is shown on the one hand by the *η*, which proves that the spiritus lenis was the original breathing, and on the other hand by the 3 pl. *εἶ-σται*, *ἔ-σται*, *εἶ-στο* which go back to *ās-a-tai*, *ās-a-ta*. The *ε* shortened from *η* is the same as in *νέα* from *νηφα*, in *κέας* from rt. *κᾱφ*. The 3 sing. *ἦσ-ται*, which has preserved the final *s* of this rt., as *ἦσ-τον* has in the case of the rt. *ἐς*, shows that the initial aspiration has nothing to do with the loss of the *σ* from the middle of the word (against Kuhn Ztschr. II 269), but is rather to be considered as not original. The spiritus asper originating in the lenis is discussed on p. 676. In this case the resemblance in sound to the words of kindred meaning *ἔξω*, *εἶσα* may have favoured the sharp aspiration. Hence it is not admissible to separate rt. *ἦς* from *ās* and to attach it to rt. *vas* dwell, as Hainebach wishes to do in the essay mentioned under No. 565, p. 18. Benfey I 418 derives *ἦσ-υχο-ς* from this rt. in the sense of *sedatus*, a derivation well supported by the

meaning of the word. Lobeck Proleg. 339 quotes adjectives similarly formed. Even ἡ-μερο-ς tame, perhaps properly, dwelling with, as it were settling down with, may be derived from this rt. by means of the suffix -μερο = Skt. *mara* (*ad-mara-s* greedy, rt. *ad* = Gr. ἐδ No. 279), discussed by Aufrecht Ztschr. I 480. For the rt. *jam* restrain, from which Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ztschr. II 320 derive ἡμερο-ς, shows a different initial sound in ξημ-λα. — For the Italian words see Macrobius Saturn. III 2, 8, Mommsen Unterit. D. 244, Aufr. u. Kirchh. II 402. — Perhaps the Lith. *as-là* floor belongs here; this would be analogous to the Hom. εἰαμενή (also εἰαμενή, λαμενή in Hesych. and in other forms), low ground (= ἐξ-α-μενή), for Classen's explanation of this word as 'the clothed', from No. 565, poetical as it is, seems to me improbable for so ancient a word (Beobacht. ü. den hom. Sprachgebrauch, 2. Theil, Frankf. 1855 p. 10). — The meaning prevalent in the Skt. *ās* attaches itself exceptionally also to the form *as-ta-m* home, which evidently belongs rather here than to the rt. *as* in its usual sense. Could *as* breathe, and *ās* sit be linked by the intermediate notion 'stop for breath'? — With regard to the Italian word for altar it is noteworthy that Skt. *ās* (Pet. D. I 729) is also used of men praying and sacrificing at the altar.

569) ἴσο-ς (for *ῥισφο-ς*) Aeol. ἴσσο-ς [Att. ἴσο-ς] equal.

— Skt. *vishu* (adv.) to both sides, *vishuva-m* aequinoctium, *vishu-vant* holding the middle.

Pott I¹ 272, Benf. II 222. — An initial *ῥ* is proved by the Hom. 382 fem. ἴση, by γισγόν ἴσων, Lacon. βίωρ ἴσως (Hesych.). That the *σ* has displaced a consonant following it, is shown by the Aeolic form (Ahrens D. Aeol. 66), to which belong also ἴσσοις γαλήνη, ἴσσοῦσθαι κληροῦσθαι (cp. ἴση) and perhaps also ἴσσοις ἡ λείβοις τὸ πρότερον (Hesych.). From γισγόν we can see that this consonant was a second digamma. Now the stem so arrived at is identical with Skt. *vishuva* (for *visva*), an expansion of *vishu* (for *visu*) like that of πολυ to πολλο i. e. πολυο. The rt. of *vish-u* is held to be Skt. *vish* (*vis*) separare, which may be conjectured in αἰσ-ονες παραγμοί, αἰσόμενος παραξέμενος (Hesych.). In that case *α* would be prefixed as in αἶσρα by the side of Hom. ἔειρα. Thus we could also arrive at αἰσ-α, which accordingly meant, like ἡ ἴση, the equal share. Hence αἰσμο-ς and the Ionic ἀναισμοῖ-ω, Att. καταισμοῖω use up, spend. — We must reject the comparison with Skt. *visva-s* (i. e. *vik-va-s*) omnis (Kuhn Ztschr. II 272) and ἴδιος (Ahrens u. s.) and also Fick's comparison with Skt. *ēshā* wish and O.-H.-G. *ēra*, which are entirely distinct in meaning.

570) σάο-ς, σόο-ς, σῶο-ς, σῶ-ς whole, sound, σῶ-κο-ς

strong, *σαό-ω*, *σώ-ξ-ω* (more correctly *σώξω*) heal, save, *σω-τήρ* saviour, *ἄ-σω-το-ς* past healing. — Lat. *sā-nu-s*.

Benary Lautl. 285, and after him Benfey I 360 compare Skt. *sah-ja-s* strong, *sah-ja-m* soundness. In that case *sagh* would be the rt., but Gr. *ζ* is hardly ever dropped before vowels. Pictet Ztschr. V 38 agrees with this view. But his own comparison of *σά-ο-ς* with Skt. *sava-s* Soma-juice, offering, is untenable for this primitive adjective. The different vowels of the adjective are treated by Lobeck El. II 121. The relation of *σά-μα* to our rt. is difficult, because in Homer, as Aristarchus noticed (Lehrs² p. 86), it means only cadaver. See on this point Delbrück Ztschr. XVII 238. Among the numerous proper names belonging here *Σαώ*, the name of a Nereid, hence 'saving goddess', is noteworthy (Pott Ztschr. VI 272). — We might conjecture some kinship with Lat. *so-briu-s*, which when compared with *i-briu-s* strikingly reminds us of *σάφρων*, with *so-spe(t)-s*, by the side of *scispes* (C. I. L. No. 1110), treated by Corssen Nachtr. 250, and connexion might even be conjectured with the words discussed under No. 555. It seems to me somewhat bold to base this group on rt. *ét* (No. 564) with a lost vowel (cp. Skt. *s-mas* = *sumus*). It is better not to go beyond *sa* as the root-syllable, from which probably come also *sacer* and *sanctu-s*, *sancio*.

571) Rt. *ca* *σά-ω*, *σή-θ-ω* sift, *ση-σ-τρο-ν* sieve. — Lith. *sijó-j-u* sift, *sẽ-ta-s* sieve (rt. *st*).

Pott W. I 306, Benf. I 398 f. — A late by-form is *σινλο-ν* sieve *σινιάζω* sift; an older by-form, as it seems, of *σήθ-ω* is *ῥήθ-ω* (*ῥήθ-ι-ω*, *ῥήθ-μός-ς*) with the meaning strain, filter. The replacement of the *σ* by the spir. lenis instead of by the spir. asp. is explained, as in the case of *ῥή-ω*, by the following aspirate (Lobeck Rhem. p. 93). Lobeck conjectures also a connexion with *σείω* shake (cp. No. 556). As sowing is a sifting scattering shaking, the rt. *sa*, which is widely spread in 383 several families of speech (*sa-tu-s*, *sẽ-vi*, *sẽ-men* = O.-H.-G. *sa-mo*, pres. *se-r-o* = *se-s-o*, Goth. *saian*, Ch.-Sl. *sẽ-ja-ti*, Lith. *sẽ-ju* sow) might also be akin. (Cp. No. 389). Other combinations are made by Leo Meyer Ztschr. VIII 248, where he connects them with Skt. *as* throw and *sá* (*sjá-mi*). Pictet II 99, 286, where also A.-S. *si-bi*, O.-H.-G. *sib* [sieve] are quoted, and a connexion with Skt. *siḥ* No. 24^b is suggested. — In any case we might conclude even from the Greek forms that the weaker *si* stood by the side of the full root *sa*. — For different Latin forms belonging here, especially *Sa-e-turnu-s*, *Sá-turnu-s*, *pro-sa-p-ia* (with expanding *p*) and others more or less certain, see Corssen I² 417 ff. — Bücheler in Polle de artis vocabulis Lucretianis p. 57 adds *sae-clu-m* as seed, race, not without probability.

- 572) *σιγ-ή* silence, *σιγα* (adv.) silently, *σιγά-ω* am silent, *σιγη-λό-ς* silent. — M.-H.-G. *swig-en*, O.-N. *sveig-ja* flectere. [Cp. *sway*.]

Pott W. III 356, Benf. I 464, Kuhn Ztschr. II 132, Grassmann XII 136. — I repeat this comparison in spite of the anomalous relation of the sounds, regarding Gr. γ as softened from κ (cp. rt. *πλαγ* No. 367) and giving *svik* as the primitive form, from which a Teutonic *svih*, *svig* would be explained; but I omit the Lat. *sil-e-o* because of the Goth. *ana-sil-an* (to become quiet). Grimm Gr. II 17 assumes as the primary meaning of the Teutonic words *premere*, *flectere*. — Of Greek dialectic forms we find *ἴγα* *σιῶπα* *Κύπριαι* (Hesych.) for which it is perhaps more correct to read with M. Schmidt Ztschr. IX 367 *ἴγα*, and the still more remarkable *ῥίγα* *σιῶπα*. As an initial σ , in spite of Mor. Schmidt Ztschr. X 208, in no dialect passes into ρ , *ῥίγα*, if correctly preserved to us, might be for *σῥίγα*, and this for *σῦῖγα*, like *ρεῖ* Cretan for *ρεῖ*, *σέ* (Ahr. D. Dor. 51).

- 573) Rt. *καγ* *σνάξ-ω* limp. — Skt. rt. *khañg* (for *skang*) *khañg-ā-mi* limp, *khañg-a-s* limping. — M.-H.-G. *hink-e*, *han-c* limping.

Kuhn Ztschr. III 429, Pet. D. II 589, where *inter alia* *khañgá* is quoted as the name of an unevenly constructed metre (cp. *σνάξων*). — The primary form is *skag*, nasalized *skang*. Hence has come, by the change of g before j into d , Gr. *σνάξω* i. e. *σναδ-j-ω* (cp. *ῥέξ-ω* rt. *ῥεγ* No. 141); the verb seems to occur only in quite late writers, except with the present stem. Pott W. III 106. The German form came from the initially abbreviated *kang*, with the regular shifting of the mutes (cp. No. 113).

- 574) *σόβη* tail. — O.-N. *svipa*, O.-H.-G. *sweif* tail.

Benf. I 342, Kuhn II 132, IV 18. — I follow both in this comparison only. For it is still doubtful to me whether *φόβη* mane, by the side of *σόβη* was developed from *svabá*. O.-N. *svif* motus repentinus, vibratio, O.-H.-G. *swifan* circumagi, vibrare are certainly akin in meaning to *σοβέω* scare, *σοβ-αρό-ς* violent, but the β of these words originated in f , as is seen from *σαν-αρό-ς* *σοβ-αρό-ς* Hesych. (cp. p. 573). Underlying them is the rt. *cu*, *σεύ-ω*, *έσσυμένος*, on which I cannot share the conjecture of Ebel (Ztschr. I 300, cp. Pott W. I 691). To *σεύω* belongs probably Lat. *sū-cula* windlass, machine for pulling. With *σοβαρός* Usener Rhein. Mus. XX 150, probably correctly, connects the almost obsolete *subidu-s* excited, the opposite 384 of which *in-subidu-s* 'securus' is more common. [Cp. Gell. XIX, 9, 9, Gronov. but Hertz reads *subito* in § 11.]

- 575) *σποφό-ς* spongy, damp. — Goth. *svamm-s* *σπόγ-γο-ς*, O.-H.-G. *swam*, O.-N. *svöpp-r*, Goth. *svum-sl* swamp.

Kuhn Ztschr. IV 17, who rightly goes back to a stem *svam*, from which other Teutonic words (O.-H.-G. *swimman* &c.) may be derived. From this we also derive (with him) *σπόγ-γο-ς* with the by-forms *σπόγ-γο-ς*, *σπογγ-ία*, in which *f* has either, as in the nominal stem *σφε* = *sva* become hardened to *φ*, or, as probably in the form *ίλοπο-ς* No. 544, to *π*. The suffix might be softened from *-xo*. Corssen I² 161 is probably right in regarding *fungu-s* as a borrowed word, on the ground of the *f*, which in no other case comes from *v*. Pott W. II 2, 224.

- 576) *στλεγγ-ί-ς*, *στελγ-ί-ς*, *στεργ-ί-ς* iron for rubbing or scraping. — Lat. *strig-ili-s*.

For the three Greek forms, of which the last comes nearest to the Latin, see Lobeck El. I 502, Rhemat. 55. The rt. certainly cannot be separated from that of the Lat. *string-o* (No. 577). — Benf. I 671.

- 577) *στράγξ* (st. *στραγγ*) drop, *στραγγ-εύ-ω* force through, *στραγγ-άλη*, *στραγγαλ-ιά* cord, knot, *στραγγαλ-ί-ξ-ω* strangle. — Lat. *string-o*, *stric-tu-s*, *stric-ti-m*, *stric-túra*, *strig-mentu-m*, *strig-a*, *strang-uláre*, *terg-o*. — O.-H.-G. *stric*, *strang*, *strangi* strong.

The rt. *strang*, *strag*, for we may assume this (Pott W. III 687), has two main meanings 'to draw through, force through' and 'to strip'. The former comes out clearly in the Greek words, of which *στραγγ-ουρία* retention of urine, *κατὰ στράγγα ξεῖν* may also be mentioned. From this the cognate meaning of tying together, pressing is easily developed, and this comes out with especial clearness in *string-o* (for *streng-o*), *nodus strictus*, *vitem perstringere*: the Germ. *streng* (rigorous, rough), *sich anstrengen* (to exert one's self), with the Hom. *σχεύγ-ο-μαι* to be pained, to grow exhausted, are not far removed. With respect to the connexion of *σχεύγ-ο-μαι* it is worth noticing that the cod. Harl. in μ 351 gives the variant *σχεύγεσθαι* ('*γρ. σφρέγγεσθαι*'), and the same word is explained in Schol. A on *O* 512 by *στραγγίζεσθαι*. Cp. Lob. Rhem. 54. — The second main meaning meets us in usages like *folia ab arboribus*, *oleam*, *bacam stringere*; with this is connected No. 576 with the Ch.-Sl. *strug-a-ti* or *strüg-a-ti* radere: *striga* stroke, swathe (Fest. 314) is also akin, and *terg-o* for *sterg-o* is connected Leo Meyer I 190, Corssen Beitr. 437. — The forms compared by Lobeck, *στραγγός*, *στρογγύλος* curved, might possibly come from the first main meaning in the sense of forced,

wrested. Pictet II 171 is perhaps right in his conjecture that *σαργάνη* plait, wickerwork with *σαργάναι πλοκαί, συνδέσεις τεταγανωμέναι ἐμπλεκόμεναι* (Hesych.) came from this rt. in the form *starg*. Cp. *τόρβη* and *σύρβη* No. 250. It is worth noticing for this the Ir. *sreangaim* stringo, *sreang* cord. But I cannot admit any connexion with *σρέφω*. — Kuhn Ztschr. IV 25 f. groups some of the words here compared along with the Skt. rt. *sarj*, for which he establishes the 385 meaning stretch. — Cp. Joh. Schmidt Voc. I 54.

578) Rt. cu *κασ-σύ-ω* (*κατ-τύ-ω*) patch, cobble, fix the warp, *κός-σῦ-μα* (*κάτ-τυ-μα*) leather, cobbler's work, *καττύ-ς* piece of leather.

Skt. rt. *siv* *siv-jā-mi* suo, *sjū-ta-s* sutus, *sjū-ti-s* sutura.

Lat. *su-o*, *sū-tu-s*, *sū-tor*, *sū-tūra*, *sū-tēla* device, *sū-bula* awl.

Goth. *siu-ja* ἐπιφάπτω, O.-H.-G. *sind* (m.) sutura, *sou-m* seam, *sui-la* subula.

Ch.-Sl. *šij-a* (inf. *ši-ti*) φάπτω, *ši-lo* subula, Lith. *siuv-ù* (inf. *siu-ti*) sew, *siu-ta-s* sewn, embroidered.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1346, Benf. I 290, Diefenb. II 217. — We may take *siu* as the Indo-Germanic, *su* as the Graeco-Italic root. Grassmann Ztschr. XI 5 regards this *siu* or *siv*, perhaps correctly, as an expansion of rt. *sī* bind (No. 602). We might be disposed to derive the first part of *κασ-σύ-ω* from the form *κός-δέγμα* (Hesych.) discussed by Lobeck Paralip. 80, 177, did not the Greek law of composition recommend us rather to conjecture the apocope of *κατά*, a process which is not surprising in a word of such daily use. There are similar mutilations of *κατά* in *κάτθες* (Eur. Cycl. 544), *κανάξαις* (Hes. 'E. 666), in the Hom. *κάββαλε* with the v. l. *κάμβαλε*, *κάσχεθε* = *κατέσχε*, a similar forgetfulness of the composition in *ἐκάθενδον*. This answers the objections of Walter Quaest. Etymol. p. 7. — 'suere the very ancient word for working in leather' Hehn 11.

579) *σῦ-ς*, *ῥ-ς* pig. — Zd. *hu* (m.) pig. — Lat. *sū-s*. — O.-H.-G. *sū* sow, Goth. *sv-ein* χοῖρος. — Ch.-Sl. *sv-inija* ῥς.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1327, Miklosich Lex. — The Gothic word is a parallel to *su-inu-s*, and may be compared in another way with the stem of the feminine *σῦαινα* (= *σῦ-αν-ια*), *ῥαινα* (Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 384): the Slavonic word has taken a second suffix. For the rt. we may appeal to the saying 'sue nihil genuit natura fecundius'

(Cic. de Nat. Deor. II 64), and conjecture the rt. *su* generare (No. 605); this seems to me, with Benfey I 411 and Justi Handbuch des Zend 326, more probable than that, as Bopp and Pictet I 370 think, *sû* is to be taken as a natural sound, and Skt. *sû-kara-s* (rt. *kar* make No. 72) to be explained as 'the Su-maker': *sû-kara-s* is rather a derivative from the st. *sû* by means of the double suffix *-ka-ra* = Gr. *κα-λο*, Lat. *cu-lo* (Studien I, 1, 260). Cp. *σι-κα* ὡς *Λάκωνες*, *σύ-βρο-ς* (cod. *σύμβρο-ς*) *κάπρος* Hes. — To *ῥ-ς* we may probably refer with Plutarch *ῥ-νι-ς ῥννη* ploughshare, which Jac. Grimm. Gesch. 57 discusses further.

- 580) *σφήξ* (st. *σφήκ*) wasp. — Lat. *vespa*. — O.-H.-G. *wefsa*. — Lith. *vapsà* gadfly, Lett. *apsa*, Ch.-Sl. *osa*, *vosa* wasp.

Pott II¹ 112, Förstemann Ztschr. III 50, Kuhn III 66. Grimm Gr. III 366 holds the Teutonic word to be borrowed from the Latin. — The connexion of these words is as probable, as their explanation 386 is difficult. Perhaps the full stem-form was *vaspa*, to which the Lat. *vespa* comes nearest; this form would appear in Gr. as *Ἰεσπα*, and with an individualizing * (cp. *ἰέφα-ξ*, *μύρμη-ξ* by the side of *μύρμη-ς* No. 482) would give *Ἰεσπᾶν*, from which with the loss of the first syllable (cp. *τράπεζα* for *τετράπεζα*) we might get *σπᾶν* Ion. *σπην*, and, with the aspiration not uncommon with *σ*, *σφήκ* (*σφάλω* rt. *spal* No. 558, *ἀσφάραγος* by *ἀσπάραγος*). In the northern languages we must assume metathesis. The rt. is unknown. — Grassmann Ztschr. XII 97 compares Skt. *Āhēka-s* bee with *σφήξ*. But the *ē* presents a difficulty, and the origin of *Āhēka-s*, which has many other meanings, is quite obscure.

Ξ

A Greek *ξ* corresponds to an Indo-Germanic *ks*, for which *ksh* is to be expected in Sanskrit, *hs* (*chs*) in the Teutonic languages, *ss* or *s* in Old Irish.

- 581) *ἀλέξ-ω* keep off, help, *ἀλέξ-η-τήρ* helper. — Skt. *raksh-ā-mi* guard, keep, deliver, *raksh-aka-s* deliverer, *raksh-ana-m* defence.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II 2, 455. — An expansion of the rt. *ark*, *alk* treated under No. 7, by the addition of an *s*, so that *ἀλέξ* and Skt. *raksh* both go back to *arks*. Cp. above p. 67.

- 582) ἄξων (st. ἄξον) axle. — Skt. *aksha-s* axle, wheel, cart. — Lat. *axi-s*. — O.-H.-G. *ahsa*. — Ch.-Sl. *osť*, Lith. *asvi-s* axle.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. III 375, Benf. I 67, Pet. D., where the meaning axle is established for the Skt. word. — ἄμ-αξα, older ἄμ-αξα (like the Hom. ἄμυδις), points to the noun-stem retained in Skt. and German; ἄμ- is however certainly for ἄμα (No. 449). We may with Pott II² 590 consider δξ as an expanded δγ (No. 117).

- 583) αὔξ-ω (Hom. ἀέξ-ω), αὔξ-άυ-ω increase, multiply, αὔξ-η, αὔξ-η-σι-ς, αὔξ-η-μα growth. — Skt. *vaksh-ā-mi* cresco, *vaksh-ajā-mi* augeo. — Goth. *vahs-jā* wax, *vahs-tu-s* αὔξησις. — Lith. *auksa-ta-s* (or *auksa-ta-s*) high. — O.-Ir. *ós*, *uas* super, in *ochtur* in superiore parte, *uasal* superus, nobilis, Cymr. *uch* supra, *uchel* altus, cp. *Uxellodunum* Caes. (Z.² 634, 657, 768, 125, 818).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 462, Benf. I 93. — Cp. No. 159, where the shorter roots *vag*, *ug* and their expansion to *aug* were discussed. By the addition of an *s* (cp. p. 67) *vag* became *vaks* (Skt. *vaksh*) Gr. *ῥεξ*, with a prothetic ᾠ ᾠῥεξ, with a 'thinning' from *ῥε* to *υ* αὔξ. Cp. p. 565.

- 583b) ἐξ (Boeot. Arcad. ἕξ), ἐκ (Locr. ἕ). — Lat. *ex*, 387 *ec*, *ē*. — Ch.-Sl. *izŭ*, Lith. *isz* out. — O.-Ir. *ass*, *ess* *ex*, *echtar* extra, *imm-echtar* extremitas (Z.² 632, 781).

For the dialectic forms of ἐκ see Keil Jahn's Jahrb. Supplmtb. IV p. 543. — It is as easy to see that these prepositions go together, as is it hard to trace the connexion completely. The clearest point is the connexion of the longer form ἕξ with Lat. *ex*, Ir. *ass*. These languages are also alike in their possession of an *ek* as well, which appears in the Lat. *ec-fero*, *ec-fātu-s*, *ec se prodūto* (Cic. de Legg. III 9, Vahlen Ztschr. f. d. österr. Gymn. 1860 p. 17), and in the Ir. *ech-tar*. From *ek* we may explain also Osc. *eh-trad* extra, the *h* here replacing the tenuis as in *sacutum* (Corssen Ztschr. XI 327). The mutilation of *ec* to *ē* was discussed on p. 80. A parallel to *ē* is supplied by the Umbr. *ehe*, *eh*, inasmuch as Umbr. *h* is often a mere sign of the length of the vowel (Aufr. u. Kirchh. I 77). — The analogies col-

lected on p. 39, of which $\alpha\psi$, *abs* by the side of $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$, *ab* is the clearest, leave hardly the possibility of a doubt that *ek* is the older form, *ex* one formed by the addition of a case-suffix. Hence everything would be as it should, did not the Ch.-Sl. form point to a media instead of a tenuis, while the Lith. (Schleicher Lith. Gr. 279) presents no objection to this, as elsewhere a final *z* changes into the hard *sz*. Therefore, either in the Graeco-Italian language an original *g* must have been hardened under the influence of initial letters in its neighbourhood ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omega$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\iota\nu\omega$), or in Slavonic an original *k* must have been softened. In the former case, which is to me the more probable, *ag*, *eg* would be the primitive form, for which we might conjecture kinship with rt. *ag* (No. 117). — If Goth. *us* (Germ. *er*-) is akin to the fuller *ex*, as Diefenbach Wtb. I 116 conjectures, it has lost the guttural before *s*, like *lis-an* compared with $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ (No. 538). — But the attempts to point to anything corresponding in Sanskrit are unsuccessful. The form *avis* open, manifest, compared by Bopp Vgl. Gr. III 492, does not approximate in sound or meaning. The comparison with *vahis*, out, outwards, which Pott I² 612 tries to establish, is likewise impossible, as Corssen I² 156 and Ascoli Ztschr. XVII 268 now admit. — $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is in any case a kind of superlative of $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, like *extrémus*, but it can hardly be determined whether it comes directly from $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\text{-}\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, or possibly by means of a derivative suffix.

584) $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ six, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\text{-}\tau\omicron\varsigma$. — Skt. *shash* sex, *shash-ṛha-s* sextus. Zd. *khshvas* six. — Lat. *sex*, *sex-tu-s*. — Goth. *saihs*, *saihs-ta(n)*. — Ch.-Sl. *šes-ty*, Lith. *šeszi* sex, Ch.-Sl. *šes-tyj*, Lith. *šeszi-ta-s* sextus. — O.-Ir. *sé* sex, *sessed* sextus; Cymr. *chwech* sex, *chuechet* sextus (Z.² 303 ff.).

Bopp Vergl. Gr. II 73, Leo Meyer Ztschr. IX 432, Stier X 238. — In addition to the traces of a *v* which the Zend form shows, and which are confirmed also by Armenian and Keltic forms, we have now the most certain evidence of a Greek $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\xi$. On the Heraklean tables we find $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\iota$, $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Ahrens d. Dor. 43), on an old Laconian inscription (C. I. No. 1511) according to Kirchhoff's reading 388 'Studien z. Gesch. d. gr. Alphab.'² p. 95 $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon$ — — i. e. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$. Similarly on a Delphic inscription according to Wescher *Annali dell' Inst.* 1866 (vol. 38) p. 1. In Homer, as is shown not only by Leo Meyer but also by Rumpf Jahn's Jahrb. 81 p. 681, $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ is indicated by passages like E 270 $\tau\alpha\nu\ \phi\omicron\iota\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$, though others are opposed to an initial consonant. Hence we must unconditionally assume *svez* as the primitive Graeco-Italic form: from this the Lat.

sex developed as *se* from *sve*, Gr. *ῥέξ* like *ῥε* from *σῥε*. The origin of the numeral, and the guttural appearing in Zend before the sibilant, are not yet cleared up.

F

A Greek *ῥ* is either proved to exist or is to be inferred in the following words, as the representative of an original *v*, retained in the Keltic languages only when initial (Ir. as *f*, Brit. as *gu*), in the other families preserved universally.

585) *αἰές*, *αἰέν* (*αἰί*) always, *ἄτ-διο-ς* everlasting, *αἰ-ών* lifetime, time, *ἐπ-ηε-τανό-ς* lasting for all time. Skt. *éva-s*, course, conduct, in the plur. custom, manners.

Lat. *aeu-m*, *ae(vi)-tā(t)-s*, *ae(vi)-ternu-s*.

Goth. *aiv-s* time, *αἰών*, *aiv* (adv.) unquam, *aiv-eins* *αἰώνιος*, O.-H.-G. *ēwa*, law, contract, marriage.

O.-Ir. *áis* *áes* *óis* gen. *áisa* *áisso* tempus, aetas (Z.² 30, 238, 787), Cymr. *ois*, Corn. *huis*; Cymr. *oet*, Corn. *oys* (Z.² 101, 292).

All the forms of this adverb, — which are numerous — are quoted by Ahrens d. Dor. 378 f. At the head stands *αἰῥεῖ* C. I. No. 1: the derivative *ἄτ-διο-ς* (cp. *μαψί-διο-ς*, *μινυθᾶ-διο-ς*) comes nearest to the Lesb. *ἄτ*. *ἐπ-ηε-τανό-ς* was discussed by me in Ztschr. I 34. The preposterousness of the derivation from *ἔτος* comes out clearly from such phrases as *πλυνὸς ἐπηετανὸς* (§ 86), *κομιδὴ ἐπηετανός* (§ 233). Döderlein Gloss. 1040 agrees with this. The Alexandrine grammarians are far removed from this absurdity, which only arose from the apparent similarity of *ἐπετήσιος*, used in quite a different way η 118: for they explain the word by *συνεχής*. The η reminds us of the Boeot. *ῥίτ* = *αἰέ*. *ἐπ-ηε-τανό-ς* is a formation like *ἐφ-ημέρ-ιο-ς*, from the stem *αἰῥε* or perhaps *αἰῥο* (= Lat. *aevo*), curtailed into *ηε*, with the suffix *-tana*, which is employed in the same way in the Skt. *mā-tana-s* present, and in the Lat. *cras-tinu-s*, *diu-tinu-s*. — From the stem *αἰῥ* comes *αἰῥ-ών*, though we must admit that there is no authority for the digamma here, with an ampliative suffix like *ἀγν-ών* from rt. *ἀγκ* (*ἄγκος*), *χειμ-ών* from *χεῖμα*. The Skt. and Lat.

words have come from this *aiv* with the addition of a short *a*: the Teutonic words belong to the same formation. A shorter stem 389 underlies the acc. *αἰῶ* (Bekk. Anecd. 363, Aesch. Choeph. 346 [350 Dind.] according to G. Hermann). — The greatest difficulties are caused by the relation of the Skt. *êva-s* (i. e. *aiva-s*), the meaning of which is thoroughly discussed by Kuhn Ztschr. II 232, to *âju-s*, which means as an adjective living, as a masculine substantive, when oxytone, man, when barytone, like Zd. *âyu*, time of life, and to *âjus* (n.) life, long life. Boethl. and Roth in the Pet. Dict. separate these two words entirely from *êva-s*, conjecturing for the former a derivation from rt. *an* (?), for the latter a derivation from rt. *i go*. Could not *âjus* be for *âivas* and so belong here after all? — Ebel Beitr. II 159 compared Ir. *âis* with Skt. *âjus*, in Z.² 238 it is placed among the u-stems. Stokes Ir. Gl. p. 735 assumes *âivs-i-s* (sic) as the primitive form. In any case *âis* is immediately for *aissu* i. e. *aistu* or for *aissi* i. e. *aisti* (the gen. *âisa aisso* may belong equally well to the u-stem and to the i-stem): from this it would be easy to infer an earlier *aïus-* or *aivas-tu* (or *-ti*): cp. similar accumulation of suffixes in Lat. *augus-tu-s*, *sceles-tu-s*. Ebel Beitr. II 158 rightly separates Cymr. *oet* and Z.² 101 also Corn. *oys* (if it is for *oyt*) from Ir. *âis*, Cymr. *ois*, Corn. *huis*: *oet* seems like Lat. *actas* only to contain a t-suffix.

586) Rt. *âf â-t-ω* hear, perceive, *ἐπ-α-t-ω* understand, *â-t-τα-s* (Dor.) favourite. — Skt. rt. *av av-â-mi* notice, favour, *av-as* satisfaction, favour, *avi-s* devoted. Zd. *av* turn to any one, protect. — Lat. *au-di-o*.

The wider meaning of *â-t-ω* comes out especially in *πληγῆς ἀφ' αὐτῶν* (ἔκποι) A 532, whilst elsewhere this verb, which only occurs in the present stem (cp. Hesych. *ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἀκούσαστε*), as a rule denotes perception by the ear. Now as Skt. *av* according to the Pet. Dict. denotes both as a simple verb and also in composition with the prepositions *ut* and *pra* 'to notice', I venture the comparison here given. Pott's objections W. I 440, 647 do not shake me in it. The *α* is prevalently short in Homer: the length is explained by the loss of the *f*, as in *τοξῆ-ες* for *τοξέf-ες*. As in *ἰδ-ί-ω* the *i* passes from the present stem into the formation of other words. — B. and R. compare with this same root Lat. *av-e-o*, the use of which connects itself with the meanings to like, to favour, especially in the imperative of salutation *ave*, while *av-idu-s*, *au-d-ax*, *av-âru-s* are further removed, and perhaps belong altogether to No. 587 (cp. rt. *dv* No. 419). But with *avere* even Varro L. L. VI 83 connects *auris*, quoting the verse of

Ennius (Trag. 70 Vahlen): *Iam dudum ab ludis animus atque aures avent, Avide expectantes nuntium.* Hence we get the notion of noticing, regarding, which occurs in Gr. *ἀῖω*. So it seems to me that we are justified in comparing it both with *au-di-o* and with the *aur-i-s*, *οὐ-s*, which will have to be discussed under No. 619. As *au-dio* shows a stem expanded by the addition of *d*, so the post-Homeric *αἰσθ* in *αἰσθ-ι-σθαι*, *αἰσθ-άν-ε-σθαι* has arisen in the same way from *ἄF* by the addition of *σθ*, like *ἄτ-σθ-ω* breathe, from the rt. *ἄF* breathe. Further, we ought probably to refer the Hom. *ἐπ-η-τή-s* with *ἐπ-η-τύ-s* to this rt. After Lobeck El. I 484 had shown that neither the form nor the meaning of these words suited the traditional derivation from *ἔπος* (rt. *Feπ* No. 620), Döderlein Gl. 1016 recognized and Düntzer Ztschr. XIII 4 repeated the derivation from *ἄF-ί-ω*: this very well 390 agrees with the Homeric use of *ἐπ-η-τής*, which the ancients explain by *λόγιος συνετός* (ν 332 οὐνεκ' ἐπητής ἐσσι καὶ ἀγγίνοος καὶ ἐχέφρων), and of *ἐπ-η-τύ-s*, which φ 306 (οὐ γὰρ τευ ἐπητύος ἀντιβολήσεις) means friendly regard. Düntzer adds also, perhaps correctly, *ἐν-η-τή-s* kindly; which would thus be for *ἐν-ηF-ή-s*. — To the meaning of affectionate, tender treatment, probably Lat. *av-u-s*, Goth. *av-ō* grandmother, and Lith. *av-ýna-s* avunculus attach themselves, corresponding to *ἄ-τ-τα-s*. Cp. *θεῖος* under No. 310. So Ascoli Ztschr. XII 157. — Finally B. and R. compare further the Gr. *ἄ-ω* (*ἄ-μεναι*), with the usage of which Skt. *av* agrees in the meaning to pamper one's self, to satisfy one's self. I should agree with them, did not the Lat. *sa-tur*, *sa-ti-s* recommend another course. Cp. Pott II² 853, W. I 440.

587) Rt. *ἄF* *ἄ-ω* breathe, *ἄ-ος* πνεῦμα Hesych., *ἄη-μι* blow, *ἄή-τη-s* wind, *ἄ-ελλα* blast, *αὐ-ρα* breath, *ἄ-ήρ* (st. *ἄFερ*) air, mist, *ἄ-τ-σθ-ω* breathe out, *ἄά-ξ-ω* breathe, *ἄσθ-μα* heavy breathing.

Skt. rt. *vā* (*vā-mi*) blow, *vā-ta-s*, *vā-ju-s* wind. —

Zd. *vā* blow.

Lat. *ven-tu-s*.

Goth. *vaia* πνέω, *vind-s* ἄνεμος.

Ch.-Sl. *vě-j-ati* flare, Lith. *vě-ja-s* wind, *ó-ra-s* air, storm.

O.-Ir. *hi feth* in auram (Goid. p. 46), *tin-feth* aspiratio (for *do-in-feth*), *tin-fet* inflat, *do-n* (rel. pron.) *-infedam* inspiramus; Cymr. and Corn. *avel*, Arem. *auel* aura, *ventus* (Z.² 884, 432, 817).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 298, Benf. I 262, Hugo Weber Ztschr. X 241. — For *ἄω* Lobeck Rhemat. 4; many different deductions are

supplied by Döderlein Gl. 1 ff. We must start from a primitive form *av*, which changes into *va* as *auks* into *raks* (No. 588). The *áfē* preserved in *ἄημι* is parallel to the doubly vocalic form *áfēξ* there discussed. For *ἄηρ* and *ἄλλα* the Aeol. *αῦηρ* (Ahrens d. Aeol. 38) and *αῦ-ελλα*, Dor. *ἄβήρ* (Ahr. d. Dor. 49), Mod. Gr. *ἄβέρας* i. e. *ἄφέρας* (E. Curtius Gött. Nachr. 1857 p. 301) are important. By the word *ἄβήρ* the Laconians denoted an *οἰκημα στοᾶς ἔχον* (Hesych.) from which it is probable that *αῦ-λή* court is also an offshoot from this rt. With still more certainty we may refer here *οὔ-ρο-ς*, a masculine form, as it were, of *αῦ-ρα*, especially as *οὔριον ῥόν* means a wind-egg, and Lith. *óra-s* comes so near. Otherwise Pott I¹ 123. The Lat. *ventus*, like Goth. *vind-s*, is perhaps to be taken as an expanded participial form. I do not attempt to decide whether *aura* is an inheritance from the Graeco-Italic time, or is borrowed from the Greek. The wind-instrument *αὔ-λό-ς* may be placed here with as little hesitation. The Skt. *vāṇa-s* has just the same meaning, and the word *dham-ani-s*, derived from rt. *dham* blow, means reed, pipe. — From the primary notion of breathing that of calling is developed. Hence *αὔειν* call, *αὔ-σα-ς*, *αὔ-τή* cry, *αὔτε-ω*, *ἰ-ω-ή* for *ἰ-ω-ῖ-η* voice, sound, with a syllable of reduplication not unknown even before the spir. lenis, as we see from *ἰ-ονθ-ο-ς*, *ἰ-άλλω*; *αὔ-εω-ς* = *αὔ-ἄ-ῖ-ο-ς*, *αὔ-αυ-ο-ς* dumb. For *αὔδῃ* cp. No. 298. — Further Lobeck regards 391 *ἄω ἄέσω ἄεσα* as identical with *ἄω ἄήσω*, and establishes the transition from breath to the notion of sleep in a note, to which Schol. on γ 151 and Aesch. Choeph. 618 *πνέοντα ὕπνω* may be added. In a similar sense I have endeavoured Ztschr. I 29 to establish *ἰ-αύ-ω* sleep as a reduplicated present to the aor. *ἄ-ε-σα* (Grammar § 327, 17), a view in which I am not shaken either by the aor. *ἰαῦσαι* in the Nekyia v. 261, or by Pott's vacillating language W. I 1254. Otherwise Bugge Ztschr. XX 33. — More extensive combinations, such as Sonne Ztschr. XIII 428 ventures upon, do not seem to me convincing.

588) *αὔτ-μήν* (ε), *αὔτ-μή* breath, vapour, *ἄτ-μός*-ς vapour, smoke. — Skt. *āt-man* breath, soul, self. — O.-H.-G. *āt-um*, O.-S. *āth-om*, A.-S. *aed-m*.

Pott I¹ 196, Benf. I 265, Grimm Wtb. I 591, where the unchanged *t* of the O.-H.-G. form is also discussed. — Boehtl. and Roth wish to derive *áíman* from rt. *an* (No. 419), but this receives no corroboration from the present grouping. Greek by-forms are supplied by *ἄετ-μα φλόξ*, *ἄετ-μός-ν πνεῦμα* (Hesych.) for *ἄφετ-μα*, *ἄφετ-μον*. For the juxtaposition of the vowels in *αὔτ-μήν* (cp. *αὔτῃ* above) see Sonne Ztschr. XII 277. — We saw on p. 65 that the word was probably derived from No. 587 and expanded by a *t*.

- 589) *ἔαρ, ἦρ*, spring, *ἔαρ-ινό-ς εἰαρ-ινό-ς* vernus. — Skt. *vas-anta-s*, Zd. *vanh-ra* spring. — Lat. *vēr, ver-nu-s*. — O.-N. *vár* spring. — Lith. *vas-arà* (fem.) summer, *vas-ar-imi-s* summer (adj.) — Ch.-Sl. *ves-na* *ἔαρ*.

Pott I¹ 124, Benf. I 309, Schleich. Ksl. 137, Aufrecht Ztschr. I 350. — For *ῥ* the gloss of Hesych. is of importance, *γίαρης ἔαρ*, which Ahrens d. Aeol. 171 rightly regards as Boeotian and writes *γίαρης*: we have also *γεάρ ἔαρ, βηράνθεμον νάρκισσος, οἱ δὲ βηράνθεμον λέγουσι* (Hesych.). The *ῥ* thus established, which was afterwards contracted into *ἦρ*, is evidently for *ῥεσ-αρ*, Lat. *vēr* for *veser* or *verer*. In opposition to Kuhn's endeavours (Ztschr. I 376) to prove that the Skt. *vas-anta-s*, which, according to Max Müller History of Sanskrit Literature p. 571, is not even a very old word, is identical even in suffix (cp. above p. 75), with Sonne Ztschr. XII 294 I regard this and Ch.-Sl. *ves-na* as other formations from the same root. The *r*-suffix, which is found in Greek, Persian, Latin, Old-Norse and Lithuanian must be regarded as very ancient. Similarly Pictet I 98. — On the two attempts to determine a root cp. above p. 44.

- 590) *ῥο-ν (ῥίο-ν)* violet. — Lat. *vio-la*.

Pott I¹ 120. — Benf. I 314 compares Skt. *visha-pushpa* blue lotus, and connects it with *visha-s* poison. This is hardly credible, because of the meaning. Besides in that case we should have expected in Lat. *vir-ola*. The *ῥ* occurs in Hesych. *γλα ἄνθη*, and also in the compound *λευκό-ῥο-ν* and in the hiatus *δῶρα λοστεφάνων* (Theogn. v. 250). Probably we may add the proper name *ῥόλη* = *viola* with *ῥ* on a vase (Wachsmuth Rh. Mus. XVIII 581). — Hehn 175.

- 591) *ῥό-ς* poison. — Skt. *vish-a-m*, Zd. *visha* venenum, Skt. *vish-á-s* poisonous. — Lat. *vírus*. — Ir. *fí*.

Bopp Gl., Benf. I 314, Stokes Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 79. The *ῥ* 392 cannot be further proved, but both form and meaning point clearly enough to a primitive form *visa-s*. The difference of quantity is noteworthy; the *í* is long in Latin and Greek, short in Skt. In the Pet. Dict. the Skt. words are traced back to rt. *vish* work, execute. — From *ῥό-ς* Lobeck Rhem. 157 derives *ῥάομαι, ῥάτω* 'nam et φάμακον dicitur in utramque partem'. Otherwise Kuhn Ztschr. V 50, Pictet Orig. I 64, who compare Skt. *ju ju-jô-mi*, which in the Vedas means ward off, and is used also of sicknesses. It is against this view that in Homer *ῥάσθαι* means tend, and is used either with the acc. of the person (*ῥάτ' Εὐρύπυλον Μ 2*) or of the part affected (*ὀφθαλμόν ι 525*). — Pott W. I 286, II, 2, 484.

- 592) *l̥-s* pl. *lv-es* sinew, strength, *lv-lo-v* nape of the neck, *lv̥i-s*, *lv̥i* with strength, *lv̥i-o-s* powerful.
— Lat. *vi-s* pl. *vir-es* for *vis-es*.

The many difficulties which stand in the way of this comparison, which seems so free from objections, are discussed by Pott W. I 559 without result. But as traces of the *F* are to be found in Homer (Hoffmann Quaest. Hom. II 29), as Hesych. gives the gloss *γίς ἰμάς καὶ γῆ (?) καὶ λχῦς*, and as there is evidence of the initial labial for *λχῦς* — which cannot be separated from *l̥s* — in the Lacon. *βίλχυν* by the side of *γίλχυν* (Hesych.), we must assume, as it seems, a Graeco-Italic stem *vi*, which originating immediately in the rt. *vi* plait (No. 593) meant in the first place band, cord, then like *nervu-s* (No. 434) sinew, and finally strength. This stem was expanded in Greek in some forms by *v*, in Latin by *s*, afterwards becoming *r* (Kuhn Ztschr. II 133, cp. IV 211 f.). For *lv̥i* and the kindred forms see I. Bekker Hom. Bl. 160. Cp. Kuhn Ztschr. X 290, Benf. I 294. — Or could we venture to assume a connexion with Skt. *vaj-as* (n) strength and rt. *vish* execute?

- 593) *l̥-rv-s* (*l̥*) shield-rim, fellow of a wheel, *l̥-r̥éa* (*l̥*) willow. — Skt. *vajā* twig, *vi-ti-kā* band, sling, ball, *vê-tasa-s* a kind of reed, *vê-tra-s* reed. Zd. *vaēti* (fem.) willow-twist (?). — Lat. *vi-ter*, *vitta*, *vi-men*, *vi-ti-s*. — O.-H.-G. *wi-d* cord, *wi-da* willow, A.-S. *widde* rope, [*withy*]. — Lith. *vy-ti-s* willow-switch, cask-hoop (Lex.), Lett. *vitols* willow, Ch.-Sl. *vi-ti' σχοινωτόν*.

Pott W. I 616, Benf. I 288, Kuhn Ztschr. II 133, Pictet I 223, Corssen I* 540. — The *F* of *l̥-rv-s* is established by the Aeol. *βί-rv-s* (Ahr. 32), by Δ 486 ὄφρα *l̥rvn* κάμψῃ, the *F* of *l̥-r̥éa* by α 510 (μα-καί τ' αἰγίστοι καὶ *l̥réai*) and other passages in Homer (Hoffmann II 33) and by *γρέα* in Hesych. According to Suidas *l̥rv-s* also occurs in the sense of *l̥réa*, so that even Lobeck Paralip. 337 compares the two words with each other and with the Lat. *vico vimen*. Further we may add with Pott *ol̥o-s* yellow willow, *ol̥ó-α* a kind of willow. On *o* for *F* see p. 561. The by-form *εὔσινονος* Inscr. of Andania (edited by Sauppe Gött. 1860) l. 22 is remarkable. — The rt. of all these words plainly occurs in the Skt. *vjá vja-já-mi* tege, *vá va-já-mi* texo, *vico*, in the Lat. *vie-o*, in the Ch.-Sl. *vi-ti*, Lith. *vy-ti* twist (a cord) (Schleich. Kal. 134, Miklos. Lex. 65), expanded in Goth. *vi-d-an* bind up, *vin-d-an* wind. Cp. No. 594.

- 594) *ol-vo-s* wine, *ol-vη* vine, *olvá(δ)s* vine, grape, wine, 393
olv-ago-v, *olvo-v* (Hesych.) vine-leaf, vine-tendril,
olv-ávθη vine-shoots, -blossom, grape. — Lat.
vi-nu-m.

The *F* is retained in Alcaeus (Ahr. d. Aeol. 32) and in Doric dialects (Ahr. d. Dor. 48, 55), and is clearly to be recognized in Homer (Hoffmann II 32). — Pott I¹ 120, II¹ 246 (cp. W. I 619) and Benf. I 288 took *vi* (No. 593) to be the rt. Kuhn Ztschr. I 191 denies this, allowing this derivation indeed for *vi-ti-s*, but neither for *olvo-s* nor for *vinu-m*, which he prefers to compare with Skt. *vēna-s* dear, laying stress upon the fact that *vēna-s* is occasionally an epithet of the Soma-drink, so highly celebrated in the Vedas, and in fact deified. So Pictet I 254. But Pott Personennamen 584 has rightly returned to the old explanation. It is impossible to separate *vi-nu-m* from *vi-ti-s*, and the words immediately related to *olvo-s*, which are collected above, prove that the Greek words were by no means exclusively used of the drink, but just as much of the vine. Pott very appropriately compares the Lith. *ap-vy-ný-s* hop-tendril, plur. *ap-vy-ne-i* hops. The Skt. *vēni-s* braid of hair also belongs here. We cannot see why the fruit of the twining plant should not itself have been called originally twiner. The Lith. word offers the most striking analogy. The fact is therefore that the Indo-Germans had indeed a common rt. for the idea of winding, twining, and hence derived the names of various pliant twining plants, but that it is only among the Graeco-Italians that we find a common name for the grape and its juice. The northern names (Goth. *vein*, neuter, as against the German masc. &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded with Jac. Grimm Gramm. III 466 as borrowed: so also the Keltic (Ebel Beitr. II 154): O.-Ir. *fin* vinum (Z.² 53, Cymr. *guin* Z.² 127), *finemain* vitis, *caer finemnach* uva (Z.² 265). — Friedr. Müller actually wishes to derive the Graeco-Ital. word from the Ethiopic *wain*; it is the reverse with Pictet II 317. Hehn 25, 414 pronounces very decidedly in favour of the origin of the vine and its name from the Semitic.

- 595) *ō-t-s*, *ol-s* sheep, *ol-εo-s* of a sheep, *ol-α*, *ō-α* sheep-skin. — Skt. *av-i-s*, *avi-ka-s* sheep, *avi-kā* ewe, *avj-a-s*, *avj-aja-s* *olεos*. — Lat. Umbr. *ovi-s*, Lat. *ovi-li-s*, *ovi-llu-s*. — Goth. *avi-str* sheep-cote, *av-ēthi* flock of sheep, O.-H.-G. *auw-i* ovicula, [*ewe*]. — Lith. *avi-s* sheep, *ávi-na-s* wether, Ch.-Sl. *ovŭ-ca* ovis. — Ir. *oi* ovis (Corm. Gl. p. 33).

Bopp Gl., Grimm Gesch. 34, Pott W. I 654. — Müllenhoff Gl.

to Quickborn under *E-lamm* discusses this Low-German word, for which in Westphalia we have *au-lamm*, a word still in use with the meaning 'she-lamb' [Eng. *ewe* A.-S. *eown*]. The retention of the *a* in the Lat. *avillas*, *ovis recentes partus* (Paul. Epit. 14) is noteworthy. — The Skt. *avi-s* as an adjective means devoted, attached, and is probably derived from the rt. *av* discussed under No. 586. According to this the sheep was called pet, favourite, from its gentleness, as I conjectured Ztschr. I 34. So Pictet Orig. I 357. Schleicher Comp.² 371 conjectures that it is derived from rt. *av* 394 clothe, which we shall have to discuss on p. 621. — Perhaps *Oἰτη* is connected with the meaning sheep, 'Sheep-Mountain': in that case the name would approximate to the Goth. *av-ēthi*.

596) *ol-avó-s* large bird. — Skt. *vi-s* (m.) bird, *vajas* (n.) poultry, birds (collective), Zd. *vi* (m.) bird. — Lat. *avi-s*.

Benf. I 21. — We must assume the stem *avi* as Indo-Germanic, from this came Gr. *ὄφι*, *ὄζ*, with an ampliative suffix (cp. *vi-avó-s*) *ὄζ-avó-s* (Alkman Fr. 60, l. 6 Bergk³) *ol-avó-s*: in Skt. the initial vowel was lost (cp. *pi* = *api*). The rt. is probably *vá*, *av* blow (No. 587), which in other forms also has a varying initial letter. — Benfey regards *αἰ-ε-τό-s* as related, comparing it immediately with Skt. *vi-ja-ti-s* bird; and also *ῥ-α* sorbus (by-forms *ῥη*, *οῖη*, *οῦα*). The fruit of the tree, the sorb-apples [Germ. *Vogelbeeren*, bird-berries] are also called *οῦα* (n.) or *ῥα*.

597) *φó-ν* (*ῥίο-ν*) egg. — Lat. *ovu-m*. — O.-H.-G. *ei* (plur. *eig-ir*). — O.-Ir. *og ovum* (Z.² 1014), Cymr. *uy* pl. *uyen* ova (Z.² 285).

Pott I¹ 122, Benf. I 22. — From the form recorded by Hesych. *ῥβρεα τὰ φά Ἀργεῖου*, and from the trisyllabic *ῥίο-ν* used by Sappho [Fr. 112 Bergk] we may (in spite of Lobeck El. I 442) argue with certainty to an older Graeco-Italic *ovjo-m*, of which the Roman suppressed the *j*, the Greek the *f*. But both of these with the ancient *a* have been remarkably preserved in the modern Greek form *ávγó* i. e. *avgó*, as I have shown Ztschr. VI 231. In the O.-H.-G. *g* too a trace of the *v* is still remaining, though it has changed its place. Leskien calls my attention to Ch.-Sl. *aje*, *jaje* ovum (Miklos. Lex. 1148): the first *j* of the second form is that which so frequently occurs, which strictly speaking has originated in the spir. lenis: *jaje* is therefore a parallel to *φó-ν*. — Hence Benfey's acute conjecture is extremely probable, that the primitive form *avja-m*, which we must assume, is a neuter adjective from the stem *avi* bird, which

under No. 596 we saw to be Indo-Germanic, with the meaning *ὄρνιθιον*. — Stokes Corm. Gl. Transl. p. 128 holds the Keltic words to be merely akin to the Teutonic.

Spiritus asper.

A Greek spiritus asper is in the following words the representative of an Indo-Germanic initial *s* followed by a vowel, which *s* is retained in the other languages, with the exception of the Persian and the British family.

- 598) Prefix *ᾱ*-, *ᾰ*-, *ὀ*- with. — Skt. *sa-sam* with. — Ch.-Sl. *sa*-, *su*-, *sū*-, O.-Pr. *sen*, Lith. *sa*-, *sa*-, *su*- with.

Bopp Gl., Pott I¹ 129, Schleicher Ksl. 136, Lit. Gr. p. 280. — The aspirated form has been preserved only in *ᾱ-θρόο-ς* (Herodian on *M* 391) and *ᾱ-πα*-, but the so-called *ᾰ* copulative is found very commonly with the spir. lenis, e. g. in *ᾰ-λοχο-ς* (No. 173), *ᾰ-δελφ-ειό-ς* = Skt. *sa-garbh-ja-s* i. e. *co-uterinus* (Kuhn Ztschr. II 129), *ᾰ-πεδο-ς* = *ἰσό-πεδο-ς* plain, more rarely as *ὀ*, as in *ὀ-πατρ-ο-ς*, *ὀ-ξυξ*. Cp. Lobeck El. I 41, 86. This prefix has nothing in common with *σύν*, *ξύν*, nor with Latin *cum-con-co-* or the German *ga-*, *ge-*, but *ᾱ-μα* (No. 449), and perhaps No. 559 may be regarded as akin. — In Keltic the simple stem *sa* is not represented in any case actually in use. Ir. *se* hic, dat. *siu* (Z.² 347) belong to the stem *sia*. Ebel Beitr. III 270 ff., V 73 ff.

- 599) *ᾰ* in *ᾱ-παξ* once, *ᾰ-πλόο-ς* single. — Skt. *sa-kṛt* once. — Lat. *sim-plex*, *sin-guli*, *sin-cin-ia* ('cantatio solitaria' Paul. Epit. p. 337).

Pott I¹ 129, Zählmethode 150, 156, Benf. I 381, Corssen I² 376. — The numerals here grouped together point with certainty to a stem *sam*, *sa* with the meaning one, and probably akin to No. 598 and 449. Hence *ᾱ-παξ* is formed by composition with rt. *παγ* (No. 343). *sa-kṛt* with rt. *kart* cut, *sim-plex* for *sem-plex* with rt. *plic plicare*: *singuli* is however a diminutive formation for *sen-culi* (cp. *homun-culu-s*) with *g* for *c* as in *quadrin-genti*; with this J. Grimm Gramm. III 697 well compares the Old-Lat. *nin-gulu-s* = *nullus* (Fest. 177 M.), which we must probably trace back to *ne-oini-culu-s* with Vahlen Ztschr. f. d. österr. Gymn. 1860 p. 15. It is hard to explain

sem-el, though it is apparently likewise akin; and in the case of *sem-per* (cp. *parum-per*, *paulis-per* and on the other hand O.-H.-G. *simbles semper*, *simblum jugiter*) it may be doubted whether it belongs here or to *ἐνο-ς* (No. 428). With the stem *sam* = Gr. *σ* Pott and after him Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 161, VIII 129, Ahrens ib. 343, connect also the Gr. st. *ἐν*, which would then be for *ἐμ*. In favour of this view the fem. *μ-ία* may be especially quoted: this would then be explained from *ἐμ-ία* or *sm-ia*, and similarly the Cretan numeral adverb *ἄμ-αις* (cp. *ἐξάις*), the Tarentine *ἄμ-αις* = *ἄ παξ* (Hesych.). Still considerable doubts yet remain. We have to consider, besides, the isolated *ἐεις* for *εἰς* in Hesiod [Th. 145], the Aeolic and Homeric by-form of *μᾶ ἰα*, with the Homer. dat. of the masc. *ἱ-φ*, which does not agree with the assumption that the *ι* is a sign of the feminine. Ahrens' attempt to explain this form otherwise seems to be very venture some. Finally *οἶ-ο-ς* alone approximates to both forms: this was discussed under No. 445. Hence it is only the forms quoted in the text which can be regarded as certainly akin.

- 600) St. *ἄμο* (*ἄμο*) *ἄμό-θεν* from somewhere or other, *ἄμῳς* somehow or other. — Goth. *sum-s* some one or other, *sum-an* (adv.) some time, once.

Bopp Gl. s. v. *sama*, with which as well as with Gr. *ἄμα*-, *ὅμο*-he identifies this stem: this is easily done by means of the notion of 'one'. Thus a kinship with No. 599 is also established. Still the above-mentioned use of this stem as an indefinite, common, as it appears, only to these two languages, deserves especial notice. — For the Greek forms belonging here cp. Buttmann A. Gr. II 361.

- 396 600b) *αῦ-ω*, *ἄφ-αύω* dry, parch, *αῦο-ς*, *ἀναλέο-ς*, *αῦσ-τηρό-ς* dry, rough, *αῦ-χ-μό-ς* drought. — Skt. *ḡush* (*ḡush-já-mi*) *siccescere*, *ḡush-ka-s* dry, Zd. *hush* dry. — A.-S. *seár* dry, O.-H.-G. *sórén* dried up. — Lith. *sáus-a-s*, Ch.-Sl. *such-ŭ* dry.

Fick³ 198, Bugge Ztschr. XX 33. — I formerly added the Greek words to No. 610. But the spir. asp. is established for *αὔω* *ἐξηρίνω* by Herodian (ed. Lentz I 546). The original initial *s* has been preserved in *σαν-νό-ν* *ἐξηρὸν Σαρανούσιοι* (Hes.). The *ç* of the Sanskrit rt. has arisen from *s*, as the Zend word shows; hence *sus* is the Indo-Germ. root. A connexion with *siccus* (possibly for *sus-cu-s*?) is probable. I leave *εῦω* singe under No. 610.

- 601) Pronominal stem *ἐ*, *σε* (for *σεε*), *σφε* (*οὔ*, *οἶ*, *ἐ*) him(her)-self. themselves, *ἐ-ό-ς*, *ὄ-ς*, *σφ-ό-ς* own,

his (her, their) own, *l-διο-ς* own. — Skt. *sva-* (O.-Pers. *huwa*) self, *sva-s* own, *sva-jam* self. Zd. *hva*, *qa* suus. — Lat. *se*, *suu-s* (Old-Lat. *souo-s*). — Goth. *si-k* self, *svēs lδioς*. — Ch.-Sl. *se* (acc.), Lith. *savē* self, Ch.-Sl. *se-bē* sibi, *svo-* (in composition) own, *svo-j*, Lith. *savā-s-is* suus.

Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 126, Windisch Stud. II 329 ff. — Cp. No. 305.

— The use of the pronoun is originally generally reflexive, by no means confined to the third person, and has been retained as such to the present time in the Letto-Slavonic languages, and also in many traces in the Teutonic languages. Cp. Miklosich 'On the reflexive use of the pronoun *σὺ*', Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Academie I p. 76, Jac. Grimm D. Gr. IV 319. — The Graeco-Italic stem *sve* split into two forms in Greek, *Fε*, later *ε*, and with a hardening of the *F* to *φ*, *σφε*. Even Buttmann Lexil. I 58 f. suspected the identity of the two. For the numerous traces of the *F* see Ahrens d. Aeol. 31, 170 f., d. Dor. 42 (*Fε-διο-ς*), 250, Hoffmann II § 110. I have tried to show Ztschr. III 75 (and Schweizer has done the same ib. 394), that the Homer. adverb *φή* as (cp. Lacon. *φίν* = *σφίν*), is for *σφη*, and is parallel to the Goth. *svē* as, how. Pott II² 406 also hits upon the same idea, without knowing of our views. *Fε-διο-ς* is for *σφε-διο-ς* (cp. *δτ-διο-ς*, *μοιρ-διο-ς*) with a weakening of *ε* into *ι* as in *ισ-θι* be. Froehde Ztschr. XII 160 adds *ἐται* relatives, which shows clear traces of the *F*. *Fε-τη-ς* : *Fε* = *οικέ-τη-ς* : *οίκο*. Cp. p. 674. — Oscan *svai* = Lat. *si* (Corssen I² 778) certainly belongs here, and very probably Gr. *αί*, *εί*; hence Homer. *ἐπεί* with a long first syllable, to be explained from *ἐπ-φεί*, and, as Hugo Weber (Die Partikel *καὶ* p. 102) acutely conjectures, Hesych. *βαίκαν* — *Κρήτες* i. e. *εἰ καὶ*. Cp. Gerland Griech. Dat. p. 15.

602) *l-μά-ς* (st. *l-μαντ*) thong, *l-μον-ιά* well-rope, *l-μάσσ-ω* flog, *l-μάσ-θλη* whip.

Skt. rt. *si si-nô-mi*, *si-nâ-mi* ligo, vincio, *si-man* terminus, *si-manta-s* top of the head. — Zd. *hi-ta* bound, bridled.

O.-S. *si-mo* vinculum, O.-H.-G. *sei-l*, *sei-d* laqueus, tendicula, M.-H.-G. *si-l* harness for draught-cattle.

Ch.-Sl. *si-lo* laqueus, *sě-tŭ* tendicula, *si-tŭje* juncus.

Pott W. I 630, Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ztschr. I 374, II 131, 457. — 397 Much quoted there I place under rt. cep No. 518. For the form *l-μάσσ-ω* = *l-ματ-j-ω* Ebel Ztschr. I 298. The forms *l-μαν*, *l-μαντ*,

and *i-ματ* seem to me to be formed from the rt. *i* = *si*, and the *τ* I regard as an expanding suffix (Ztschr. IV 214). Cp. Lat. *semen-ti-s*. From *ἰμάσ-θλη* i. e. *ἰματ-θλη* (cp. *ἔχ-έ-τλη* and *θέ-με-θλο-ν*) came by aphaeresis *μάσθλη*: and thus perhaps from a form *ἰμαστ-ι-ξ* which we may postulate (cp. *πλάστ-ι-ξ*) comes *μάστιξ* with *μαστίζω* (Hom. dat *μάστι*, acc. *μάστι-ν*). This is also the opinion of Lobeck El. I 76, though I cannot agree with him in what he says about the connexion with *vi-men* (cp. No. 593).

- 603) Pronominal stem *ó*, fem. *ᾶ*, *ῆ*. — Skt. *sa*, *sa-s* he, *sá* she. — O.-Lat. acc. *su-m*, *sa-m*. — Goth. *sa* the (m.), *só* the (f.), *si* she.

Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 134, Max Schmidt de pronomine Graeco et Latino p. 10 sq. — The common-Greek forms *σ-ήμερο-ν*, *σ-ἡτες* to-day, this year (Att. *τ-ήμερο-ν*, *τ-ἡτες*) are compounded with this stem. The Old-Lat. forms *su-m*, *sa-m*, *so-s*, *sa-s* occur in Ennius (Vahlen p. 229), the compound *sa-psa* = *i-psa* in Pacuvius (Ribb. Trag. v. 324). The locative of this stem appears with the appended demonstrative *c* in *si-c*, without this in the much discussed *si remps lex esto*, where *si* is pretty certainly 'so' (Ritschl. Rhein. Mus. VIII 303) [Cp. Corssen I² 777, II² 847, Wordsworth Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin p. 108].

- 604) Rt. *ú* *ũ-ει* it rains, *ũ-ε-τό-ς* rain. — Umbr. *savitn* rain. — Skt. *su su-nó-mi* press out juice, *sú-ma-s*, *sú-ma-m* milk, water, sky, *sú-na-s* flood, *sav-a-m* water.

Benf. I 408, Pictet I 138, Pott W. I 1341, Anfr. and Kirchh. II 268. — This etymology, which Bopp Gl. gives only doubtfully, has indeed this fact against it, that the Skt. rt. *su* (Zend *hu*), as a simple verb, occurs only of the pressing of the plants, which serve for the preparation of the Soma-drink that gets its name from this. Cp. No. 556, where *σεῖω*, *σάλο-ς* are discussed. But in composition with *abhi* it has, according to Westergaard, a wider use (also '*adspergere*'); and the substantives quoted in the text make it probable that this use was of old date: perhaps we may add to them also Goth. *saiw-s*, *mari-saiw-s* *λίμνη*. These various meanings may be well explained from the fundamental idea of a shaking motion. Perhaps it is even not too bold to assume an original kinship of this rt. with the following (Pott Ztschr. VI 365). Cp. No. 497. — We may with some probability place here also *ὑαλο-ς*, *ὑελο-ς* crystal, amber, glass, *ὑαλόεν διαφανές* (Hesych.): cp. Sonne Ztschr. XII 359. The substantive properly meant rain-drop.

- 605) *v-ló-s* son. — Skt. rt. *su*, *sû sav-â-mi*, *sâu-mi* gigno, pario, *su-ta-s*, *sû-nu-s*, Zd. *hunu* filius. — Goth. *su-nu-s*. — Ch.-Sl. *sy-nũ*, Lith. *su-nũ-s* son. — O.-Ir. *suth* fetus (u-stem, Z.² 239).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 1314. — The stem of the Greek word varies between *vl* (nom. plur. *vl-ēs*), *vl-o* and *vl-ē* (dat. *vlēi*). Cp. on this point Ztschr. III 78. For *vlós* we often find also *óós* written, Lob. El. I 137. The suffix, but this alone, is the same as in the Lat. *398 fil-iu-s* from rt. *fel* = *θηλ* (No. 307). Pott derives also the poet. *l-vi-s* son, as a fem. daughter, from this rt., comparing it with the O.-N. *sveinn* puer, juvenis: it would in that case be for *sv-in-i-s*. — The derivation of the word from *v̥siv*, which is mentioned above, may be found in Eustath. p. 1384, 59 in the midst of many absurdities. It is supported by the fact that the rt. *hu* (*hunâmi*) has according to Justi these very two meanings, beget, bear, and press out. — Cp. No. 579. [On the question whether the suffix has an active or a passive sense cp. Owens College Essays IX p. 309, and Fick Sprachreinheit p. 267].

Spiritus asper

appears in the following words as the representative of an original *j*, preserved in the other languages with the exception of Irish, or replaced by the cognate vowel *i* (*e*).

- 606) Pronominal stem *ó*, fem. *á*, *ŷ*, *ō-s* who, *ós* as.
Skt. *ja-s* n. *ja-t* who, which, *jā-t* as. — Zd. *ya* who.
Goth. *ja-bai* if, *jau* whether.
Lith. *jā-s* he, *jā* she, *jū'* the (more), Ch.-Sl. *i* he, *ja* she, *je* it.

Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 162, Schleicher Ksl. 262 f., Lit. Gr. 196, Windisch Stud. II 203 ff. — On the Locrian inscription edited by Ross (L. 1854) l. 6 occurs the form *ῥό-τι* as the neuter of the pronoun. If this *ῥ* is to be regarded as the sign of an original *v*, it would tell against the grouping of the Greek relative pronoun with the Skt.

ja-s. But this inscription, which according to Kirchhoff's 'Studies in the History of the Greek Alphabet' p. 206 'cannot be ascribed to a date much before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war', shows in many respects a certain laxity of spelling. For instance, the *ƒ* is indeed written in *μεταφοινείας, ƒιδιοξένων, ƒασσός*, but it is omitted A l. 8 in *οί*, where we have actually the spir. lenis. This appears also in *ο* = *ο* B l. 1, 5, while *HAGEN* is written for *ἄγειν*. No wonder that this writer also introduced his *ƒ* once in the wrong place. Now as *ƒ* is written also in some other instances incorrectly, and in one place, where we may argue the existence of an old *j* (*ΤλασίαFo* — Corcyr. inscript. Aufrecht Ztschr. I 118), we ought not to be misled by this, as I have tried to show in Jahn's Jahrb. Vol. 71 p. 354. Pott II² 366 and Sonne Ztschr. XII 273 agree in this opinion. The former, who usually follows Thiersch in all questions relating to the digamma, quotes *ῶσσος* as also digammated. This rests upon an error. On the tables of Heraclea we find *FOΣΣΑ* and the like. *†* is here always the sign of the rough breathing (Ahr. d. Dor. 35). Now inasmuch as these tables have in many cases faithfully preserved a very ancient *F* (*C*), but here do not insert it, their testimony goes against, not for the view, that this letter once preceded the relative stem. The form *βαλινιώτης συνέφηβος Κρήτες* (Hesych.) adduced by Savelsberg Ztschr. VIII 402 to prove a *ƒ* in the relative stem, has nothing in the world to do with this: on the contrary it may easily belong to the st. *αƒε* (No. 601), so that it denotes the companion's own age. Thus the Locrian inscription remains the only evidence for it. But who will prefer to build on such weak foundations new combinations, especially in the case of a stem so widely used, if others are better recommended in every respect from the point of view of language? — I regard the stem *ja* as an expansion of the *i*, which occurs most plainly in the Lat. *i-s*, *i-d*, O.-Lat. *i-m*, and in the appended *i* of *οὔτος-ί, ὁδ-ί*. We can see clearly in the demonstrative use of *ῶς* (*καὶ ὥς ἐφη*) how the relative developed by degrees from the demonstrative as used in anaphora. In Ch.-Sl. *i* (originating in *jü*) used by itself has the meaning of the Lat. *is*, in composition with the particle *že*, which corresponds to Gr. *γε* (*i-že* = *ῶς-γε*) it has that of Gr. *ῶς*, Skt. *ja-s*. — Skt. *jāt* = *ῶς* is discussed by Kuhn in Hoefer's Ztschr. II 175. We shall return to it on p. 589. — The Skt. *jā-rat* quamdiu corresponds to the Gr. *ἕως*, the older form of which, — the form which we are to assume for Homer — was *ἥως*, for *ἥ-φος*, *ά-φος*, hence Dor. *ἄς*. I have shown in the Rhein. Mus. 1845 p. 242 ff. that it is from this that we must explain the Homeric use of this particle as a trochee, and its later change into an iambus, and that the form *εἰως* has absolutely no authority. Cp. p. 564. [Stud. II 193 ff.]

- 607) Pronominal stem *ῑμε*, Aeol. *ῑμμε*, *ῑμεῖς*, Aeol. *ῑμμες*. — Skt. *jushmē*. — Goth. Lith. *ju-s* you.

Bopp Vgl. Gr. II 110, Schleicher Comp. ² 634, Max Schmidt de pron. Gr. et Lat. p. 8. — The base-form is *ju*, expanded by *sma*, *ju-sma* for which Skt. *jushma*.

- 608) St. *ῑσμῖν* (dat. *ῑσμῖν-ι*), *ῑσμῖνη* battle. — Skt. *judh* (*judh-jē*) to fight, *judh* (m.) fighter, (f.) fight, battle, *judh-ma-s* fight. Zd. *yud* fight.

Bopp Gl., where Keltic words are also compared, as in Pictet II 190, and the O.-H.-G. *gund* battle is conjecturally added. The latter assumption, though rejected by Fick ² 68 is repeated by Leo Meyer Ztschr. VII 17, Pott I ¹ 252, Benf. I 680. The last is probably right in referring *ju-dh* to *ju* bind, in the sense *manus conserere*. Cp. above p. 65.

A simple vowel

appears as the representative of the Indo-Germanic vowel corresponding to it, i. e. *ā*, *ε*, *o* as the representatives of an *ā*; *ā*, *η*, *ω* as the representatives of an *ā*; *ι* and *υ* as the representatives of *i* and *u*, in the following words, which are retained in the kindred languages, sometimes in a fuller form.

- 609) *ἔαρ*, *εἶαρ* blood. — Skt. *as-ra-m*, *as-an*, *as-r̥g* blood. 400
— O.-Lat. *assir* blood, *assar-ā-tum* mixed with blood.

Suidas s. v. *ἔαρ* cites for the meaning blood an anonymous poet; cp. *ἔαρ αἷμα Κύπριος*, *ελαροπόρης αἱμοπόρης* Hesych. The Alexandrine writers use the word also of the juice of plants. Paul. Epit. p. 16: *assaratum apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis ex vino et sanguine temperatum, quod Latini prisci sanguinem assir vocarent*. Gl. Lab. *asser αἷμα*, Pott II ¹ 113, Kuhn Ztschr. II 137. — The form *asar*, which we must assume as Graeco-Italic, is most nearly approached by Skt. *asra-m*; the relation of the other Skt. forms is as yet undetermined, and so is the root. Greek *ἔαρ* is regular for *ἔσαρ*: the history of Latin orthography shows that no importance is to be

ascribed to the double *s* of the Latin word. Ebel Ztschr. V 67 also regards *αἷμα* (for *ἀσ-μα*) as akin; but this seems to me very doubtful. Savelsberg's attempt (Ztschr. VII 385) to derive the meaning blood from that of spring, and hence to identify the present *ἔαρ* with that discussed under No. 589, is quite erroneous. The verse quoted by Suid. 'ἤχι κορίσσαι ἄξεινοι λύτρω τε καὶ εἰαρι πεπλήθασι', and the reading *εἰαροπῶτις Ἐρινύς* mentioned by the BV. Scholiasts on T 87 (cp. M. Schmidt IX 294) are sufficient to show that we have not to do here with any poetical metaphor. Such a one does however occur in *εἰαρ ἐλαίας* in Nicander Alexiph. 87; cp. 'blood of the grape'.

610) *εὔω*, *εῦω* singe, *αὔω* kindle, *Εὐ-ρο-ς* South-east wind (?).

Skt. rt. *ush ôsh-â-mi* (for *aus-â-mi*) uro, *ush-na-s* calidus. Zd. *ush* burn, shine.

Lat. rt. *us ur-o* (*us-si*, *us-tu-s*), *us-tor*, *us-tio*, *ustulare*. *Auster* (?).

O.-H.-G. *usil-var* gilvus, M.-H.-G. *üs-el* favilla.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 322, Benf. I 26, Kuhn Ztschr. II 273, Aufrecht V 135. — The rt. *us* has in these words retained the meaning burn, while Nos. 612, 613 belong to the kindred meaning shine. *εὔω* : *us* = *γέω* : *gus* (No. 131). From *εὔω* and *εῦω* (fut. *εὔσ-ω*), — on the breathing cp. Steph. Thes. latest edition — come *εὔσ-ραι* (οἱ βόθροι ἐν οἷς εὔονται τὰ χοιρίδια) and *εὔσ-ανα* (τὰ ἐγναύματα) with the *σ* retained, Pollux VI 91. — *αὔω*, with the meaning kindle, ε 490. The compound *ἐν-αύ-ω* with *ἐναν-σις*, *ἐνανσ-μα* (glowing embers, kindling [*τῶν ἀρετῶν* &c.]) has longer retained the original notion. By the side of the rt. *ush* we find in Skt. remains of a fuller rt. *vas* (Zd. *vanh* shine), from which *ush* has come by abbreviation, especially *vās-ara-s* day. This rt. *vas* = *us* occurs in Gr. *ἑσ-τία*, Lat. *Vesta*. Cp. Corssen I² 580 (otherwise Roth Ztschr. XIX 218). For the traces of the *f* cp. Ahrens d. Dor. 55. This explanation of these words I now prefer to my former one, according to which I placed them under No. 206. Schenkl 'Werth der Sprachvergleichung' p. 17, Pictet I 157. — Other words formerly placed here are now under No. 600b.

611) *ῥ-μί* say (3 sing. Dor. *ῥ-τί*, Aeol. *ῥ-σί*, impf. 1 sing. *ῥ-ν*, 3 sing. *ῥ*), *ῥχ-αψε-ν* *εἶπεν* Hes. — Skt. perf. 3 sing. *âh-a* he spoke, speaks. — Lat. *â-j-o*, *ad-ag-iu-m*, *ad-ag-io(n)*, Umbr. *ai-tu* dicito.

401 Bopp Gl. s. v. *ah*, Pott W. III 725, Benf. II 64, Stud. IV 208. — The 1 sing. pres. occurs in Aristoph., the 3 sing. in Alcman and

Sappho (Fr. 98 B.), the past tense is Homeric and Attic. The notion that η was nothing but $\varphi\eta$ remained so entirely the prevailing one in the common grammatical tradition, in spite of its utter groundlessness, that Döderlein Gl. 2199 advances the difference of the two stems as something quite new, though comparative grammar had long recognized it. The rt. is *agh*, Gr. $\alpha\chi$, Lat. *ag*. It is defective in all three languages. [In Skt. it occurs only in the perfect.] The Gr. $\eta-\mu\iota$ is to be regarded as a present without thematic vowel, the χ being dropped before the personal terminations, as in $\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta\nu$ (No. 390); Lat. $\acute{a}-j-o$ is for *ag-i-o*, like $m\acute{e}-j-o$ for *meig-i-o*, $m\acute{a}-j-or$ for *mäg-i-or* (Ebel Ztschr. IV 288, Fleckeisen 'Zur Kritik der altlat. Dichterfragmente p. 6); to the same formation belongs Umbr. *ai-tu* = *ajeto* (Aufr. und Kirchh. I 142). Corssen I² 90 very properly places here *ad-ag-iu-m* (op. $\pi\alpha\rho-\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\alpha$ from $\omicron\mu\eta$ song No. 616), what is spoken with reference to a thing, saw (*Zuwort*); the kindred word *adagio* is discussed by Varro L. L. VII 31 M.; *nĕg-a-re* is certainly for *ne-ig-ā-re* and comes from a noun *ne-ig-u-s*, in spite of the unexpected shortness of the stem-syllable. This word, as well as the frequentative *axare* (Paul. Epit. 3 'nominare') formed from *ag*, the derivative *axamenta* ('*carmina Saliaria*'), and *ind-ig-ita-menta* [Preller Römische Myth. 2 p. 81] is discussed with convincing acuteness by Corssen de Volscorum lingua Nurnb. 1858 p. 17 sq. — Goth. *af-aik-a* $\acute{\alpha}\varphi\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ O.-H.-G. *gih-u*, inf. *jeh-an* dicere, affirmare show an exceptional state of the mutes, and could only be compared with the above by supposing that here, as in the case of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$ = Skt. *ah-am*, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ = Skt. *mah-at*, there was a *g* in ante-Gothic times. The rt. would then be *ag* not *agh*, at any rate for the European languages; and certainly all the other forms might be just as well explained from this. However there are difficulties still remaining.

612) $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron-\varsigma$, Att. $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\omicron-\varsigma$ sun, $\acute{\alpha}\pi-\eta\lambda\iota\acute{\omega}-\tau\eta-\varsigma$ East wind. —
Lat. *Ausēliu-s*.

I have given reasons for this grouping in Ztschr. I 29 ff. It rests upon the form preserved by Hesych. $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Κρητες (Ahrens d. Dor. 48), from which we may explain both Homer. $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron-\varsigma$ and Att. $\eta\eta\lambda\iota\omicron-\varsigma$. It is noteworthy that the latter form occurs in Homer only once, O 271. But as a Lesb. $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\omega\varsigma$ has been preserved as well as the Lacon. $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\omega}\varphi$ i. e. $\acute{\alpha}\text{F}\omega\varsigma$, we may assume for $\acute{\alpha}\text{F}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ a by-form $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$. This is to *Auselius* as $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\omega\varsigma$ to Lat. *ausos(a)*, from which came *aurora*. Paul. Epit. 23 '*Aureliam familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dictam putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra facerent Soli qui ex hoc Auseli dicebantur*'. The rt. is *us* burn, shine (No. 610) and the Etruscan name of the Sun-god *Usil* is probably akin (Gerhard Ztschr. f. Alterthsw. 1847

No. 86). Cp. Schweizer Ztschr. III 369, Ebel V 67. Pictet however Ztschr. IV 351, Orig. II 670 again tries to connect these words with *Σελίος*, Lat. *sól*, Goth. *sauil*, which we shall have to discuss on p. 541 (No. 663). Further discussions of this word are to be found in Benfey Or. u. Occ. I 284, Corssen Beitr. 386, I² 349, Pott W. II 1, 733. Both assume an intermediate form *Σαφέλιος*, from which they try to arrive at *ἥλιος* and *sól*, though they differ again widely in the manner in which they do so. I cannot see
 402 why there should be so much opposition to the assumption that the chief name of the sun was different with the Greeks and with the Romans. In the Nighantu thirty-one Indian names of the sun are recounted. We see just the same with the names of the moon; *μήνη* = *mena* (No. 471) becomes obsolete in both languages and is replaced in the one case by *σελήνη*, in the other by *lūna*. Will any one choose to explain these as etymologically equivalent? Now we have in Greek two names for the sun handed down to us. The one, *Σελίος* (No. 663), may very easily be connected with *sól*, the other, in its oldest form *ἥλιος*, still more easily with the similarly authenticated *Ausēlius*. Why not admit that of these two the former became the prevailing one in Latin, and also in the Northern languages, the latter in Greek? — Above all we must not once more conjure up the pretended Pamphylian *βαβέλιος*, as Benfey and M. Schmidt did. This phantom has been recognized as such by Ahrens d. Dor. 49 note. As Hesychius gives us *ἀβελίην ἡλιακὴν Παμφύλοις*, which is confirmed by the alphabetic arrangement, the statement of Heraclides ap. Eustath. p. 1654, 20, that these same Pamphylians said *βαβέλιος* cannot be correct; and the statement gains no credibility from the fact that it is a result of the absurd view that the Pamphylians prefixed *β* to every vowel. This is the same uncritical tendency, which is found in Dionysius Halic. with regard to the *ϕ*, and which makes his statements about it so suspicious.

613) *ἥώς*, Aeol. *αὔως*, Att. *εὔως* dawn, *ἑωςφόρος* dawn-bringing, *αὔριο-ν* tomorrow, *ἤ-ρι* (adv.), *ἤ-ριος* (adj.) early.

Skt. *ush* (f.) morning, *ush-a-s* shining, *ush-as* (f.), in compounds *ush-ásá* dawn, morning, *ush-á* (adv.) early, *us-ra-s* (adj.) morning, *us-rijá* brightness, light. — Zd. *usha*, *ushan̄h* dawn.

Lat. *auróra* for *aus-ósa*.

O.-H.-G. *ós-tan*, O.-N. *aus-tr* oriens, O.-H.-G. *ós-tar* (adv.) in the east.

Lith. *ausz-rà* dawn, *áusz-ta* day breaks, Ch.-Sl. *u-tro* morning.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 333, Benf. I 27, Kuhn Ztschr. III 450, Aufrecht IV 256, Ebel V 67, Savelsberg VII 382 f., Miklos. Lex., Fick² 27. — The Greek forms, to which ἀβῶ πρωτὶ δάκνωνες (Hesych.) also belongs, are discussed by Ahrens d. Aeol. 38, d. Dor. 49. But his view of the origin of the word is altogether erroneous Ztschr. III 163. The rt. is *us* burn, shine, from which comes also No. 612, as the Skt. shows to demonstration. The Indians and Persians form the words belonging here from the unstrengthened rt. *us*, the European nations from the form *aus*, strengthened by the addition of sound. We may therefore assume *ausos* as Graeco-Italic; from this all Greek forms may be explained by the loss of *s*, the Latin by its rhotacizing, and by the addition of a derivative *a* (cp. Skt. *ushás-á*). The *q* in αὔ-ρι-ο-ν is derivative, as in Skt. *us-ra*, Lith. *ausz-rà*. Fick² 27 adds also Εὔρο-ς morning-wind, i. e. East-wind (cp. No. 610). From the Homer. ἥε-ρο-ς we may assume for ἥ-ρι an older ἥε-ρι, and regard ἥε as an abbreviation of the stem ἥο-ς, like κρε- in κρε-ρό-ς. Somewhat differently Rüdiger Ztschr. XIX 217. Cp. Stud. II 175, where it is shown that ἄριστον breakfast, morning meal, also belongs here.

614) ἱ-ερό-ς vigorous, holy. — Skt. *ish-ira-s* vigorous, 403 fresh, blooming.

Kuhn Ztschr. II 274 establishes the use of the Skt. word as an epithet of *manas* sense (ἱερὸν μένος), *dēva-s* god, *dhū-mi-s* earth. According to the Pet. D. it is also an epithet of various gods, but means originally juicy (*ish* fem. juice, strength, freshness, courage). *ish-ara-s* is for *is-ara-s*, whence by the loss of the sibilant comes the Aeol. form ἱ-αρό-ς, and from this ἱάρων (Giese Aeol. D. 409, Ahr. 26), later ἱ-ερό-ς (Ebel Ztschr. V 67). I have discussed this, and the meaning vigorous, active, which alone suits phrases like ἱερός ἔχθρῶς (II 407), ἱερὴ ἱς in Ztschr. III 154 ff. Bergk's thesis (Rhein. Mus. XX 289) that ἱερός is identical with φιαρός clear, bright, would be as hard to prove as the view which is bound up with it; for we should not get the notion of 'sacred' for ἱερός, if we had to do with the work of 'unthinking rhapsodists'. Of course in the time when the Homeric epos was most flourishing 'holy' must have already become the prevalent meaning, but the older physical meaning was retained in isolated phrases.

615) Rt. ἰ εἰ-μι (pl. ἱ-μεν) go, ἱ-τη-ς, ἱ-τα-μό-ς straight-forward, energetic, οἰ-μο-ς path, way, οἰ-μη course, tune [*Weise*], song, οἰ-το-ς fate, lot.

Skt. rt. *i ê-mi* (pl. *i-mas*) go, *i-ti-s* going, *ê-ma-s*,
ê-man way, road. — Zd. *i* go.

Lat. *e-o* (*i-mus*), *i-ti-o(n)*, *i-tu-s*, *i-ter* (*it-in-er*).

Goth. *i-dalhja* ivi.

Lith. *ei-mi* (2 sing. *ei-si*, 3 sing. *ei-ti*), *ei-nù* go,
ei-smė (Lex.) way, path, Ch.-Sl. *i-dq eiμi* (inf. *i-ti*).

Bopp Gl., Pott W. I 396 ff. — As rt. *i* has been expanded in Skt. to *já*, so Greek *ι* has been expanded to *λε*, which occurs in *λέ-ναι*. From the same *ja* in a causative sense comes *ι-η-μι* i. e. *ji-já-mi*, and, with the addition of a *c* Lat. *ja-c-i-o*, as I have tried to show Philologus III p. 5 ff. Ztschr. II 400. The doubts of Pott II² 967 have the less effect, in that he himself brings out the difficulties of his own explanation from rt. *as* throw, which has not the least plausibility, except for the present-stem, Skt. *as-já-mi*. The objection that my assumption of a causative meaning for reduplication is 'purely imaginative', is shown to be groundless by a reference to *ι-στη-μι* and *σι-στ-ο* as compared with *stare* and *στηναι*, *λέλαθον* and *ἐλαθον*, *ᾤσορον*, *δέδαρον*, *κέκαθον*, *λέλαχον* (Temp. u. Modi p. 155). Other points, which Pott describes as 'left out of consideration', have been all well weighed in the places referred to. The view of Leo Meyer Ztschr. VIII 249, that *ι-η-μι* comes from the rt. *sa*, which occurs in *σε-ρ-ο* for *σε-s-o*, and which he also connects with *σι-n-o*, can hardly be reconciled with the use of *ἔσθαι* in the middle voice: for it has an initial consonant, and the meaning strive, long after. See above p. 64, and for the forms expanded by *dh* (Gr. *θ*, Teut. Slav. *d*), to which belong *ι-θ-μα*, *ι-θύ-ς*, *λοθ-μό-ς* p. 66 f. The meaning of *ιθύς* is established against the doubts of Pott W. I 161 by *ιτη-ς*. Goth. *iddja* is discussed by 104 Müllenhoff Haupt's Ztschr. XII 387. — Corssen's objections I² 213, 454 seem to me all removed by the very probable assumption that from a very early date *i* and the expanded rt. *ja* existed side by side, as is the case in Skt.

616) *ι-ό-ς* arrow. — Skt. Zend *ish-u-s* arrow.

Bopp Gl., Kuhn Ztschr. II 187. — The *ι*, as a rule long, is short in Hom. *ιόμαροι*, and in Pindar also in *ιο-χέαιρα*. Brugmann Stud. IV 170 is probably right in referring *ιό-ς* to *ιο-f-o-s*. B. and R. in the Pet. D. establish the rt. *ish* (i. e. *is*) with the meaning 'let fly'. *όις-τό-ς* cannot have anything to do with this word, because it must have lost a consonant between *o* and *ι*.

617) Rt. *ic* wish, *ιό-τη(τ)-ς* wish, will, *ι-έ-μερο-ς* longing.

— Skt. rt. *ish* (*ikkh-â-mi*) desire, *ikkhâ* wish,
ish-ta-s desired, *ish-ma-s* (*ish-ma-s*) god of love.

Zd. *ish* wish. — Umbr. *es-unu* sacrifice, Sabin. *ais-o-s* prayer. — O.-H.-G. *eis-c-ôn* ask (*heischen*), *eis-ca* demand. — Lith. *jėszkó-ti*, Ch.-Sl. *isk-a-ti* seek.

Bopp Gl., Pott W. II, 2, 310, Benf. I 15, Aufrecht Ztschr. I 160. — The rt. is *is*. *ίσ-τη-ς* points to a lost adjective *ίσ-ς* willing. On the suffix of *ί-μερο-ς* cp. Aufrecht Ztschr. I 480, Kuhn II 275. We may add *ΐμερα*, *ΐμέρα-ς*, perhaps even *ΐμβρο-ς* (cp. *μεσ-ημβρ-ία*). The *σ* of the rt. is retained in *ίσ-μερα* which in Hesych. is explained like *ίμερα* by *τὰ πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμὸν φερόμενα ἀνθη καὶ στεφανώματα*; and also probably in the proper name *ΐσ-μήνη Desiderata*, *ΐσ-μηνό-ς*, *ΐσ-μαρο-ς* (son of Eumolpus, and the name of the wine-town of the Cicones). Ebel Ztschr. V 66. Pott Ztschr. IX 415 adds *ΐμμάρ-αδο-ς*, who is also called son of Eumolpus, with *μμ* = *σμ* as in the Aeolic *ῥμμε* = Skt. *jushmat*. — For the Italian words see Corssen Ztschr. IX 139, I² 375. — Those of the northern languages go back to the noun stem *is-ka* preserved in the Skt. *ikṣhá*. Cp. Fick² 22.

618) *ōvo-ς*. — Lat. *as-inu-s*. — Goth. *as-ilu-s*, O.-N. *as-ni*. — Lith. *ás-ila-s*, Ch.-Sl. *os-t-lŭ* ass (*Esel*). — Ir. *assal* asinus (Ir. Gl. 296), Cymr. *assen*, Corn. *asen*, Arm. *asenn* (Z.² 292, 823).

Benf. I 123, Pictet I 354, and Stokes Ir. Gl. p. 159 consider the word to be of Semitic origin (Hebr. *athón* she-ass). After the historical explanations of Hehn 422 f. this now seems to me too the most probable, while it appears certain that the ass was not among the possessions of the Indo-Germans. The Greek and Latin name on the one hand, the Gothic and Slavo-Lithuanian on the other are more closely connected. Perhaps the latter go back to the Lat. *asellu-s*.

619) *οὐς*, Hom. pl. *οὔαρ-α*. — Lat. *aur-i-s*, *aus-cul-to*. — Goth. *aus-o*. — Lith. *aus-i-s* (fem.), Ch.-Sl. *uch-o* (gen. *ušes-e*) n. ear. — O.-Ir. *ó* auris (Z.² 33), dat. pl. *auairb*, *au-chum-riuch* 'eartie' (T. B. Fr. pp. 136, 140, 163).

Pott W. I 643, 652, Benf. I 42, who assumes a connexion with Skt. *ghōsha-s* noise, Zd. *gaosha* ear, which is phonetically quite untenable. — Leo Meyer Ztschr. V 369. — The words for the conception 'ear' have in fact only the initial diphthong in common: *au*, the earliest form of this, may still be recognized in the Tarentine form *ā-ρα*, or as we may probably write more correctly *ā'-r-α* (*ᾠρα* Hesych.) i. e. *āf-r-α*, and in the modern Greek *ἀντ-ι* = *ᾠτ-ι-ο-ν* (E. Curtius

Gött. Anz. 1857, Nachrichten p. 311). We may suppose that we see in this diphthong, preserved also in Lesb. *παρ-άα* = Hom. *παρήλον*, Att. *παρειά* cheek, the rt. *av* discussed under No. 586. Now in three families of speech we find an *s* added to this stem. Cp. p. 67. From the stem *aus* come Lith. *aus-i-s* and Lat. *aur-i-s* for *aus-i-s* (cp. *nár-e-s* and *nás-u-s*) by the addition of a derivative *i*, Goth. *aus-o*, Ch.-Sl. *uch-o* (for *us-o* st. *us-es*) by the addition of other suffixes. The *s* is also clearly retained in Lat. *aus-culto*. Hence it is probable that the Greek word also had originally a sibilant in the stem. I therefore regard *αὔσ-ατ* as the Greek primary form. The suffix *-ατ* is the same that we saw added in *γουν-ατ* for *γουν-ατ*, *δοϋε-ατ* for *δοϋ-ατ*. *οὔσ-ατ* is to *αὔσ-ατ* as *οὔρε-ς* to *αὔρεα* (No. 587). By the regular loss of the *σ* this became *οὔ-ατ*. This stem is the more common in Homer for the oblique cases. By the change of *οὔ* into *ὄ* (cp. *βοF-ός*) arose *ὄF-ατ*. Of this there is still a trace occurring in Lacon. *ἐξωβάδια ἐνώτια* (Hesych.). The *F* also was then dropped: Dor. *ὠατ*, Ionic *ὄατ*, contracted *ὠτ*. As for the nom. sing. *οὔς*, either we have in it a shorter stem, as in *γόνυ* compared with *γουν-ατ*: — this is the view of Froehde Ztschr. f. Gymnasialwesen 1864 p. 195, and at any rate it deserves consideration: — or *οὔς* is contracted from *οὔας*, possibly directly from a by-form *οὔος* (cp. *ῥόδος* and *ῥόδατ*) (see Ebel Ztschr. XIII 457). Cp. Herodian ed. Lentz. II 281. — We may further notice the Tzaconian form *ἄβουτᾶνα*, plur. *ἄβουτᾶνε* (Thiersch Sprache der Tzakonen p. 522). In this remarkable dialect *ov* is the regular representative of *o*, *β* = *F*; so that we get the stem *ἄF-ατ*, to which a secondary, expanding suffix is here superadded. This *ἄF-ατ* like the common modern Greek *αὐτ-ί* plainly dates from a time, when the diphthong *av* was still prevalent in the stem. Instead of this the *α* of the ending is here dulled to *o*.

ERRATA.

- Page 1, line 10, *for* "has" *read* "have."
" 8, " 2, *for* "instace" *read* "instance."
" 34, " 28, *read* "is as accidental."
" 39, " 7, *read* "betrays."
" 63, " 5, *read* "others."
" 98, " 8, *read* "them."
" 99, " 6, *for* "thus" *read* "this."
" 106, " 3, *for* "languages aedid" *read* "language as did."
" 106, " 10, *read* "which embraces all these kindred languages,
have been undertaken in many quarters."
" 107, " 9, *for* "various" *read* "the various."
" 111, " 12, *for* "has" *read* "have."
" 123, " 4 from bottom, *read* "structure."
" 123, " 14, *for* "spac" *read* "spec."
" 127, " 8 from bottom, *for* "manu" *read* "Mann."

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